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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE ELITE AND SPORT CLUB MEMBERSHIP IN TORONTO, 1827-1881

by

ROBERT WAYNE SIMPSON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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Peter Lindsay

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Date October 2, 1987

ABSTRACT

The study focussed on the elite nature of sport and business club membership in Toronto from 1827 to 1881. Specifically, it examined the social background and the social class of club members, and it showed how an upper class segment of the population dominated and controlled the developmental aspects of sport and society.

Sport in early nineteenth century Toronto grew as a reflection of the social evolvement of the city. Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe, the originator of York (later Toronto) in 1793, brought to the town a group of former Queen's Rangers and United Empire Loyalists who became the social apex of society. They considered themselves the aristocracy of the settlement and carried on life in a style reminiscent of the English gentry. As the town's elite, the members of Simcoe's loyal band established an assortment of institutions which sought to discriminate among those who were and were not acceptable within society and within sport. Initially, aristocratic sports were the preserve of Toronto's elite. These included fox-hunting, steeple-chasing, horse-racing, lawn bowling, cricket and yachting. Later, with some middle class involvement, the sports included tennis, golf, lacrosse, curling, rifle-shooting, and rowing.

The upper class aspect of sport was closely guarded through the transplanted English club. Sport clubs served to restrict membership and acted as social, economic and philosophical rallying points for the elite. The elite individuals who held joint sport and business club membership between 1827 and 1881 were predominantly professionals by occupation, Anglican by religion, English by ethnicity, and privately schooled by education. As well, they were heavily involved in the philanthropic and benevolent movements, and were the administrators of many working class improvement institutions.

The elite, by virtue of their interlocking connections between sport and various institutions in Toronto's society shared a common set of values and a similar lifestyle. As a consequence, they ruled most aspects of the nineteenth century society by a uniform social control policy and developed a broad-ranging, mutual philosophical outlook which became

associated with upper class rule. Sport, in this context, was relegated to class control.

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I must also acknowledge the assistance given to me by several friends and colleagues. To the myriad of graduate students who indirectly influenced my thinking while at the University of Alberta, a sincere thanks. To Jean Duperrault, a special cudo, for making my first two years of my Ph.D. program provocative, intriguing, challenging and most of all, humorous. To Jeanette, thanks for being supportive, patient and uplifting. To Don Kyle, Richard Gruneau, Earle Zeigler, and Morris Mott, I also extend a thanks for questioning my methods, my perspectives and my data. All your criticisms and suggestions were invaluable.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

> Elites are more than statistical classes. Common educational backgrounds, kinship links, present and former partnerships, common membership in clubs, trade associations, positions on advisory boards and philantropic groups all help to produce a social homogeniety of men in positions of power.[1]

When John Porter, in The Vertical Mosaic, made this statement it was after he had completed a monumental analysis of social class and power in Canada. Though his study condemned the elitist system, it produced a lucid account of how power and the positions of power were acquired, maintained and utilized.[2] As much as Porter would have liked to have seen a meritocratic system based upon individual ability, he recognized that, as the social system stood in Canada, vertical mobility to the positions of power was largely a function of class and class relationships.

To date, little analysis of sport and class exists which is appreciative of this symbiotic, historical relationship. Lindsay, in 1969, saw class and, to a greater extent, occupational inequality as a major impediment to sport participation. Drawing upon the theoretical constructs of Will Durant,[3] he stated:

> Material necessities must always precede play in importance. For this reason, the common man, forced to work for others for his living, had little time for recreational sport.[4]

---

[1] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 230.

[2] Porter defined power to generally mean the ability of persons, who share common cultural and class backgrounds, plus interrelationships in the social, political, economic and religious institutions of society, to influence, make or alter decisions which ultimately affect the well-being of others. See *ibid.*, especially pp. 210-215.

[3] Will Durant, The Mansions of Philosophy, (Garden City, N.J.: Garden City Publishing, 1941), especially p. 401, as cited in Peter Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 9. The idea which Lindsay drew upon and the point which Durant was attempting to make was that "only after the initial toil associated with the establishing of a society is over, can man afford leisure time for those pursuits which feed the spirit".

[4] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 9.

Jobling, in recognizing this inequality in the later nineteenth century and appreciating the social evolution which was occurring at this time, remarked:

> The combined processes of urbanization and industrialization brought about many social changes which ultimately affected the development of sport. The workers in urban areas were not prepared to work unlimited hours, and the agitation of employees, as well as some wise and benevolent employers, resulted in shorter and regular working hours.[5]

Work, inequality and sport, though recognized in the early Canadian studies of sport history, remained a general concept and one not thoroughly understood in terms of its specific impact on sport. Few researchers have sought to examine explicitly the ramifications of class structure, sport participation and sport development. Most have been content to record descriptive facts concerning sporting events, club formations, significant dates, names of participants, and technological advances.[6] This is not to say that they lacked some form of analysis but rather to put forward the fact that class, specifically, has remained largely unchallenged in its historical significance to sport. Few researchers have attempted to challenge the frontier concept of class and to show that sport, like all other aspects of society, was influenced by class division early in the evolution of colonial society.

The earliest and latest historical analyses of class structure and organized sport in Canada have been done by Alan Metcalfe. Metcalfe in 1972, drawing to a large extent on Porter's analysis of class and cultural institutions, sought to examine whether, in nineteenth century Toronto, an elite sample of persons was hierarchically stratified in terms of membership of sporting clubs based, in part, on religion, education and political affiliation.[7] Most of Metcalfe's sample (N=780) was drawn from Jesse Middleton's, The Municipality of Toronto: A History, a publication written by an elite for an elite population.[8] In the attempt to show the restrictiveness and stratification of club membership, Metcalfe drew from a sample of elite persons who showed an affirmed tendency toward common membership.[9] The period he examined was between 1860 and 1920. Metcalfe extracted "objective" data from his secondary source, which included; education, religion, birthplace, political affiliation, occupation and sporting club affiliation. He also categorized several of his data. For religion, his subjects were placed into one of three categories: Anglicans, Protestants, and Others. The Protestant category included Roman Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, Unitarians and Salvation Army. For education, Metcalfe categorized data according to the highest level attained; University, High School and Public School. And finally, for political affiliation, he recorded subjects as Conservative, Liberal or Independent. The clubs which Metcalfe analyzed were, golf clubs (there was no mention of which ones), Royal Canadian Yacht Club, lawn bowling clubs (again, no reference was made to the ones analyzed), hunt clubs (and again, there was no mention which ones were referred to) and the Ontario Jockey Club. Metcalfe found that the more *elite* the club (i.e., Hunt Club, Jockey Club), the greater the percentage of members who were Anglican, university graduates and conservative in political affiliation.

---

[5] Ian Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Changes on Its Development". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970, p. 391.

[6] This phrase may seem a bit truculent and unappreciative here but it is stated to show vividly how class was dealt with in the earliest sport history research of Canada. Interestingly enough, the word 'class' was used very little in these initial studies. Elites, professionals, upper strata, the wealthy, the privileged minority, were all synonyms used to describe class variations. It is a recognized feature of these studies that they represented a 'first order' or 'first level' engagement of sport. Most were completed under a well-guided strategy of sport history development. Max Howell, then a professor of sport history within the Faculty of Physical Education at the University of Alberta, was the prime architect and designer of these early works.

---

[7] Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada, 1860-1920". A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 28, 1972. Metcalfe did not differentiate between class and stratification in this study. The term class, while most often used synonymously with the term stratification, did not in the writings of most analysts automatically refer to the same principles. See, for example, Raymond Aron, "Two Definitions of Class", in Andre Beteille (ed.), Social Inequality. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969). Metcalfe did define stratification though. It proceeded as follows: "Stratification by definition, implies an hierarchical structure with criteria for membership of the different strata", p. 1.

[8] Jesse Middleton, The Municipality of Toronto: A History. 3 Volumes (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1923). For biographical work, see especially Volumes 2 and 3. It should be pointed out that many well-known biographies were excluded in this work and many lesser known persons included due to author bias and availability of data.

[9] Elite conspiracy, or the tendency of upper class groups to form information networks, formally or informally, is a basic tenet of Marxian doctrine.

In order to determine the strength of his data Metcalfe included tables of frequency which compared his findings to national census data, plus chi square results to investigate the dependency between variables. His major inference from the results was "that membership of the various clubs was quite selective" and most certainly stratified in terms of religion, education and political affiliation.[10]

The study of class membership and sport in Toronto represented a seminal work. It attempted to draw from the sources available, conclusions about elite sport club membership. While the results were interesting, some observations about the methodology should be brought to the attention of the reader of this dissertation. Firstly, Metcalfe drew information from a source which was highly biased and at best only partially accurate. Middleton was largely based on recall and anecdoctal information. Thus, there was an apparent lack of primary documentation used as the major reference work for the the study. Secondly, the author mentioned only those clubs in his study which competed in team sports. There was evidently no attempt made to include at least one or two individual sports (i.e., lawn tennis). It is a reasonable assumption that the elite competed in sports other than team sports. Thirdly, in comparing adjusted scores and percentages of club members in religion, education and political affiliation, Metcalfe implemented data from the 1961 Canadian Census.[11] No justification for its implementation was given even though earlier Census data was available. Fourthly, Metcalfe assumed that wealth and/or money was an ultimate dependent variable in club admission. He summized, "... it does appear that money was not the most important condition for entrance and did not, in fact, guarantee entrance".[12] Metcalfe did not indicate how income of the sample was arrived at in the study. The factor of income was questionable as there was no indication of it in the Municipality of Toronto. Moreover, when he referred to the probabilities of people who were Jewish, French, Roman Catholic, etc., gaining entrance to these clubs, he did not try to account for the reasons why these people did not want to belong to any of these organizations. An assumption he made was that they all did.[13]

---

[10] Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Stratification...", p. 11.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 13. When one considers that the time period he was examining was 1860 to 1920, it seems peculiar that he would have relied on a *census* which was some one hundred years after the era of analysis.

[12] *Ibid.*, Earlier, Metcalfe refers to the 'fact' that "basic to all these clubs was an adequate income", p. 11. The author supposed that because such clubs as the Royal Canadian Yacht Club and Rosedale Golf Club had extensive facilities, that adequate income was necessary for membership in order to maintain the upkeep of the buildings, grounds and equipment.

Metcalfe, in 1976, once again sought to investigate the relationship of sport and social stratification. In an article entitled, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1910", which appeared in Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives,[14] Metcalfe attempted to examine two criteria: firstly, he examined the growth of organized sport in Montreal from 1840 to 1901, with a focus on who played, administered and organized it; secondly, he examined the social characteristics of these persons and groups in terms of ethnicity, occupation and religion. He hoped the study would be reflective of both the growth of organized sport in nineteenth century Canada and the social mosaic which made up the sport fraternity of Montreal's society.

Metcalfe defined organized sport to mean a formally constituted sporting club.[15] His method was to record each member's name for each club in which the individual was represented (the exact number of clubs totally examined was not reported and what clubs specifically examined were again not reported) and to match it exactly with the city directory.[16] While the author did not relate *whom* the people were, he assured his reader that every precaution was taken to institute only those names which could be consistently corroborated. The occupation of a member was usually reported along with his name in the directories but ethnic affiliation had to be implied from surname origin (i.e., MacTavish was inferred to be Scottish). Moreover, religious orientation had to be inferred from an individual's ethnic background (i.e., MacTavish=Scottish=Presbyterian). Geographical residence, or that region of Montreal where a member resided, was also determined from the city directories.

---

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 12. Metcalfe implied that during the period 1860-1921 there was a relatively closed social elite system of clubs in which membership was gained only by people with certain characteristics. Further, he concluded that movement within this elite strata and certainly to the top level was further limited by education.

[14] Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1901", in Richard S. Gruneau and John Albinson (eds.), Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. (Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley, 1976), pp. 77-101.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 98. He added to this definition the fact that formally constituted sporting clubs (those having a strict code of membership rules with an elected directorship to oversee the general management of the club) promoted intra and inter club competition, thus eliminating from consideration the mass recreational activities participated in at picnics and impromptu athletic gatherings throughout the year. Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada...", p. 364, was more pragmatic about his definition of club when he stated, "...this (club) may be loosely defined as a grouping together of individuals with a common interest in a particular activity in order to organize regular competition under established rules. Obviously Jobling was caught up in the industrializing effects of his subject matter because his definition of a club paid greater attention to "regularity" and "rule boundedness."

Metcalfe's findings beg examination for the theoretical context of this present study. Firstly, he found that the principal participants and organizers were mostly British and almost always from the "white collar middle class".[17] He suggested that there was little evidence to indicate whether the working classes were ever successful in organizing and developing clubs or teams to any degree of permanence. Without exception, it appeared as though the upper middle class were the catalysts to the growth and development of organized sport, not only at the local level but at the provincial and national levels as well. These individuals were highly represented in the professional and commercial sectors of Montreal society and as Metcalfe pointed out, they "...had the necessary expertise (organizational and administrative skills) for the long term development of an organization".[18] A second point of the study was that most of the organizers and players were from the predominantly British regions of the city, these being primarily the St. Antoine's and Westmount wards. French involvement in sport clubs was sporadic at best and according to the author, never of any great consequence during the last half of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, Metcalfe concluded that if there was any democratization of sport in Montreal during this period then it was almost always at the player level and not at the administrative or social levels. He also pointed out that more working class clubs materialized in the later 1800s and more open competitions held but that these were infrequent and never with any long-term significance. Fourthly, it was in the competitive team sports that any degree of democratization was to be found and even in these *discrimination* was continued along ethnic, religious and occupational lines. And finally, it appeared that *discrimination* remained rigid in the essentially *social* sporting clubs of Montreal.[19] One has to question why discrimination occurred in Montreal's sport clubs and why it might have occurred as well in Toronto's Victorian sport clubs?

---

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 99. One had to suspect that Metcalfe's data was not confidently reliable. He himself admitted faults with his own methodology: "There was no clear-cut, simple method of identification but rather a complex set of criteria for identifying addresses, occupation and ethnicity." His rigor though in identifying and using the same person throughout his analysis was commendable as "...no name was identified if there was any doubt; this, in fact, led to the disregarding of much valuable data".

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97. The author did not define exactly what was meant by "white collar".

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 97. Metcalfe went on to say that the leadership shown initially by the upper levels of "white collar workers" was increasingly replaced later on in the century by the lower level clerks, bookkeepers, bank clerks and cashiers.

Additionally, from a societal point of view, Metcalfe made it clear that there was a "relatively" inflexible social system based heavily on occupation and ethnicity. And where sports participation was concerned, social movement within the club structure was directed horizontally between groups of similar status rather than vertically with groups of similar ethnic background. Thus, in summarizing his findings, Metcalfe believed that it was not language or ethnic background which ultimately served as a stumbling block to participation in sport and sport club membership but rather that of *social class*.[20]

From a methodological context or point of view, several interesting points should be made about the Metcalfe 1976 study's design and results. Firstly, a drawback of any study of this nature is that the names which were examined and recorded were not listed in the results. If they were, then greater incentive to follow-up on names used would most likely occur and greater reliabilty of the names and the associations and characteristics would result. Secondly, the reader was left wondering exactly which clubs were investigated. Though several are mentioned, particularly the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and its umbrella associates, few, especially the "blue collar" clubs, were named specifically. A reader is hard-pressed to evaluate the fairness and distribution of his sources and measure his consideration of the less elite organizations. Thirdly, his assumptions on how ethnic and religious affiliation were arrived at are debatable. Because there is no "iron law of association" which demands conscriptive membership in any ethnic or religious association, what was there to prevent a Scottish merchant from being a devout Methodist or Anglican? Certainly, reference to church records, immigration papers, business documents, and personal papers would have assisted in the derivation of ethnic origin and religious practice. Fourthly, again the reader was left with the feeling that the categories established for analyzing occupation, ethnicity and religion were arbitrarily predetermined. Who decided what strata a particular member was in? Could not a businessman or lawyer have been a manager? Or, could not a manager have been a cashier, clerk or politician? Or, could not have any individual in the Victorian era had several career roles or occupations? And, not to prolong the critical analysis but to enlighten the many who read this work, Metcalfe could have put his findings and research more in the context of Montreal society for the period. If this had been done, it might have accounted for geographical variations in growth (city expansion) and the subsequent movement of a particular class to a more surburban setting; and it may have accounted for specific differences in the ideological and conceptual considerations of occupation, social control, moral enlightenment and "elite" structure. But due to this contextual absence, one finds it difficult to put his findings in the social milieu of the last half of the nineteenth century.[21] There will be an attempt in the current study to overcome several of these criticisms.[22]

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[19] Metcalfe did not tell the reader how he defined or differentiated between sport club and sporting club. As well, he did not elaborate on how he determined which clubs were more socially oriented than others.

[20] Class meaning not absolute monetary considerations but rather a combination of money, skills, proper ethnic and religious characteristics plus, "correct positioning" with regards to geographical location in the city.

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[21] Metcalfe did not try and relate a contextual scheme to his elite analysis. In an earlier article, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education", published in the Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 5, No. 1 (May 1974), pp. 62-73, he pointed to the important influence of the middle class attitudes to life and society, plus, he related how Christianism, Liberalism, Darwinism, and Marxism all contribute to the sport historian's interpretation of sport, physical education and recreation.

[22] This publication was largely an embodiment of the paper which Metcalfe presented at the 3rd Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History in Boston in 1975. For an abstracted version of that presentation see the Proceedings

Another contribution of Alan Metcalfe to sport and class analysis was his 1976 article entitled, "Sport and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1840 to 1889".[23] Metcalfe's two objectives in this study were firstly, to examine the history of lacrosse in Canada, 1840 to 1889, using a paradigm of which the elements of the definition of sport were set against those of athletics, and secondly, to shed light on the concepts of "sport" and "athletics", which, as Metcalfe implied, "underlie the whole history of organized sport".[24] Metcalfe looked specifically at the developing concepts of amateurism and professionalism. He not only examined these concepts in light of the competitive structure, the rewards, the administrative structure, the values and attitudes of lacrosse but he also examined them from the perspective of social behavior, indirectly relating them to *social class*. Among those groups examined were the Caughnawaga Indians and the Irish Catholic Shamrocks. Metcalfe's general reason for writing the article and his main conclusion from it was that violence, which was brought into the game of lacrosse during the 1870s and early 1880s, was not the sole responsibility of those who were less privileged or of a lower class (Indians and Shamrocks) but rather a lack of understanding by administrators, spectators, and others, of the change in focus in lacrosse brought on by the creation of a league and a national championship. The league structure, highly valued extrinsic and intrinsic rewards, plus a depersonalized

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[22](cont'd) of the North American Society for Sport History, (University Park; Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), p. 45.

[23] Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1840-1889", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 1-19. The study was an outgrowth of the work he had done on Montreal sport clubs in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Refer to Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal...", *loc. cit.*

[24] Metcalfe arbitrarily defined *athletics* as a competitive pastime which is characterized by "win at any cost" and *sport* as "competitive activity in which values other than winning are to be achieved through participation in an athletic competition". See "Sport and Athletics:...", pp. 1-2. On the continuum for which he developed the paradigm, Metcalfe placed "elements of constitution" which were weighed between athletics and sports. The elements were: 1) competitive structure; 2) rewards; 3) administrative structure; 4) attitudes; 5) values; and 6) behavior. The first three elements were stratified under "Conditions Extrinsic to the Game", the next two were stratified under "Determinants of Nature of Game at Commencement of Contest" and finally, behavior was stratified under "Determinant of Nature of Game Itself". All elements and structures had relative degrees of intensity between sport and athletics.

bureaucratic structure, all contributed to the value of winning being the only valuable outcome. Thus, what was once a sport that satisfied many, developed into an athletic event which pleased few. The orientation of sport went away from a friendly, non-structured competition to one where winning at all cost was most important. This signified a concerted effort to change the focus of lacrosse and the value aspects of the game. The social origins or class elements of the participants were seemingly put in perspective by this intriguing analysis. A question to be examined in the current study will be: was league structure and the lack of understanding by administrators, spectators and others, the catalyst to violence in lacrosse and sport generally? Or, was it the class confrontation between the amateur and professional sport athletes which contributed to violence in sport?

Metcalfe in 1978, again attempted to investigate sport and class aspects of physical recreation in Montreal in the later nineteenth century.[25] His justification for exploring the basic ideology, patterns of behavior and sports which formed the foundations of urban recreation in Montreal, was that even though they had touched the lives of a large number of Canadians, little analysis of the growth, development and the role they played in Canadian society had been undertaken.[26] The analysis proceeded by looking at the "elite" structure of sport, its social restrictiveness and its money-oriented "conspicuous consumption" of prime lots of land for clubhouses and playing fields.[27] Metcalfe noted that shortly after 1860 changes were afoot in the social evolvement of sport. Such organizations as the Mechanics' Lacrosse

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[25] Alan Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895, Journal of Social History, Vol. 11, No. 21 (May 1978), pp. 144-166. Once again this study strictly represented an outgrowth of his previous research on Montreal.

[26] The exception to this statement may have been S. Wise and D. Fisher, in Canada's Sporting Heroes. (Toronto: General Publishing , 1975), especially pp. viii-ix, 1-11, 13-25, 27-60, *passim*.

[27] Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation...", p. 146. In recognition of the rise in interest of sport by 1860, Metcalfe made a point of acknowledging the parallel rise in facilities: "The proliferation of clubs was accompanied by the growth of specialized athletic facilities; the Montreal Cricket Grounds, McGill College Grounds, Montreal Lacrosse Grounds, and the opening of a new commercial venture - the Victoria Skating Rink (1862)". He went on to remark that these developments were not widespread as most of the clubs, private grounds and commercial facilities were located in the predominantly English speaking St. Antoine's ward.

Club (1861), the Erina Snow Shoe Club (1860s) and the Grand Trunk Railway Snow Shoe Club (1863) were indicative of the participation of different segments of society in Montreal's sport scene. The author saw these changes coming about as a result of the growth of new sports, the creation of basic organizational structures in sport administration, more specific patterns of land utilization, alteration in the goal orientation of a sport contest (i.e., greater emphasis on winning) and a change in the public attitude towards recreation (i.e., larger public interest due to the more violent nature and heightened competitiveness of sport). The maturing or evolvement which was occurring in sport at this time (1860s and 1870s) was seen as directly relating to the processes of urbanization and industrialization. Denser housing, shorter work days and greater job specialization added organizational pressure to the development of sport by making park space less available, the demand for more teams more pressing, and the controversy surrounding the 'professional' more complex.

These changes apparently had little effect on class relationships or the democratization of sport. The elite remained within the confines of its socially restrictive clubs and propagated its collective belief in the amateur ideal, while the emerging industrial society (the "class of mass" as Metcalfe referred to them) sought entertainment and recreation which was more commercially oriented, professionally hardened, morally unobservant, and illustrative of man's preoccupation with the unusual (sporting fads).[28] Though the elite made attempts at providing public gardens and parks, hoping the masses would utilize them in the furtherance of traditional sporting pursuits, these public facilities remained minimal and largely unappreciated. Sport and recreation for the working class, between 1870 and 1895, continued to be the antithesis of the amateur ideal and contrary to the middle class Puritanical beliefs of intemperance, perserverance, honesty, discipline, hard work and self-reliance.[29] One question which the author did not address in his study was: Were the above stated elements significant in terms of elite attempts to control the type of sport or recreational opportunity for the working class?

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[28] Metcalfe noted several examples of the *unusual* at this time: wrestling, velocipede racing, pedestrianism, strength demonstrations, and boxing, which all attracted the working class population between 1870 and 1895 and brought with them drinking, gambling and immoral behavior.

[29] Metcalfe pointed out that it was these qualities, especially teamwork, which denoted a true "muscular Christian". Even though these socially desirable traits were much admired by the "middle class", "white collar" and elite segments of society, they supposedly remained unheeded by the working class majority.

Metcalfe's most recent attempt at analyzing class and sport development in an historical context was his 1987 work, Canada Learns To Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914.[30] Within this interesting discussion of organized sport evolvement in Canada, the author attempted to outline how sport developed relative to game forms, the structure of competition, the extent of competition and the growth of organizations to codify rules, organize competition and control sport.[31] His emphasis in this context was from a strong *social class* interpretation of sport evolvement. One of the author's underlying objectives in his treatise of organized sport development was to discuss the major social concerns of the period. He viewed this as running counter to traditional sport history practice.

> The limited works of these Canadian social and sport historians reveal that an immense gap remains between social historians and sport historians. Social historians address sport in the context of wider social issues, while sport historians view the subject outside the context of major social concerns. The underlying objective of this book is to sketch the outline of a bridge between the two different approaches.[32]

In his attempt to be true to this claim, Metcalfe examined several dominant influences in Canadian society which apparently, in his mind, impacted greatly on sport. These influences were demographic changes, ethnic composition, population distribution, "the economy", "the relationship of Canada and Canadians to Britain and the United States", and the "dominant role of the anglophone middle classes of Canada's urban areas."[33] Particularly, the author wished to analyze who the people were that created sport, how they adapted it to the new enviroment and how they articulated its ideology. In essence, Metcalfe postulated that sport development in Canada was inexorably attached to class interests. The elite was the prime architect of early sport and it continued to influence the development of sport along competitive regulatory and social control lines well into the late nineteenth century. In surmizing about the growth of early sporting clubs, Metcalfe hypothesized:

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[30] See Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[33] *Ibid.*

> ... urban Canada was covered by a network of social sporting clubs that catered to the leisure time of the elites. This network was characterized by a variety of levels. At the pinnacle, in the large cities, the hunt, yachting, and golf clubs provided an intertwined system that allowed for members of the elite who moved across the country to gain immediate access to the highest level of social activity.... Members of the economic, commercial, political, and other elites met on common ground in the clubhouses of these exclusive clubs. It is not too much to expect that decisions affecting the course of Canadian history were discussed in these informal settings. Thus these clubs, at the highest level, served to integrate the Canadian elites. They were based on a belief in social inequality. The ideal of equality, so dear to many leading Canadians, was certainly not allowed to apply to their social lives.[34]

And he further added:

> Their [sport clubs] importance lies in the fact that many of the key figures in the development of amateur sport were members of these clubs...the organization and the ideology of sport were created by a group of individuals with strong ties to the various elites of Canadian society. Amateur sport was not divorced from the mainstream of Canadian life but was an essential part of the control held by the elites. The ideology and structures of amateur sport were based in the values of the affluent middle and upper class, which were rooted in the ethic of Victorian England - hard work, structured inequality, and obedience to the legally constituted authority.[35]

While Metcalfe recognized elite domination and control of sport, his assumptions were based on few studies of explicit data as to *who* were the members of the elite and why did they opt to form tight, "intertwined" networks of club membership. As well, in being aware of certain Victorian ethics of the upper and middle classes, the author did not attempt to discuss the reforming characteristics of the elite nor why *rational recreation* became an integral aspect of elite rule. Moreover, Metcalfe made no attempt to examine how and why the elite ruled other aspects of society and how these factors influenced sport development in general. It is the intent of this study to investigate the significance of these factors more closely.

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

By far the most important work on the historical aspects of organized sport and class structure has been attributable to Alan Metcalfe. The influence which he has injected into sport history has been widely felt and other sport historians are learning to approach the class question from various perspectives. Richard Gruneau, though not a 'strict' sport historian by traditional standards,[36] has recognized the historical ramifications of class on sport and has done considerable theorizing on the *embourgeoisement* of sporting institutions. His main thrust in a recently completed work was, in a complex theoretical and conceptual way (sociologically speaking), to re-evaluate sport's historical social relationship to freedom of choice and political domination.[37] Gruneau became increasingly dissatisfied with typologies of development from the so-called pre-industrial or "traditional" movement of sport through what many have called the "industrial" expansion of sport. Gruneau admirably attempted a "non-reductionist (quasi-liberal approach) materialist" mode of explaining sport and sport development but there were certain deviations from his value neutrality.[38] He was hard pressed to evaluate such dualisms of culture and structure, consensus and conflict with unwavering objectivity. His analysis quickly transgressed into a critical treatise of *bourgeois* hegemony and culturally specific practices and beliefs (mostly elite). But for the most part, his analysis does an onerous job of evaluating a considerable number of theoretical questions which have plagued the sociological field for sometime but which have just recently (since the early 1970s) begun to be analyzed by sport historians.[39] Social control, Victorian professionalism, the myth of democracy and elite structure are only now beginning to elicit serious investigative research from the sport history discipline. Could these concepts have been important factors in the development of sport and class in Toronto during the nineteenth century?

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[36] Richard S. Gruneau, interviewed during the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Toronto, University of Toronto, August 28, 1982. Gruneau considered himself more a "sociological protagonist" but did admit to interests in "historical sociology". For all intents and purposes, Metcalfe could be 'classed' or categorized as an "historical sociologist". Though academic classification bears semantical problems, Metcalfe's recent publication, "Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889". Victorian Studies, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Summer 1982), pp. 469-495, epitomizes the sociological concern for historical interpretation.

[37] See Richard S. Gruneau, "Class, Sports and Social Development: A Study in Social Theory and Historical Sociology". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1981. Leading up to this climatic study, Gruneau wrote several papers which all touched, more or less, the same theme and problems. For further reference to Gruneau's work see: Richard S. Gruneau. "Sport, Social Differentiation and Social Inequality", in D. Ball an J. W. Loy (eds.), Sport and Social Order. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975); Richard S. Gruneau, "Class or Mass? Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport", in R. S. Gruneau and J. Albinson (eds.), Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. *loc. cit.*; Richard S. Gruneau, "Elites, Class and Corporate Power in Canadian Sport: Some Preliminary Findings", in F. Landry and W. Orban (eds.), Sociology of Sport. (Miami: Symposia Specialists, 1978); Richard S. Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society", in R. J. Ossenberg (ed.), Power and Change in Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980); and Richard S. Gruneau, "Sport and the Debate on the State", in H. Cantelon and R.S. Gruneau (eds.), Sport, Culture and the Modern State, Symposium Proceedings. (Kingston, Ont.: Sport Studies Research Group, Queen's University, 1980).

[38] Gruneau, "Class, Sports and Social Development:...", p. v. Simply defined, value neutrality attempts to see all sides of a particular issue and deal with them in as

More recent research in Canadian sport history, as it relates to class, inequality and organized sport, has been breeched on two fronts. Morris Mott's analysis of "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886",[40] showed how sport, along with the political, economic, legal, educational and religious institutions, was transplanted in a frontier community in a form that closely resembled that of its British origins. Specifically, sport was transferred to Manitoba by the traditional "British" institution of the sports club.[41] By the 1860s, the club was a familiar entity in Great Britain,

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[38](cont'd) fair a manner as possible. Most researchers who claim value neutrality say they use complete objectivity in their evaluations of all facts. Though an admirable characteristic, few achieve their desired treatment of all matters.

[39] The sociological body of knowledge as it relates to social class, conflict and cultural view points is quite extensive. Because the impetus for this present study has been primarily historical, a complete review of sociological research as it relates to sport will not be examined. Rather a cursory appreciation of past theoretical arguments has be tapped by reading: M. Novak, The Joy of Sports. (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Jean M. Brohm, Sport: A Prison of Measured Time. (London: Ink Links, 1978); R. Callois, Man, Play and Games. (New York: The Free Press, 1961); and A. Guttmann, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[40] Morris Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1980), pp. 25-36.

[41] Again, Mott's definition of a sports club is very similar to those of Metcalfe and Jobling. Mott simply stated that a sports club was "...a formal organization founded to enable groups of individuals to regularly participate in a game", *ibid.*, p. 30.

British North America, and the United States,[42] and "among Manitoba's pioneers it was regarded as the most desirable agency for the promotion of games and contests".[43] Clubs facilitated interest in sport by virtue of the fact they could purchase sports equipment manufactured outside the province, they could erect buildings and facilities such as curling rinks or tennis courts, and perhaps most importantly, they could maintain and enforce discipline among their members. From its very outset on the prairies, a club represented the best (or worst) of British sporting practices and traditions. When club contests were played they most often were performed under the respective rules of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club, the Marylebone Cricket Club or the National Lacrosse Association. What the members of these Manitoban clubs were saying was that, like so many other things, their new province was becoming civilized. Could this have been the case in Victorian Toronto?

An important aspect of club formation in Manitoba, as it was for so many other locales in Britain, was the appearance and reappearance of club executives on not only sport club lists but also on other institutional scrolls. Mott, in realizing this phenomenon stated:

> Some individuals,...., were particularly tireless in their endeavors; among the [club] officers one finds the same names again and again. It is instructive to look at whom these people were, for by doing so we can see that manly sports were an important part of the culture being re-established. The most active organizers of sport were prominent, solid citizens of respectable occupations, and were active in many institutions, through which British-Canadian civilization was transferred to the Northwest. They were in fact the "potent minority" ...individuals of the type that seem to have been present in nearly every North American frontier society, people who most faithfully and scrupulously attempted to replicate in their new environment the best features of the civilization left behind.[44]

Mott goes on to list the likes of David Young, a prominent member of the Wosley expedition in 1870 that oversaw the peaceful transfer of Hudson's Bay Company territory, and who later became a foremost partner in the grain forwarding and dry goods firm of Higgins, Jackson and Young; Colonel W.N. Kennedy, the second mayor of Winnipeg, a member of the first Council of the Northwest Territory, and a high ranking executive officer in such organizations as the Winnipeg Philharmonic Society, the Manitoba Bible Society, the Winnipeg Y.M.C.A. and the Agricultural and Industrial Society of Manitoba; and Gilbert McMicken, a member of the Canadian Assembly, Lands Agent for the Dominion Government in Winnipeg, an early official of the Manitoba Club and of the Board of Management of Manitoba College, and an active member in the founding of such institutions as the Winnipeg General Hospital and the Winnipeg Ladies School. In short, the individuals primarily responsible for organizing sports clubs in Manitoba were those who both took and were given the lead in founding the many institutions through which members of the "British Protestant culture group" expressed themselves and conducted affairs. Again, could this have been the case in mid-Victorian Toronto?

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[42] This can be easily seen if one peruses the following: H. A. Harris, Sport in Britain: Its Origins and Development. (London: Stanley-Paul, 1975); Edwin Guillet, Pioneer Social Life. (Toronto: Ontario Publishing, 1933); Edwin Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada. (Toronto: Ontario Publishing, 1933); and John R. Betts, America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974).

[43] Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers...", p. 30.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

A second study of the class and sporting inequality barrier was Wayne Simpson's analysis of the "Influences of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857".[45] He showed, in the contextual social setting of Montreal in the first half of the nineteenth century, how the elite, with its attendant social restrictiveness, precluded the involvement and participation of the working class in the sport of curling. A fact of life in early Montreal was that the society was stratified among the elite, the French and the masses by ethnicity, religion and occupation. Simpson found, in a re-creation of Metcalfe's earlier research approach,[46] that the stratification of Montreal's early society carried over into the membership of the Montreal Curling Club from 1807 to 1857. He found that most of the members, especially earlier on, were Scottish, Presbyterian (determined by virtue of records held at the St. Gabreil Church), largely professionals and/or commercial elite (i.e., fur traders, merchants and doctors) who resided in the predominantly British wards of St. Antoine's and St. Lawrence. Though the study represented a small part of Metcalfe's earlier findings, Simpson was able to corroborate that author's conclusions and hence imply that even at the initial stages of organized sport development in Montreal, memberships, or inclusion within the sporting ranks, was subject to discrimination and non-democratic exclusion.[47] By all indications, the distinct social strata of Britain had been successfully transplanted and propogated within the early Canadian society and more importantly, within the initial sport club establishments.[48] Like sport clubs in Montreal and Winnipeg, could those in Toronto have been the resort of a sport elite and the rallying point for the economic, educational, religious, political, fraternal and military upper class?

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[45] R. Wayne Simpson, "Influences of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857". Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-158, The author accepts the fact that all the criticisms of Metcalfe's research approach in "Organized Sport and Social Stratification...", *loc. cit.*, can be made for his own research. Though it would be silly to say that weaknesses were not seen in the original work, the study was carried out anyway to see if what Metcalfe had found in 1976 could be corroborated or refuted.

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[47] Simpson cited the rules drawn up by the members of the Montreal Curling Club on December 9, 1807. The first one read:
(1) When the number of members on the ice does not exceed 8, that no *stranger* shall be allowed to join in the game, but these 8 members shall pay two stones back; and if the number of the members exceeds 8, the party may then, if they think proper admit two or more *strangers*.
The third one read:
(3) On the day of dining the Curling Club shall consist of *members only*, unless it cannot be avoided.
Refer to Montreal Curling Club Minutes, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 78. Simpson, and Metcalfe have been the only two investigators to substantiate with explicit data the non-democratic tendencies of sport clubs in nineteenth century Canada. Initial studies in sport history perpetuated the fact that perhaps sport was more democratic and egalitarian. See Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", pp. 33-34 and Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972, pp. 143-144. This latter work has in large part been reproduced in book form. See Gerald Redmond, The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada. (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982).

[48] For corroboration of how British political, economic, religious, and social institutions were transplanted successfully in Canada or other pioneer locations, see Louis B. Wright, Culture on the Moving Frontier. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 20-21; also, *idem*, Life on the American Frontier. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1971), especially p. 235; Michael Cross, "The Age of Gentility: The Formation of an Aristocracy in the Ottawa Valley", in J. K. Johnson (ed.), Historical Essays on Upper Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 277; Lewis G. Thomas (ed.), "Introduction" in The Prairie West to 1905. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 1; and J. K. Johnson, "The U. C. Club and the Upper Canadian Elite, 1837-1841", Ontario History, Vol. 69, No. 3 (September 1977), pp. 151-168.

Organized sport, social class and inequality from an historical perspective, has also been studied outside of Canada, though on a somewhat more limited scale. The first direct analysis of organized sport and social inequality was Richard Wettan and Joe Willis' study of "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915".[49] They examined not only the social class composition of the athletic clubs but also set forth an appreciation for how the elite clubs struggled for status and prestige. The study examined the four growth phases of American athletic club development, these being: 1) a period of initial development; 2) the era of the large, powerful and exclusive athletic clubs; 3) years of transition; and 4) the rise of neighbourhood and occupationally sponsored athletic clubs. The authors endeavored to show how status and prestige (not to the ignorance of entrance restrictions) of belonging to one of the New York athletic clubs (Manhattan A.C., New York A.C., Cresent A.C., Staten Island A.C. and University A.C.) accrued with the acquisition of more elaborate and extensive facilities.[50] The reader is left with the impression that club expansion was almost inevitable and that in order to "keep up to the Jones'" in terms of status and prestige, an individual had to belong to a club which possessed the most numerous facilities, the most ideal location (i.e., Berrian Island of the Manhattan A.C.), the wealthiest of members, and the most scrutinizing means of examining and accepting potential members into their social sphere.[51] Willis and Wettan utilized the National Opinion Research Center's "Scale of

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[49] Richard Wettan and Joe Willis, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 45-63. For their initial research findings of New York athletic clubs see, Richard Wettan and Joe Willis, "Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club: A Preliminary Analysis of the Impact of the Club in Amateur Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America", Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 7, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 41-53.

[50] Most of the historical documentation for this study was from secondary sources. The authors, it would appear, were able to obtain either privately published histories of the clubs or else copies of the constitution, by-laws and rules. Another valuable source for Wettan and Willis was Frederick W. Janssen, "Athletic Clubs in the United States", in William V. Miller (ed.), Select Organizations in the United States. (New York: The Knickerbocker Publishing, 1896), pp. 220-232.

[51] In fact, Willis and Wettan stated that, "the classic description of the purpose of social clubs of the 1890's was also appropriate and characterized the membership policies of the elite athletic clubs, that is, clubs were formed not primarily to get people in but rather to keep people out". See Wettan and Willis, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs...", p. 50.

Occupational Prestige" to evaluate the prestige and/or social class of the membership of New York's leading athletic clubs.[52] From their sample they determined that the University Athletic Club was most prestigious, the Manhattan Athletic Club next most and the New York Athletic Club least prestigious. Though their sampling technique was prescribed and developed for analysis in a later time period, the authors felt their consistency in using the "Scale of Occupational Prestige" between all clubs would give them a *relative* scale of social class memberships. This was a valid observation but Willis and Wettan neglected to recognize, or even investigate, the possibility that the structure and function of occupations could have changed during the period of the study and hence, could have radically affected the outcome of their analysis. Apart from this weakness, they were convincing in putting forward the fact that during the period between 1865 to 1915, New York Athletic Clubs were the insatiable penchant of the status-seeking, the influential and the wealthy. Why were these clubs the mecca of status-seeking, influential and wealthy individuals? Was there a *hegemonic* motivation for membership?

Other, less precise studies have either examined sport and inequality within clubs or they have been content to discuss the class implications of belonging to a club. John Krout, in his classic work, Annals of American Sport,[53] and John R. Betts, in his book, America's Sporting Heritage, 1850-1950,[54] each discuss the development of the athletic club phenomenon in the United States but fail to journey to any great depths into why the clubs were important in a social context and why they were used as a class preserve. Both authors inferred that clubs possessed significant numbers of prominent individuals but they did not elaborate on who these people were and what was meaningful about their membership in a sports club. Digby Baltzell, in Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class, picked up where Krout and Betts left off, that was, the explanation of the social context of club membership and what it meant to be a member of an exclusive club.[55] Baltzell explained:

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[52] For a description of the National Opinion Research Center's, "Scale of Occupational Prestige", see Albert J. Reiss, Occupations and Social Status. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 54-57. As cited in *ibid.*, p. 57.

[53] John A. Krout, Annals of American Sport. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 185-189.

[54] Betts, America's Sporting Heritage:..., pp. 98-101.

> Even the most socially secure families... place a high value on belonging to the correct clubs and associations, and making an appearance at the fashionable balls, dancing assemblies, weddings, and funerals; and where their children were concerned, the right summer resorts, dancing classes, schools and colleges, and finally, their daughter's debut are each of severely vital importance.
> ...In addition to the family, then, an intricate web of exclusive associations, each one serving as a kind of upper class family surrogate, serves to perpetuate upper class solidarity and tradition.[56]

Many of the clubs and formally organized sports establishments he was referring to were among the oldest institutions in the United States. The Radnor Hunt, the Guelph Mills, the Merion Cricket and the Philadelphia Country Club, ("on the Main Line"); the Philadelphia Cricket Club in Germantown,[57] and the Sunnybrook Club in Chestnut Hill,[58] all stand as pre-twentieth century testaments to the non-democratic "voluntary" associations which swept the American states in the later 1860s and 1870s. Baltzell went on to list the various "important" clubs with which membership was vehemently sought after and who their influential constituents were. Though his analysis was biased in favour of the elite, Baltzell managed to drive home the point that membership in a sports club was more than a social signature of status. Rather, such memberships acted as an institutional network through which upper class persons could mix, share the same social ideas and feelings and mutually appreciate commercial and economic concerns of the day. Could this have been the case in mid-nineteenth century Toronto? Did the sharing of ideas and feelings lead to an elite consciousness?

Investigators of social class and club-life, other than those solely interested in sport and class inequality, have recognized the club "institution" as an integral mechanism in the maintenance and dynamic functioning of the "privileged minority". C. Wright Mills, in his book, The Power Elite, poignantly described how he saw clubs working:

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[55] E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press Publishers, 1958).
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[57] The antiquity of the Philadelphia Cricket Club is substantiated by virtue of the fact they competed in a series of matches with the Toronto Cricket Club in 1854. See The Globe, Toronto, July 20, 1854.
[58] It is of interest to note that Baltzell contributed a whole chapter to discussing clubs, it was appropriately entitled "Social Clubs and Class Structure", in Philadelphia Gentlemen:..., pp. 335-363.

> ...the club to which the upper class man or woman belongs is a badge of certification of his status;...the club provides a more intimate or clan-like set of exclusive groupings which places and characterizes a man. The core of membership is usually families which successfully claim status by descent. From intimate association with such men, newer members borrow status, and in turn, the accomplishments of the newer entrants help shore up the status of the club as a going concern.[59]

And in furtherance to the importance which he placed on club association, Mills stated:

> Membership in the right clubs assumes great social importance when the merely rich push and shove at the boundaries of society, for then the line tends to become vague, and club membership clearly defines exclusiveness. And yet the metropolitan clubs are important rungs in the social ladder for would-be members of the top status level; they are status elevators for the new into the old upper classes; for men, and their sons, can be gradually advanced from one club to the next, and so, if successful into the inner citadel of the most exclusive. They are also important in the business life within and between the metropolitan circles: to many men of these circles, it seems convenient and somehow fitting to come to important decisions within the exclusive club. The private club...is becoming the "*businessman's castle*".[60]

Perhaps Mills was more introspective than his explicit assumptions, or his seeming lack of implicit data would allow, because in a similar study completed in 1975, Peter Newman recognized, with *harder* factual evidence, that:

> A little known advantage of club adherence is that it plugs members into an impressive international network of similar institutions.[61]

Wallace Clement, in The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power, not only inferred that clubs "were badges of social certification" and places where friendships were established and old relationships nourished but he also stressed the importance of clubs in a business sense:

> A person's contacts are important in the corporate world because they affect the ability to have access to capitol, to establish joint ventures and to enter

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[59] C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 61.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 61-62.

[61] Peter C. Newman, The Canadian Establishment. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 365.

> into buyer and seller relationships with the men who control the nation's largest corporations...Canadian clubs are one of the key institutions which form an interacting and national upper class.[62]

T. W. Acheson, in an article, "The Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", further implied the significance of club membership:

> Another institution which reflected this rising status and one which, as a class institution, competed with the more socially heterogeneous religious organization was the elite club. In addition to the traditional club - seemingly drawn from the British coffee house - these new elite formations represented institutionalization into exclusive social organizations of a wide array of recreational activities, including riding, golfing, yachting, hunting, skiing, curling, fishing, polo, driving, and tennis.[63]

He saw, in addition to one or more club memberships, an industrial elite who represented a homogeneous mixture of upper class occupations. Merchants, financiers, construction and transportation entrepreneurs (architects and railroad engineers), bankers and professionals (doctors and lawyers) all shared in the communicative benefits of club membership. It is of interest that Acheson also noticed that most *club-rooms* (he does not say which ones) were devoid of so-called *manufacturers*.[64] This fact is surprising in light of the more recent work completed by Bliss,[65] Tulchinsky,[66] Kealey,[67] Katz,

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[62] Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power . (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 29. It is of interest to note how closely Clement follows the earlier work of C. Wright Mills. Not only are many of the thoughts and theories similar but many of Mill's "catchy" phrases were repeated by Clement. One example was his reference to clubs as "*badges of social certification*".

[63] T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", Business History Review, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 215. This article was also reprinted in chapter form in Glenn Porter and Robert D. Cuff. Enterprise and National Development. (Toronto: Hakkert Press, 1973), pp. 51-79.

[64] The term "manufacturer" as applied to this study will mean: owners-managers whose principal work centered on the day-to-day administration of a manufacturing concern. See *definition of terms* later in chapter.

[65] M. Bliss, "A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972. The work by the same author and title was reprinted by McClelland and Stewart of Toronto in 1974.

[66] G.J.J. Tulchinsky, "Studies of Businessmen in the Development of Transportation and Industry in Montreal, 1837 to 1853." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971. Reprinted under same author and title by University of Toronto Press, 1981. For a brief description of this major work see G.J.J. Tulchinsky, "The Montreal Business Community, 1837-1853". In D.S. MacMillan (ed.), Canadian Business History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 125-143.

[67] This pivotal work upon which some of the criticism of this study will be based is

[68] and Palmer.[69] who have inferred that the business communities of Toronto, Montreal and Hamilton, in the mid-1860s and mid-1870s, were primarily controlled by the *manufacturing elite*. Obviously there is some doubt as to whether control rested with the manufacturing elite or not.[70] Anyway, Acheson did single out one example of a prominent businessman who

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[67](cont'd) entitled: Gregory S. Kealey, "Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1974. Reprinted under the same title and author with some minor changes by University of Toronto Press, 1980.

[68]Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975). This book was a result, in part, of the work done by Katz with the Canadian Social History Project which was supported by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education from 1967 to 1973. The first chapter, "The People of a Canadian City" first appeared in a slightly different form in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 53, No. 4 (December 1972), pp. 402-406, and chapter four, "The Entrepreneurial Class" was published in a somewhat different form in the Journal of Social History, (Winter 1975), pp. 1-29.

[69]Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979). This study like those of Katz, Kealey and Tulchinsky, tried to retrace the development of industrial capitalism in a particular city, (Hamilton, Ontario) and show how perhaps the workers of the textile, grist and steel mills, etc., were exploited by the owners of production through low wages, long hours and "unfair benefits". These four works represent a substantial segment of the literature that relates to industrialism and class conflict in the nineteenth century Canada. Though each contains valuable sources and insights, all have a definite Marxian approach to the interpretation of their facts. This has greatly distorted the emphasis of industrialism and class structure in a nineteenth century city. Very few liberal interpretations of Canadian business history exist with the exception perhaps of Newman's work on the Canadian Establishment..., *loc. cit.*; Douglas McCalla's work, The Upper Canadian Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979). This study represented, for the most part, McCalla's Ph.D. dissertation completed at Oxford University, England in 1972; David Alexander Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax, 1815-1850." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975; Frederick H. Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition: The Emergence of a City, 1828-1838." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1965. See particularly Chapter 10, "The Economic Picture Commercial Development", Chapter 11, "The Economic Picture: Manufacturing and Communications" and Chapter 12, "The Economic Picture: Finance and Labour"; Michael S. Cross, "The Dark Druidical Grooves: The Lumber Community and Commercial Frontier in British North America". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968; P.A. Baskerville, "The Boardroom and Beyond: Aspects of the Upper Canadian Railroad Community." Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1973; and Robert Lochill Fraser, "Like Eden in Her Summer Dress: Gentry, Economy and Society: Upper Canada, 1812-1840." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971.

[70]Marxian interpretations of business history per se are not surprising in lieu of the fact most academic research related to economic and commercial studies tend to be interpreted from the political left. See Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Academic Mind at the Top: The Political Behavior and Values of Faculty Elites", in Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 46 (1982), pp. 143-168.

belonged to several clubs, and who was representative of many in their club association. His name was James Ross,[71] of whom Acheson stated:

> The clubs of Senator James Ross, a leading member of this group (businessmen), whose iron and steel, paper and electrical interests covered eastern Canada, reveal the scope of the interests of foremost industrialists. Senator Ross' memberships included the Mount Royal, the St. James, the Royal St. Lawrence Yacht, the Forest and Stream, the Montreal Curling, the Montreal Hunt, the Montreal Jockey, the Montreal Racquet and the Royal Montreal Golf, of Montreal; the Manitoba of Winnipeg; the Toronto, the Royal Canadian Yacht, and the York of Toronto; the Union of St. John; the Halifax and the Royal Cape Breton Yacht of Nova Scotia; the Manhattan of New York; and the Constitutional Club of Manchester.[72]

Undoubtedly then, it would appear that there was a definite connection in nineteenth century Canada (and other continental regions) between class, inequality, business and sport. Not only were these factors independently significant in the 1800s but they were inextricably tied together as well. There is evidence to suggest that organized sport, as reflected in the nature of club organization, perpetuated class differences, and that urban growth housed an upper class which chose to participate in sport as a function of class maintenance and as a function of social and economic ideological concerns. Sport, it would appear, existed in paradoxical state, this being that though the country was, more or less, open to expansion and exploitation along its frontier boundaries, organized sport, with all its attendant pseudo-democratic characterizations, remained caught up in a class bind. The elite, through their Victorian mentality, foretold of the great democratic opportunities afforded colonial settlers, only to turn around and demonstrate that access to these opportunities was restricted and for the most part, nonexistent. This *myth of the self-made man* was what John Porter was hinting at in The Vertical Mosaic, and this was what C. Wright Mills tried to portray in

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[71] Acheson, "Changing Social Origins...", p. 216. Acheson also mentioned the likes of Hamilton's Sir John Gibson, Montreal's James Greenshields, Halifax's Mr. Justice Robert Harris, Toronto's Lloyd Harris, Sir Henry Pellatt, Edward A. Jarvis, Edmund Osler and Lord Beaverbrook.

[72] *Ibid.*, Acheson furthered his description of Ross by stating: "And in a sense, Ross, the Scottish engineer who achieved his first success in the Canadian railway construction industry, his second in electric railways, and his third in the steel and coal industry, epitomized what the industrial entrepreneur was in the process of becoming in 1910: a leader of industry, state, and religion", p. 216.

The Power Elite. The realization that access to power was an important constraint in not only the social development of a colonial landscape but also in the development of sport institutions must be a consideration of sport historical research. Power and the use of influence has shrouded the sporting scene in Canada since the very beginning of colonial settlement. It will be the intention of this dissertation to discuss and illuminate the crucial points of class structure and organized sport in the context of commercial development and social reform and control in Toronto.

A. Rationale of the Study

The following reasons summarize the rationale for this study:

1. Little research has been conducted into the class discrepancies found in nineteenth century sport.
2. Few sport researchers have examined thoroughly the structure and function of clubs in their historical social context.
3. In lieu of previous research which indicated significant sporting influences of the businessman, few, if any, studies have sought to examine the role of the businessman in the development of sport in nineteenth century Canada.[73]
4. Little, if any, research in business history has been specifically involved in describing the social context of commercial development as it relates to

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[73] Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal...", *loc. cit.*; Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers...", *loc. cit.*; Gruneau, "Elites, Class and Corporate Power...", *loc. cit.*; Wise and Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes..., *loc. cit.*, are perhaps the only investigators to give business participation in Canadian sport history a cursory analysis. Wise and Fisher stated on p. 14 that, "It was this same prosperous, dynamic group (merchants, financiers, and entrepreneurs) which supplied the impetus for the incubation of Canadian organized sport. The men who comprised this group were not numerous, but Montreal's business, professional and entrepreneurial elite had energy, some leisure, considerable wealth, and an awakening interest in many forms of physical recreation."

Toronto[74] and to sport development within the city.

5. Few local or regional examinations of sport history have been attempted outside of Montreal.

    a. Toronto, specifically, has not received an intensive analysis of its historical sport development.

    b. Few studies have dealt explicitedly with the contributions of the English to the development of sport in Toronto.[75]

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[74] The term *business history* is conceived of very broadly here; it includes not only history of business but also the interrelationships between business on the one hand and economic development, governmental policy, and social change on the other. Besides Michael Bliss, Northern Enterprises: Five Centuries of Canadian Business. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987) and Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism..., *loc. cit.*, few researchers have investigated the effects of business and industry on Toronto or any other particular city. To see the reasons why business history has received scant attention, see Glenn Porter, "Recent Trends in Canadian Business and Economic History", in Business History Review, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Summer 1973), pp. 1-17. Other complaints concerning the lack of attention given to business history can be seen in: Alan Wilson, "Forgotten Men of Canadian History", Canadian Historical Association Report (1965), pp. 71-86; Peter B. Waite, "The Edge of the Forest", in Canadian Historical Association Papers (1969), p. 9; and J. M. S. Careless, "The Review Reviewed: Or Fifty Years with the Beaver Patrol", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 51 (March 1970), p. 67.

[75] Apart from the works specifically relating to the public school influence, few researchers have sought to establish the reasons why the English were important in Toronto's sport development. For influences relating to the English public school phenomenon, see: Brian T.P. Mutimer, "Arnold and Organized Games in the English Public Schools of the Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1971; J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); S.M. Adam (ed.), A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892. (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1893); *idem*, Public School History of England and Canada. (Toronto: Copp-Clark Publishing, 1886); C. Gossage, A Question of Privilege. Canada's Independent Schools. (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977); P. Johnson, "Education of an Establishment", in G.M. Frazer (ed.), The World of the Public School. (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1977); C.J. Podmore, "Private Schooling in English Canada". Ph.D. dissertation, McMaster University , 1976; J.D. Purdy, "The English Public School in Nineteenth Century Ontario", in Frederick H. Armstrong (ed.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); T. Roberts, "The Influence of the British Upper Class on the Development of the Value Claim for Sport in the Public Education System of Upper Canada from 1830-1875", Canadian Journal for the History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 4, No. 1 (May 1973), pp. 27-42; and Patrick A. Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier. (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981).

6. Biographical profiles of prominent nineteenth century sport organizers is severely lacking.

7. In lieu of sport historical research citing elite involvement in organized sport (i.e., clubs), few investigators have sought to analyze sport and class structure in terms of elite theoretical comparison, based upon such works as Pareto,[76] Mosca,[77] Michels,[78] Burnham,[79] and Mills.[80]

8. Little, if any, research has attempted to examine sport and Victorian social ideology as it related to increased professionalism in careers, greater scientific education for the masses, and elite domination of philanthropic and benevolent organizations.[81]

9. Research is lacking as it specifically relates to organized sport and social control, apart from works done by Bailey,[82] Best,[83] Cunningham,[84] Malcolmson,[85] and Walvin.[86]

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[76] V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society*. (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1935). A less encompassing work is V. Pareto, *Sociological Writings*. S. E. Finer (ed.) (London: Pall Mall Press, 1966).

[77] G. Mosca, *The Ruling Class*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939).

[78] R. Michels, *Political Parties*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press Publishers, 1958).

[79] J. Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*. (New York: Putnam Book, 1942).

[80] Mills, *The Power Elite*. *loc. cit.*

[81] Passing mention is given sport and the Victorian ideology of professionalism, Darwinism, and class domination in: Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), especially p. 255; F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963); Christina Hole, *English Sport and Pastimes*. (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1949); Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); and Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

[82] Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*..., *loc. cit.* This particular work is quickly becoming a classic reference.

[83] Geoffrey Best. *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875*. (New York: Praeger, 1972).

[84] Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1880*. (London: Croom-Helm, 1980).

[85] Robert Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850*. (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[86] James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950*. (London: Longmans, 1978).

10. From a methodological standpoint, few researchers in sport history have attempted a quantitative-qualitative approach to analyzing club documents or membership lists.

    a. Few academics within sport history have utilized the computer to assist in the collation, organization and retrieval of their factual information.[17]

    b. Few sport historians are aware of the potentialities and capabilities of the computer in historical research.

    c. Few historians, in an empirical sense, have explicitly outlined their quantitative methodologies and the advantages or drawbacks to them.[18]

    d. Studies of social populations have been restricted by the physical capabilities of the researcher to amass a multitude of facts and integrate them into more meaningful information or generalizable truths.

    e. As a result of the above point, researchers have neglected or have been unable to report *facts* in their most complete or entire state. For instance, names that have been represented by numbers in various studies have not been reported due to the logistical problems associated with vast analyses. If facts, such as names, were reported, it would allow other researchers the opportunity to critically review the sources and personalities.

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[17] See Evelyn Janice Waters, "A Content Analysis of the Sport Section in Selected Canadian Newpapers, 1927-1935". M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1981; and Nancy B. Bouchier, "Nineteenth Century Organized Sport and Middle Class Involvement in Ingersoll, Ontario: A Content Analysis of the Ingersoll Weekly Newspaper, 1860-1894." M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1982.

[18] Sport historians who follow the quantitative - qualitative path must be more conceptually succinct, theoretically *tight*, methodologically explicit and experimentally persuasive.

B. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was:

1. To analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the membership lists of five business clubs and sixteen sport clubs in Toronto between 1827 and 1881 and to make generalizable inferences about the connections and associations which business and sport had during this period. These specific clubs were analyzed due to the availablity of records and the permission of the clubs to peruse their membership documents.[16]

2. To record quantitatively and qualitatively the ethnic, religious, political, educational, fraternal, commercial, military, legal and benevolent associations which sport and business club members had between 1827 and 1881, and to infer the contextual influences which the businessman and sportsman had on society during this period.

3. To record and examine quantitatively and qualitatively the executive positions of sport and business club members in ethnic, religious, political, educational, fraternal, commercial, military, legal and benevolent associations so as to infer, based upon positional elite theory.[17], the

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[16] The five business clubs were chosen so as to demonstrate the close symbiotic relationship which gentlemen's clubs had with nineteenth century sport clubs. In many respects (i.e., furnishing, facilities, etc.), apart form the true object of the organization, gentlemen's clubs and sport clubs differed little, both in terms of their social nature and their material assets.

[17] Basically, this is the same approach which C. Wright Mills used in The Power Elite, *loc. cit.* The author used key roles and positions held by the elite in various social institutions to infer a regional, interlocking upper class. For a further explanation of the positional method to elite analysis, see Dennis Forcese, "Elites and Power in Canada", in J. H. Redekop (ed.), Approaches to Canadian Politics. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 302-321.

influence which they had on the development of sport and business in Toronto between 1827 and 1881.

4. To review and compare the results of this study with various elite theories and determine the nature of elite social structure in Toronto.

5. To review and infer the nature and structure of club composition in the context of social, sport and business circles in nineteenth century Toronto.

6. To infer the significance of class structure to sport development in Toronto.

C. Hypotheses

The following will constitute the major and minor hypotheses for the present study.

Major Hypotheses:

It is hypothesized that several common sport and business club memberships were held by various elite persons of Toronto's commercial community and that as a group, these persons exerted considerable power over the ethnic, religious, political, educational, fraternal, commercial, military, legal, benevolent and sport associations of this colonial city.

Related Hypotheses:

1. The membership in a club at this time was a general occurrence among the elite and one not unique to sport alone.

2. The executive positions held by the Toronto's sport and business club elite were indicative of their executive status in other organizations and associations.

3. The common club memberships of the sport and business elite were most highly represented within Toronto's English population when compared to

other ethnic groups (i.e., Irish, French, Scottish, etc.).

4. The common club membership of the sport and business elite was most highly represented in the Anglican religion.

5. The educational attainment of the common club membership of the sport and business elite was most represented at the college and grammar school levels.

6. The occupational attainment of the common club membership of the sport and business elite was most highly represented in the professional, commercial, political, legal and financial sectors of Toronto's society.

7. The occupational attainment of the common club membership of the sport and business elite was *not* highly represented by *manufacturers*.

D. Definition of Terms for the Study

The terms that follow are the ones to be utilized by defintion in the present study:

1. ***Bourgeosie***: A Marxian terminology for the collective group of individuals known as the middle class who were the owners of the means of production and purchasers of the labour power of others to operate it.[91]
2. ***Business Club***: A formally constituted social club whose membership was drawn from the commercial, professional and entrepreneurial sectors of society.
3. ***Businessman***: An individual who was involved in the processes of buying and selling and who frequently participated in speculative enterprises in anticipation of securing a profit.
4. ***Class***: The social inequity established between certain groups or persons due to lineage,

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[91] For a further refinement of the bourgeosie definition, see L.A. Johnson, "The Development of Class in Canada in the Twentieth Century", in Gary Teeple (ed.), Capitalism and The National Question in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 142-183.

wealth, power and/or education.

5. *Elite*: A group of individuals who hold the majority of social, economic and political power and influence within a particular society. As a ruling minority, these individuals are distinguished by real or apparent control of the developmental and ideational aspects of society.[92]
6. *Elites*: Those persons who held the top positions in any of society's leading political, economic, legal, military, and social institutions (the latter including sport and business clubs, benevolent organizations, ethnic, religious and educational associations).
7. *Industrialization*: The gradual process of substituting a machine for hard labour, introducing mechanical power for human power and assembling all of these forces under one roof.[93]
8. *Institution*: A generalized term meaning any organized element of a society or a professional, sport, educational, charitable and benevolent organization.
9. *Liberalism*: A doctrine based on individualistic theories of man and society. Essentially characterized by certain necessary kinds of freedom.
10. *Manufacturers*: Persons who were in the positions of managing and administering the day-to-day operations of a manufacturing concern.
11. *Marxism*: An ideology based upon the doctrines of German socialist Karl Marx (1818-1883) and generally understood, from a liberal perspective, to represent the exploitation of the working classes by the industrial capitalists or bourgeosie.
12. *Middle Class*: A semi-professional or professional class of persons (bankers, engineers, merchants, etc.) which developed as a result of industrial growth and expansion during the industrial revolution.
13. *Pastime*: A play activity that is in absence of formal rules and competitions and which

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[92] See T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society. (London: C.A. Watts, 1964), pp. 8-9.

[93] See John W. Oliver, History of American Technology. (New York: The Ronald Press, 1956), paraphrased from p. 158.

may take place outside of fixed rules and boundaries."[94]

14. *Power*: The ability of a person (A) to have power over another person (B) to the extent that he/she can get the other person (A) to do something that he/she (B) would not otherwise have done.[95]
15. *Prestige*: The evaluations which society makes about the importance of roles in particular institutions.
16. *Rational Recreation*: Regulated amusement in the form of sport, plays, lectures, libraries, dance, musical recitals and picnics which acted as a 'safety valve' for the eager energies of the masses. It was intended to channel working class interest in the direction of an elite value system. As a consequence, rational recreation was used by the elite to instill social discipline within the working class and to maintain control and conformity of the body politic.[96]
17. *Social Control*: A tutelary control of the working class by their betters, achievable only through a coordinated social policy which would include in addition to police forces and the poor laws, the provision of adequate housing and sound sanitation, socially constructive leisure, education and moral supervision."[97]
18. *Sport*: An activity characterized by competitive rules and formally structured organization.
19. *Sport Club*: An institution that was formally organized to allow groups of individuals regular sport competition under established rules.[98]

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[94] Keith L. Lansley, "Play Theories and Classifications of Play". Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 23, as cited in Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth century Canada...", p. 5.

[95] R. A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power", Behavioral Science, Vol. 2 (1957), pp. 202-203, as cited in Malcolm Hamilton, "An Analysis and Typology of Social Power", Philosophy of the Social Sciences, Vol. 6 (1976), pp. 289-313.

[96] See both Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., *loc. cit.*, p. 36 and Bruce Haley, The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978) and *idem*, "Sports and Victorian World", Western Humanities Review, Vol. 12 (1968), pp. 115-120.

[97] A. P. Donajgrodski. Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain. (London: Croom-Helm, 1977), p. 15.

[98] The major difference between a *sport* and *sporting* club was the fact that in a sport club, greater regularity was added to play as a result of more structured

20. ***Sporting Club***: A formal social organization whose members met periodically and mutually participated in a recreational activity of common interest.

21. ***Status***: The attendant conditions accorded class which either add to or detract from one's positioning in the stratified hierarchy of society, (i.e., an exclusive club membership would represent an additive factor).

22. ***Strata***: A specific class level within society which is regulated by certain social criteria.

23. ***Stratification***: The hierarchical structuring of society that is based on distinct criteria for membership within a particular strata, (i.e., factors which affect membership could include religion, education, political affiliation, etc...).[99]

24. ***Upper Class***: Individuals who, by inheritance or chance, occupy the wealthiest or most prestigous position(s) in society.[100]

25. ***Victorian Era***: A period within history that was characterized by the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901).

26. ***Working Class***: Those persons who either, by inheritance or demotion, are positioned in a strata of society where they are forced to seek subsistence by working for others.

E. Limitations of the Study

The following points may have had an impact on the study:

1. The semantical differences in definition of terms between liberal and Marxian philosophies of capital formation, class and power.

2. The author's ideological interpretations of elite theory, social control and club development as it related to nineteenth century Toronto may have

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[98](cont'd) organization and administration. Sporting clubs remained more loosely organized and social and when convenient, inserted temporary rules to guide play and personal conduct. This is not to infer that sport clubs were any less social.

[99] Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Stratification...", p. 1.

[100] R.S. Neale, Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century. (London: Rouledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 22-23.

been inadequate for a fully developed appreciation of class structure and class behavior.

3. There may have been an incomplete sampling and analysis of club membership records obtained during the research due to misplacement or loss of documents by the clubs.

4. There may have been an incomplete sampling and analysis of club membership records due to a particular club denying the researcher access to pertinent documents.

5. There may have been a quasi-liberal bias (with Marxian sympathies) introduced to the analysis of sport and business in Toronto during the nineteenth century.

6. Due to the lack of scope of biographical publications for the period under study, certain personal characteristics of prominent individuals could not be fully substantiated.

F. Delimitations of the Study

For the purposes of this study, the research was delimited to the following:

1. The emphasis of the study was:
    a. To infer the exertion of power by the sport and business elite who had common club membership and to demonstrate that the ethnic, religious, political, educational, fraternal, military, legal and benevolent aspects of society were a relatively closed network of executive positions.
    b. To infer the exertion of power by the business elite based upon

relevant literature pertaining to elitism and social club development.

2. The time frame of the study was delimited to the following:

   a. The first formally constituted sporting club in Toronto, The Toronto Cricket Club, which was established in 1827.[101]

   b. The fourth national *Census* in 1881 which came two years after John A. MacDonald's introduction of the National Policy that considerably changed the structure and function of Canadian business.[102]

3. The collection of membership information was delimited to the following:

   a. Formally constituted business clubs; the Toronto Club (1837), the Toronto Board of Trade (1840), the Toronto Stock Exchange (1861) the National Club (1876), and the Albany Club (1881).

   b. Formally constituted sport clubs; the Toronto Cricket Club (1827), the Toronto Turf Club (1828), the Toronto Curling Club (1835), the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club (1837), the Toronto Hunt Club (1843), the Royal Canadian Yacht Club (1852), the Toronto Rowing Club (1865), the Toronto Lacrosse Club (1867), the Ontario Lacrosse Club (1870), the Caledonian Curling Club (1872), the Argonaut Rowing Club (1874), the Toronto Golf Club (1876), the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club (1876), the Toronto Granite Club

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[101] The stipulation of *formally constituted* was significant in the fact that a club had to have a constitution of rules and had to annually elect a board of directors.

[102] The 1881 Census was used due to the significant change which came about in the social fabric of Canadian society after the introduction of MacDonald's National Policy. It was estimated that of any social change which came about in the 1800s, the National Policy altered the nature of Canadian business the most and changed the demographics of Canada's population considerably.

(1877), the Toronto Bicycle Club (1881), the Toronto Canoe Club (1881), and the Ontario Cricket Association (1881).

c. The above stated clubs were the delimited selection of the author due to several reasons: (1) the availability of records; (2) the discretionary power of the clubs to allow the author record viewing opportunities; and (3) the author's need to have unlimited access and time to view the records.[103]

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[103] See previous mention of data collection limitations, *supra.*, p. 30 in this chapter.

Chapter II

THE THEORETICAL BASE OF THE STUDY

In a relatively recent critical review of Canadian sport history, Morrow suggested that what the discipline needed was not better evidence but rather more theory.[1] This chapter will represent an attempt at bringing theory into the historical discussion of class and sport. The theoretical development in this section of the dissertation will set the stage for corroboration, argument and discussion in findings of this study to be discussed in later chapters. The purpose of including a theoretical platform is to add greater societal context to the analysis of the development of sport in Toronto and to add a framework around which a critical evaluation of sport and class can proceed.

The presentation of theoretical propositions will be presented on four fronts. Firstly, a critical review of classical elite theories will be presented. This section will include the works of Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, Robert Michels, James Burnham and C. Wright Mills. The intention will be to introduce theories relative to ruling classes and explain how several authors perceived the control of power and decision-making in past societies. The use of elite theory was deemed necessary in this study to show that sport, like other aspects of society, was directly effected by class distinction and the control of power. Secondly, a discussion of the rise in the professional class in nineteenth century society will be imparted. It will be shown how the professional occupations evolved into a distinct and self-conscious group and how they readily expanded during the later 1800s to meet the needs of a rapidly diversifying society. Thirdly, a formulative analysis of Victorian ideology toward philanthropy, benevolence and working class organizations will be put forward. The essence of this section will be to show how the professional class exerted control over various institutions in the Victorian city besides sport clubs and as a result, were instrumental in regulating participation in numerous urban activities. The inference here will be that professionals controlled sport institutions just as they controlled other institutions in the nineteenth century city. Finally, a review of the importance of social clubs in the milieu of nineteenth century British society will be given. It will be the intention of this section to show that clubs, apart from sport clubs, were an integral part of Victorian society and as such, they stood as important class preserves for the professional and wealthier classes. It will also be shown that the sport club in nineteenth century society took on many of the characteristics of the English gentlemen's club (i.e., lavish club quarters, billiard rooms, etc.).

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[1] Don Morrow, "Canadian Sport History: A Critical Essay", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 10, No. 1, (Spring 1983), p. 79. He paraphrased what R.F. Berkhofer hypothesized in A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis. (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 1-6.

The theory of this chapter will serve to frame the analysis of sport and class in later chapters. The quantity of information is large but it was felt necessary for two major reasons. Firstly, elite theory stands by itself as an area of academic study. Thus, vast amounts of information have been condensed to present a cogent framework around which a managable analysis of power and class can proceed. Secondly, it is of great significance to the discussion of sport and class to set in context the society which was evolving for the period under study. A study which fails to do this would be severely lacking in its interpretive quality. Further, a study which neglected to relate the historical development in sport to the social history of the era or locale of examination would again be lacking in its inferential qualities.

A. Classical Elite Thesis

The "classic" texts of elitist thought are undoubtedly Vilfredo Pareto's The Mind and Society (Treatise of General Sociology),[2] Gaetano Mosca's The Ruling Class,[3] and Robert Michel's Political Parties.[4] Two additional elite works are James Burnham's The Managerial Revolution[5] and C. Wright Mill's The Power Elite.[6] These latter two could be classified as "classics" if only by virtue of the discussion which they have aroused over the last four decades. In particular, they were concerned, as were the earlier classics, with the *examination of the existence and nature of a single cohesive elite which dominated the affairs of a particular society.* More recent work, specifically John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic[7] and Wallace Clement's The Canadian Corporate Elite.[8], have been concerned with leadership in societies where more than one elite is competing for influence in the society. Though this pluralistic approach will be of minor emphasis in the present study it will be discussed later as an alternative approach to the discussion of elites.

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[2] V. Pareto, The Mind and Society. (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1935, reprint).

[3] G. Mosca, The Ruling Class. A. Livingston (ed.), (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939, reprint).

[4] Robert Michels, Political Parties. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

[5] James Burnham. The Managerial Revolution. (London: Putnam, 1942).

[6] C. Wright Mills. The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

The core of elitist doctrine is that there may exist in any one society a minority of the population which makes the major decisions in a society. Because these decisions are of such wide scope, affecting the most general aspects of the society, they are usually regarded as *political* decisions even where the minority making them are not "politicians" in the usual sense of members of government or the legislature. According to the classical elitist thesis the minority gains its dominant position by means beyond ordinary election. Or, in other words, the minority may be powerful due to its monopoly of productive resources or the influence it may exhibit through the embodiment of certain social or religious values widely shared in a tradition-bound society. Max Weber interpreted the status of the Brahmins in India in this manner.[9] But even where, as is normally the case in modern societies, the dominant minority includes some who have been elected to positions of leadership the elitists claim that electoral victory is not gained entirely by open democratic means. The appearance of democratic majority control over the minority is deceptive. The minority reserves a position whereby it may manipulate the electoral process to its own ends by means of a range of measures from sheer coercion of votes, through bribery or the skilled use of propaganda in the selection of candidates. The "sovereign" (those closest to their 'reign' of power) electorate will "choose" its leader(s) from those acceptable to the elite.

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[7] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).
[8] Wallace Clement. The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975). Both Clement and Porter examine a variety of elites. Not only did they observe the economical and political elite but both sought to describe the cultural, ethnic, religious, commercial and media elites.
[9] See Max Weber, Religions in India. trans. H.H.Gerth (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1968).

In such ways the dominant minority escapes the control of the majority. Hence, the elitist theory does not just assert that in a society the minority makes decisions and the majority obeys. This is an obvious truism with little power to explain *connective* or political relationships and bears little attention because the elitist argument is a much stronger one. It is that a dominant minority cannot be controlled by the majority, whatever democratic means are used. As Michels stated:

> Historical evolution mocks all the prophylactic measures that have been adopted for the prevention of oligarchy. If laws are passed to control the dominion of the leaders it is laws which gradually weaken, and not the leaders.[10]

Thus, in elitist terms of reference, no mechanism for ensuring the accountability of the leaders to the public and no ideology which encompasses the principle of majority 'will' can prevent the elite from imposing its supremacy over the rest of society. Was this the case in Toronto in the period 1827 to 1881?

The elite, as a result of its power, its organization, its political skill and its personal qualities, are most always in a position potentially to exercise an exploitation of their influence to preserve their societal niche. The implication is that that the elite are a *coherent, united and self-conscious group*. It was what James Meisel called the "three C's" - *group consciousness, coherence and conspiracy* (meaning a common 'will' of action rather than secretive machinations).[11] To be of any relevance to a study of political and social influence the group must have acted together as a group, with some shared purposes. If the elite is an elite of the wealthy or of the products of private education it must act together as the wealthy or as the defenders of the faith in private education in order to count as an elite in politics. If the group fails to act as an unified body it will represent less an elite than a group of "distinguished persons" no matter what particular category is in question - whether it be the

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[10] Michels, Political Parties., p. 423.
[11] See James Meisel, Makers of Modern Social Science: Pareto and Mosca. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

"most wealthy men" in Canada or the "public school products" of Great Britain. The unity of the elite has often been thought of as a product of the organization of the elite itself, or an *esprit de corps* arising out of common interests and goals and joint action of the group. Therefore, *power breeds a consciousness of power*. This is commonly alleged in bureaucracies. Cohesiveness has been and continues to be seen as one of the chief strengths of elitism.[12] Were the Toronto sport elite of the 1800s a conscious, coherent and coercive common willed group?

The qualities of self-consciousness, coherence and unity are held to reinforce the favourable position of the elite in its dealings with other groups in the society. The elitists regard power as cumulative. *Power gives access to power*. As Thomas Hobbes stated in the seventeenth century: "...the nature of power, is in this point, like to fame, increaseing [*sic*] as it proceeds; or like the motion of heavy bodies which in the future they go make still more haste".[13] The elitists' conception of power, generally speaking, closely coincided with Hobbe's definition of power, that is, a "present means to some future goal". ***Power is a means to obtain some other 'social good'***[14] ***whether it be wealth, economic influence (i.e., societal positioning), social status, educational advantages for one's children or elite sport club membership***. Hence, as Hobbs pointed out, these 'social goods' in themselves become powerful, or rather, wealth makes greater wealth and access to political power heightens the social prestige, which in turn, adds weight to political influence. Both wealth and education tend to maintain the elite's domination in subsequent generations. And it was these advantages which Mosca felt increased the distance between the elite and other groups. Elite theorists emphasized the exclusiveness of the elite and the difficulty of obtaining entrance into it on anything other than elite terms. One of the strengths of the elites, they hypothesized, was their ability to lay down the *terms for admission* to the 'circle' of the socially and politically influential, terms which may have included conformity to standards of wealth, social background, educational attainment and commitment to the elite's interest and ideology. It is of interest to note that one needed to be very close to the elite in order to be aware of what the conditions or standards were for acceptance into their ranks. Often times standards were not publically supplied or announced and potential elite candidates had to be in relatively close proximity to the elite to understand the regulations of acceptance. Was this the case with Toronto sports clubs and did social background, education, wealth, etc., impact on elite membership?

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[12] See Marvin E. Olsen, Power In Societies. (London: Collier-MacMillan, 1970), especially Chapter 3, pp.. 106-181. Also see L.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society. (London: C.A. Watts, 1964) especially Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.

[13] See Thomas Hobbes. Leviathan. (Menston, England: Scholar Printers, 1969, reprint), p. 63. Originally published in 1651.

[14] An economic jargonistic term to mean any socially desirable characteristic or trait available within any given society.

The size of the elite visualized by elite theorists depended upon where they drew the line between the politically influential and the less influential. Several elitists, in fact, distinguished between upper and lower levels or strata within the elite. Such distinctions appeared in Mosca, Pareto and Mills.[15] Though each writer distinguished between the upper and lower levels of the elite in different ways, it was significant that a common pattern existed. It represented an attempt by the elitists to account for the differences in both the degree and type of influence which the various elites possessed. In some instances the lower strata of the elite was thought to be the bridge between the core of decision-makers and the rest of society. It mediated between the rulers and the ruled by communicating information in either direction and by providing explanations and justification for elite policy. It also represented a source from which the higher elite may recruit and a buffer where outsiders first entered into elite circles.

Mosca candidly described the process in the following manner:

> Below the highest stratum in the ruling class there is always ... another that is more numerous and comprises all the capacities for leadership in the country.

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[15] Also see more contemporary distinctions in M. Useem, "The Inner Group of American Capitalist Class", Social Problems, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1978), pp. 225-240; and *idem*, "The Social Organization of the American Business Elite and Participation of Corporation Directors in the Governance of American Institutions", American Sociological Review, Vol. 44, No. 4 (1978), pp. 553-573.

Without such a class any sort of social organization would be impossible.[16]

In essence what Mosca was saying was that the strength and number of the upper stratum of political decision makers was insufficient to perform the great range and variety of leadership functions that were necessary in a society. Therefore, the decisions and legislation which was issued by the leaders was explained and justified to the rest of society by the lower stratum.[17]

The second stratum also, as noted by Mosca,[18] was a source of recruitment for the upper stratum. Mosca held that the key to the stability of any political system was not the quality of "a few dozen persons who control the state machine" but rather the quality of the lower level elite on whom they depended heavily. C. Wright Mills distinguished between the "inner core" and the "outer fringes" of the "power elite".[19] The inner core is made up of men who are "in" on the major decisions, while the outer members are "those who count", whose views and interest have been considered and deliberated on by the inner core even though they do not actively participate in the decision. Were the Toronto sport elite surrounded by a 'fringe' elite?

With the exception of Mills, all those who have been referred to here as "classical elitists" believed, or hypothesized, that the existence of a ruling elite was a necessary feature of all societies. Only Mills restricted his observations to one society at a certain period (the United States in the 1950s) but did recognize that other societies could have differed radically in their power structure at other periods. For Mosca and Pareto the necessary positioning of ruling elites was one of the laws of politics which the 'social science' had uncovered (it was one of constants which science needed to understand). Nature to the elitists was uniform, even human social nature. Men reacted to the same passions and interests in the present as they had in the past. As a consequence, man's patterns of social and political conduct were repetitive. For the elitists, the entire stock of records in history stood as a treasury of evidence to man's political experience. These notions could be exemplified in what James Burnham called "Machiavellianism".[20] Elitists such as Mosca and Pareto saw their hypotheses as confirmed theoretical understandings of the inevitability of minority rule. History provided evidence to the fact that the overall elitist rule did have 'lesser patterns' of influence, or that there existed a limited range of elite types, and that there was a repeated cycle of social movement whereby elites were replaced or renewed and where there was a constant relationship between power structure and the prevalent political philosophies. Moreover, the assumption of uniformity of nature permitted the elitists to predict the futility of egalitarian attempts, such as those of the Marxists, to establish a classless society. Elites were not just a feature of existing societies but they were forecast as being an institution of future societies as well.

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[16] Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 404.

[17] *Ibid.*, See especially Chapter 15, p. 410 for a description of how the lower level elites transmitted and directed the policies and laws of the upper elite.

[18] Mosca often referred to this second stratum as the *middle class*.

[19] Mills, The Power Elite., pp. 288-290.

In context then, within the general theoretical framework of elitism the "classical elitists" displayed important differences. The most crucial of these differences were the qualities and social opportunities a group needed to possess in order to gain an elite position. Four broad positions were put forward and these will be examined in turn. Firstly, there were those who, like Mosca and his 'disciple' Michels, believed that an elite owed its power to predominately organizational abilities. Pareto and his followers, by contrast, traced the elite's position to the psychological disposition of both elite and non-elite. This was accountable by virtue of certain "constancies" in human nature. James Burnham, in attempting a marriage of sorts between elitism and Marxism, saw the power of the elite as a consequence of its control of economic resources, and finally, C. Wright Mills saw the elite's dominance not as a product of the personal qualities of its members but rather a function of the postions they held within the key institutions of a society. The theoretical propositions for this dissertation will lean heavily toward the last of these elitist accounts.

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[20] See James Burnham, The Machiavellians. (New York: John Day, 1943). What Burnham's point was that through all recorded time men could always be found to have committed unscrupulous behavior whether in the political, social, economic or religious aspects of life and society.

By examining the theories of the above writers, the nature of elitism in sport in Toronto in the 1800s may be explained more fully and not just in terms of one theory but of several. The advantage of this approach is that it will add subtlety to the analysis of elites, class and sport, and serve to frame the author's own considerations of elitism as applied to Toronto sport in the nineteenth century.

An Organizational Approach

Gaetano Mosca

Mosca, the joint theorist with Pareto of "classical elitism", gave perhaps, the most concise statement of the general elitist position:

> Among the constant facts and tendencies that are to be found in all political organisms, one is so obvious that it is apparent to the most casual eye. In all societies...two classes of people appear...*a class that rules and a class that is ruled*. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism.[21]

To his way of thinking neither one man nor a mass of people can rule. What needs to materialize is an appointed leader who draws backing from a group of advisors and administrators, "propagandists" and the police. While on the other side "the people" can only act politically under the direction of a small group of leaders.

In gathering evidence for this position Mosca drew from all periods of history. He felt he was justified in doing this because of his assumption of the uniformity of human nature and of the resulting social patterns.[22] What Mosca did though, like other "Machiavellian" theorists, was ignore the fact of historical development not only in material terms (who gained what, when) but also in human experience and thought. He, unlike other historians from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, felt that past action and thinking had been quite similar and that "learning from the past" with respect to practical conduct and social analysis was straight forward and hardly speculative. In fact, Mosca's use of the term "historical method" to describe his practice of deriving instances of his general law from societies bridged a period from the fifth century A.D. to the nineteenth century A.D. and included such societies as China, Russia, Italy and Britain. It should be pointed out that if history is taken to be concerned with the uniqueness of a particular period or society and with a detailed description of the transformation, then Mosca's attempt at explaining elite functioning would be better regarded as an early essay in comparative political sociology,[23] aiming to make general statements of political regions. China and ancient Rome were cited in support of tendencies which recognized the development of democracies in his own day.

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[21] Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 50.

[22] *Ibid.*, For an example and explanation of this infra-structure and its underlying assumptions see Chapter 1, p. 39.

The key to elite control for Mosca was in the *minority's capacity for organization.* An elite *position* came as a result of its members possessing, either in fact or in the estimation of others in the society, some skill or attribute which was valued in society. This attribute may have been wealth, a concern for the public good, and/or military prowess or status within a religious hierarchy. In Toronto it may have been regarded as membership in an elite club. Elite *control*, however, depended on the minority's capacity to form itself into a unified force which represented a common front in opposition to the other forces of a society. A minority, Mosca believed, had advantages just because it was a minority.[24] In Toronto it may have been an *interlocking* network of memberships in elite sport clubs.

A small group was more readily organized than a large one. Its internal channels of communication and information were much simpler. As a result, it was hypothesized that a small minority could formulate policies more rapidly, could agree on the presentation of policies more quickly and could give the appearance of a more unified voice in its public statements and actions. Further, altered circumstances could bring forth an immediate response from a group which was well organized, while its less well organized rivals, the largely unorganized bulk of the population, had to struggle in search of an appropriate response. The ultimate, to Mosca, in elite leadership was a majority who looked to the elite for the right "cue" when it found itself in conditions unfamiliar to it.

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[23] See James H. Meisel's introduction in his work, Makers of Modern Social Science:..., pp. 1-44.
[24] Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 53.

The consequence was that despite the apparent superiority of the majority (Mosca is not explicit on this point but it can be safely inferred that he meant numbers) over the minority, the decisions made in any distinct situation reflected the strength of the minority. Thus, the unorganized majority represented a large collection of individuals who lacked a common purpose and a generally acknowledged system of communicating information and/or devising policy. As Mosca saw it, *"The power of any minority is irresistable as against each single individual in the majority, who stands alone before the totality of an unorganized majority"*.[25]

Although Mosca held that every society was dominated by a ruling class, his intention was not to imply that there were no substantial differences between political systems. They differed in two main respects, the direction of flow of authority and the source of recruitment to the ruling class.[26] These differences offer two axes along which political systems were arranged for purposes of comparison. Mosca believed that there were two "principles", on to which authority flowed and two "tendencies" to which elite membership was recruited. Authority, in Mosca's eye, from a political organization standpoint, either flowed downwards, the "autocratic principle", or upward, the "liberal principle". In the autocracy, officials were appointed and granted authority by some higher official. In the liberal system the rulers were "authorized" by those ruled (a democracy where election led to the hiring of a high official). "Autocracy" and "liberal" were "ideal types" of systems of authority to which any given society could conform, to a greater or lesser degree. Mosca used the United States as an example where the chief executive officer (the President) derived his authority by the liberal principle of election but where other executive officials were appointed by him according to the principle of autocracy. Was governance by the Toronto sport club's elite "autocratic" or "liberal"?

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[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, For a general discussion of these differences see Chapter 15.

Recruitment of the ruling class was displayed in either an "aristocratic" or "democratic" fashion. The aristocratic fashion or tendency was when new members of ruling class were recruited from descendants of the existing ruling class.[27] The democratic tendency was displayed when the ruling class was renewed from the lower classes (meaning the middle classes) who were ruled. Each tendency in the political system could vary in intensity of time and place and could, in their extreme forms, represent a danger. A society who tended toward an overwhelming aristocracy ultimately became more repressive losing contact with the needs and interests of the society. While a society in the opposite democratic extreme logically designated itself as a revolutionary "tinder-box". But normally the democratic tendency was more moderate. A process of very gradual infiltration of the ruling class by individuals of the lower class permitted the ruling class to be renewed and rejuvenated. The ablest among those who were ruled were recruited for the ruling class, thus preventing a decline in the quality of the leadership provided. Was this the case of recruitment into Toronto's elite sport clubs?

Mosca's two principles of authority and his two tendencies of recruitment were combined in four ways therefore offering a matrix of comparative political analysis. The autocratic system of authority was most often times combined with an aristocratic means of recruitment into the ruling class, the hereditary nobility. But some autocracies, to Mosca's way of thinking, displayed a "democratic" tendency in recruitment to the ruling class by appointing to positions of power and authority individuals of merit regardless of social or economic origins.

Likewise, political systems where authority came from below (from the middle and lower classes that is) observed a liberal system of authority and showed either an aristocratic or a democratic tendency in their patterns of recruitment. "Liberal" societies where authority depended on election frequently either confine the electorate to the hereditary aristocracy or else regularly re-elect members of aristocratic "political families". The liberal principle, according to Mosca, may have also combined with the democratic tendency to elevate persons from all classes to positions of authority and power. Mosca, even though he does not explicity state it, felt that the last point led in part to an *illusion*. While it may have been true that a "liberal democratic" system recruited to positions of authority persons from any social or economic class, the elections do not offer a free choice of candidates but rather offer one candidate manipulated by the political elite. Moreover, he felt this political elite, whatever its origins, will tend to convert itself into an *hereditary ruling class*. The concept of an hereditary ruling class has been a subjective given to several authories in the analysis of class and elitism. One of the questions examined in this study was whether an hereditary elite passed on its sport club membership from one set of progeny to another?

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[27] This was a tendency which Mosca recognized as being prevalent in all ruling classes.

Mosca in his later work abandoned some of his scientific neutrality which he had waved during his earliest writing. Mosca back-tracked to a balance between the principles and tendencies which seemed most desirable. He held onto enough democratic openness to refresh the ruling class and enough aristocratic restrictiveness to ensure stability within a "liberal" system of government and authority but he confined the electorate to the middle class which was led by a "little nucleus of sound minds and choice spirits that keep mankind from going to the dogs every other generation".[11] His later or "weaker" version of elite theory almost abandoned the "three C's" of Meisel's consciousness, cohesiveness and conspiracy and led his ruling class to appear as almost a category of "top people". Mosca's ruling class was now implicitly defined in terms of the extent of the political influence of individuals and groups and not in the once talked of terms of unity and exclusiveness. The membership within the ruling class was attained and maintained by skill in manipulating the balance between the ruling groups and in exploiting the aspirations of the mass electorate. Mosca now defended representative government as the most effective means of bringing forth the interests of a society, of utilizing the talents of a country and of permitting the abler elements of the governed classes to enter the ruling class.[29] He felt that representative government permitted the electorate to balance the liberal authority of parliament against the autocratic authority of bureaucracy. The ruling class, Mosca now believed, should assume a greater importance in providing moral leadership in the community. He believed it should be a class of public-spirited persons, not all of whom held upper level positions of power, who should contribute to the guiding of the community towards the public interest.

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[11] Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 429.

Mosca supported the *reform movement* which had been central to much of the liberal thought of the nineteenth century. It was the decentralization of government which he saw as enabling a larger number of the educated middle class (Mosca's lower stratum) to participate in public life, on a voluntary basis, as justices of the peace, local magistrates and as members of the regional administrative bodies. His aim was to translate the English gentry class into twentieth century terms. Mosca even played with the idea of restricting the 'franchise' (the bureacracy) to the lower stratum of the ruling class[30] but concluded that it was too late to rectify the "mistake of granting universal suffrage".[31] Mosca's elitism finally dissolved to the point where it removed its cloke of scientific dogma to reveal an ideology which was a political theory of the middle class. The aim of this study is to examine the democratic and autocratic tendencies of Mosca's theory in terms of sport club membership and to analyze the correctness of the theory's middle class ideology.

Michels

In the main work of Mosca's disciple, Robert Michels, the ideological content is kept under better control. Michels used greater methodological rigor, in Political Parties, to explore the theories which Mosca failed to develop fully. Michel's central theme was once again based on organization and elite control. Michels extended this not only to mean that organizational ability grants power but it also gave rise inevitably to an elite. In Michel's celebrated words: "*Who says organization, says oligarchy*".[32]

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 389.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 413.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 492.

Michel's method of investigation was, perhaps, the most rigidly "*scientific*" of any of the "classical" elitists. He proposed a hypothetical law governing all social organizations, the much heralded "*iron law of oligarchy*".[33] and then proceeded to test the hypothesis by examining societal organizations which at first glance seemed to run overtly counter to the law. The organizations studied were the socialist parties of Europe prior to World War II and in particular the German Socialists' party. These parties were dedicated to preserving equality and democracy within their organizational structure and they regarded their leaders as agents of the mass party. Power within the party, as explained by Michels, (there were several parties) lay with the conference of the party and its elected delegates (very similar in terms of how political conferences are organized in present day society). The parties devised mechanisms to ensure that 'the party leads and the leaders follow'. Leadership was constantly distrusted, particularly those people in the middle class who were the leaders of what were basically proletarian parties. Michels contended that even within these organizations which were devotely opposed to elite control, signs of the *iron law of oligarchy* existed.

Though Michels never offered a precise explanation of the law of oligarchy, his meaning was clear.[34] ***In any organization of any size leadership becomes necessary to its success and survival.*** The nature of organization is such that it gives power and advantages to the group of leaders who cannot be held responsible or accountable by their followers. This is true even though the elected leadership are supposedly agents for those who elected them.

Michels argued that as soon as human cooperative activities attain a size and complexity which warrant the term "organization", technical expertise is required if the association is to survive. Like Weber[35] before him, Michels insisted that attempts to regulate or control an organization by the mass of its members involved an "amateurishness" which was totally self-defeating in an age of large-scale organization. A political party campaigning to gain power needs to organize its vote, canvass supporters, supply information for speakers, raise donations, monitor the party's financial structure and care for its legal standing. As well, a party needs to establish a coordinated policy line for the sake of consistency and solidarity (meaning uniformity in public comment by the party). All these activities require some level of expertise which the mass may not have the aptitude to develop or for which they certainly lack the leisure time. Mass control conflicts with efficiency and, according to Michels, is replaced by professional direction both in policy-making and in technical administration. The result of this "*technical indispensability of leadership*" is that party control passes into the hands of its leading politicians and its bureaucracy. This theoretical point begged this current study to examine the possibility of locals elites controlling the directorships of not only sport clubs but also other institutions important in the societal fabric of Toronto.

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[32] Michels, Political Parties., p. 418.
[33] *Oligarchy*, generally defined, *means the control of government by a select few*.
[34] For an elaborate analysis of the building blocks and derivatives of an oligarchy, see C.W. Cassinelli, "The Law of Oligarchy", American Political Science Review, Vol. 47, No. 3 (1953), pp. 773-784.

Michels then went on to demonstrate how power breeds power (a central tenet of elitism). He saw the leadership controlling party funds and the party's newspaper in attempts to select particular parliamentary candidates and to dispense with political patronage. Michels believed that a party's activities were news and would thus be reported by even the opposition press. But an important feature of his analysis was his recognition of how significant the party's role was in the whole political process and on the internal power structure of the party. Power for the party required electoral success. Electoral success required the support of voters who were otherwise not members of the party and who were less committed to party principle. To gain their allegiance the party had to moderate its dogma (policy rhetoric), provide continuity in policy and leadership to show stability, and devote itself to organizing its vote rather than assuring the purity of its doctrine.

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[35] See H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, From Max Weber: Essays of Sociology. (London: Routledge, 1957), pp. 196-244. Weber's first analyses of bureaucracy were written in 1911 and 1913.

Michels suggested that these factors strengthened the positions of two groups. Firstly, he suggested that it strengthened the "technical party bureaucrats" who are more interested in the acquisition of power than in its principle. Secondly, he felt it strengthens the elected parliamentary representatives of the party who owed their electoral success to their appeal to the electoral mass rather than to the much narrower party membership. Hence, the party leaders owed their power within their party to the support they received from outside the party. Moreover, the party members could easily vacate themselves of the leadership without hurting the party's electoral standing.

Ultimately the party is forced to accept an hierarchy which mirrors the heirarchical power structure in the political system as a whole with its "fringe" ministers supported by an efficient bureaucracy. Mass control, to Michels, remains incompatable with political power and so oligarchy triumphs, with the leadership seemingly "stable and irremovable". Michels even insisted that attempts at maintaining a proletarian leadership for the proletarian parties to prevent disorientation between the leaders and the led, was doomed to failure. Instead a "proletarian elite" emerges which, for all intents and purposes, ceases to be proletarian except perhaps for its origin as it eases into a non-manual desk jobs and wages for salary. Thus the proletarian leaders become "*bourgeoisified*" and the party hierarchy becomes an established career, offering a rise in social status as well as income.[36]

In Michel's view, these organizational and structural forces pushing toward oligarchy are reinforced by certain psychological forces. While socialist theorists have often assumed a high degree of political interest and spontaneity on the part of the "bulk of the population", Michels alleged that the majority were apathetic towards public concerns. He held that people were only concerned with politics when it effected their personal interests (i.e., employment, wages, leisure time, etc.).

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[36] Michels, Political Parties., pp. 288-289.

For Michels, apathy went with technical incompetencies, which, combined with the fact that political knowledge has to be organized to be effective, brought him to conclude that the majority were too apathetic to organize themselves. He believed a large group such as this was in need of psychological guidance. Moreover, he believed that this group was glad to have others take on the burden of political responsibilities. Even in revolution, Michels theorized, agitation would have to be initiated and perpetuated by a small minority on their behalf. Did the working class in Victorian Toronto approach sport organization in this manner?

Though Michels confined his particular analysis to political parties the law of oligarchy was intended to flow over into all organization. In Michels's mind, rule by the majority was impossible despite the "formal apparatus of universal suffrage and the myths of majority will". Democracy in the sense of rule of the whole people or the majority of the people was impossible as well, for in any democracy the major decision will be undertaken and exercised by a powerful oligarchy. Yet, Michels did not totally dismiss a defense of democracy.[37] A democracy did allow for the emergence of several rival parties, each led by an oligarchy, whose competition ensured a certain amount of indirect influence by those people whose support they worked hard to get. But this "democratic tendency" did little to restrain oligarchy. As was earlier pointed out by Mosca, elitism makes compromises with pluralism when democracy is defined in terms of competing oligarchies.[38] Were there competing oligarchial groups in terms of nineteenth century Toronto society? And if so, were these groups rival holders of power in terms of sport and business club membership?

A Psychological Approach

Pareto

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[37] See Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 422.

[38] For a discussion of Michel's attitudes toward democracy, see J.D. May, "Democracy, Organization and Michels", American Political Science Review, Vol. 59, No. 2 (June 1965), pp. 417-429.

Pareto's system, as expounded most fully in The Mind and Society, was the most ambitious of all the "classical" elitist doctrines. It was, in S.E. Finer's terms, "a gargantuan retort to Marx".[39] The elite was given a much broader treatment than in other elitists' work. Pareto's elite was much wider and comprehensive than the political leaders whom Mosca or Michels studied and it was at times even wider than Marx's ruling class. Pareto's elite theory was part of a much more general sociological scheme in which social activity was explained by reference to certain fundamental psychological factors. Consequently, Pareto's elite members were seen, and continue to be seen, as the product of economic forces not by virtue of their dominance through organizational ability but rather through human attributes which have been constant throughout history.

Pareto's first definition of an elite in, The Mind and Society, was a highly formal one. He suggested that *ability* in every human activity, whether it be law, poetry or thieving, might, at least in theory, be measured and each practitioner awarded marks according to his success.[40] For instance a lawyer who was chosen to present a brief would be marked out of ten where one who was not would be given no marks. The evaluation, in Pareto's mind, was not a moral one but rather a measurement of displayed achievement. He then proposed to construct a class of persons with the highest indices in each branch of activity and to call this class the "elite".[41] The elite was then sub-divided into those who directly or indirectly play an important part in government (termed the "government elite") and those, like top hockey players, whose activities do not impact greatly on government (termed the "non-governing elite"). As formal as this definition was Pareto quickly abandoned it as impractical to sociological research. Only in theoretically perfect conditions of competition was it true that persons with the highest ability reach the top of their activity (*meritocracy*). For in practice this was not always true. Factors such as wealth, birth and corruption frequently, to Pareto's way of thinking, gave advantages to the less skilled to attain leading positions, particularly the less technical and rational activities such as politics. A central point of this dissertation is to examine whether such factors as wealth, birth and corruption were important in terms of elite membership in sport, commercial and philanthropic organizations in nineteenth century Toronto.

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[39] See V. Pareto, Sociological Writings. (London: Pall Mall Press, 1966) p. 77.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[41] *Ibid.*

Pareto, in later analysis, resorted to a less sophisticated and confining distinction between the elite ("governing" and "non-governing"), by defining them, regardless of ability, as those who occupy either the *leading positions* and those who do not. By paralleling Marx's account of history in terms of class struggle, Pareto saw the evolution of every existing society as a history of the relationships between its elite and its non-elite and of the psychological make-up of the elite. Pareto believed that the vast majority of human activities were "non-logical". He saw the non-rational aspects of activity to the participant and observer as being the conscious undertaking of an attainable end and the appropriateness of that end.

However, in Pareto's mind, men usually attempted to justify their conduct by giving a "veneer of logic". The theories and rationalizations, if analyzed, were composed of two elements. One part was the justification which, though apparently logical, was nevertheless, a part of non-logical conduct. It varied from time to time and from country to country. Pareto termed it the "*derivation*" and it was the counterpart of Marx's "*ideology*". The other part of the theory was more important. It was the direct reflection of the instincts or sentiments or state of mind of the participant and was called by Pareto "*residues*".[42] He believed that human instincts and the 'residues' which reflected them, were constant throughout history.

Pareto envisioned a number of significant residues, two classes of which he believed offered the key to the explanation of society which included elite domination and elite replacement. Class I residues reflected the "*instinct of combinations*" or the impulse to put together ideas by the use of imagination. The arts, ideologies and political coalitions all stemmed from this active instinct. Class II residues reflected the instinct of "*the persistence*

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[43] *Ibid.*, See p. 41 for an intricate explanation of "*residues*".

of aggregates" or the tendency to consolidate positions once they were established. Class II residues were manifestations of instincts for *permanence, stability and order*. Politically they appeared to call for solidarity, order, discipline, property or family and they were traditional in the sense of stable attachments to old, conservative movements.

It was the distribution of these residues or their corresponding instincts in society that was crucially important. Men either exhibit a predominance of Class I residues (the men of intelligence and cunning, "*foxes*" in Machiavellian language) or of Class II residues (men of strength, stability and integrity, "*lions*"). The two sets of qualities were mutually exclusive. Politics, however, required both a fox and a lion, because the style of government was partly a matter of force and partly one of persuasion. Pareto interpreted this to mean that in order to gain the popular consent a strategy of some kind had to be employed. The style of government at any time would depend on whether the governing elite is composed predominately of either Class I or Class II residues. The non-elite are overwhelmingly Class II, characterized by incurious and unimaginative thought but also by the strong attachments to political ideals which satisfy their need for stability.

Pareto's "*foxes*" govern by trying to gain consent. They devise ideologies to attract the masses and formulate policies to meet the immediate crises and needs of the moment. To them, material interest would be placed before the pursuit of ideals. The ideal politician would be the "fixer" or "wheeler-dealer" in this Class I state. However, the "foxes" are not prepared to use force to deal with political problems. As Pareto described, "foxes" believed that misplaced "humanitarianism" led to compromise and pacifism which if allowed to undermine the basic principles of a regime,[43] could significantly weaken their position in dealing with their tough-minded elite opponents. The "*lions*", on the other hand, govern in a manner which represents an opposite extreme to that of the "*foxes*". The pursuit of consensus is abandoned in favour of the *use of force*. Strict opposition within this regime could be met with ruthless manoeuvres. Public order rather than private satisfaction becomes the chief end of government. However, such elites, were at no loss for ideals. They believed, as in Pareto's schema, that violence, including the forceful overthrow of a previous "Class I elite", could be used to defend religion and morality against "materialism", "atheism" or "corruption". Pareto, as contemptuous as he was of corruption, "sterile manoeuverings" and "political cowardice", rejoiced in the use of violence by men of action (he pointed to the likes of the Caesars and the Mussolinis).[44]

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[43] Meaning, in Pareto's words, a mass social movement of undetermined opinion.

Pareto's elite, as can be seen, were identified by the attitudes they shared and by the conduct that these attitudes gave rise to. Pareto, in his parallel of Marx, was ambiguous as to the degree of cohesion an elite possessed. Meisel's "three C's" of consciousness, cohesion and conspiracy were less attributable to it, particularly in more modern democracies. Pareto, rejected the "*conspiracy theory*" of society.[45] He saw, as did Marx, that social action can have unforseen and unintended consequences. The lack of conspiracy and cohesion in Pareto's thesis can be evidenced in the ease with which one elite was removed by another as a result of individual actions that undermine the ruling position of the elite.

In a democracy Pareto's elite could be broad enough to include the rival leaderships of the political parties. It is only those who are totally opposed to the regime and unwilling to participate in it which can be counted as non-elite. For in Pareto's dogma, the "constitutional oppositions" who are tested by the standard of their actions, attitudes and ideologies could still display the same Class I residues as the office holders and could still play the democractic game of governing by strategy. Interest groups such as unions and employers who also play the game of governing by competing for a piece of the national governing product, are all, for the same reason, part of one elite. Thus, Pareto's scheme for the elite under a democracy is not, then, a cohesive group of businessmen, politicians and bureaucrats all acting in concert. But as in Marx, Pareto has not fully dismissed the conspiratorial element from his account.

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[44] Pareto, The Mind and Society., pp. 246-258, *passim*.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269.

Pareto's schema of political systems is, therefore, basically two-fold. All governing systems are oligarchies, but in some elite Class I residues predominate while in others Class II residues prevail. Pareto also recognized the prevalence of mixed types where either a Class II elite has been infiltrated by men of Class I or a basically Class I elite is backed by a proportion of Class II elements. These mixed "regimes" tend, however, to revert back to one or the other of the "pure" types and as such, can be regarded as sub-types. This dissertation will examine whether sport and business club members in Toronto in the 1800s were representative of either *foxes or lions*. Or, whether they exhibited a character which was a combination of both typologies.

An Economic Approach

Burnham

As was mentioned earlier, elitism set out to displace the Marxian theory of the ruling class. Marxists, in turn, dismissed elitism as bourgeouis ideology. Despite this, though, there have been attempts to demonstrate that the two theories are somewhat complementary and may even be fruitfully combined. Of such attempts, James Burnham's The Managerial Revolution, was the one which had the greatest aspirations of being *the* system in elitist tradition. Burnham's intention in The Managerial Revolution was to show that the capitalist system was in decline and would be replaced by a society controlled economically and politically by a managerial elite. Burnham's first assumptions were derived from the elitists, these being, that politics was always a matter of struggle between groups for power and status and that in *all societies a small group will inevitably control the ultimate decision-making process*. Social change to Burnham resulted as a function in the shift of the elite, the old one being replaced by the new one. He also believed that a classless, egalitarian society was improbable due to the necessity of advanced industrial societies for technical training and expertise.

Burnham was, however, Marxist in his understanding of where the basis of any elite's power came from. He believed that control over the chief means of production was the determining factor in the dominant positions of any society. To him, control has two aspects; firstly, the controlling group will prevent others from gaining "*access*" to the means of production, and secondly, it will receive "*preferential treatment*" when the product in money or goods has been distributed.[46] These two forms of control normally go together. To Burnham, a sign of stress in a society is when control of "access" does not bring with it preferential treatment and status. In normal circumstances "...the easiest way to discover what the ruling group is in any society is usually to see who gets the biggest income".[47] Power, to Burnham, as it was for both Marxists and other elitists, was cumulative. The control of production gave rise to political power, social prestige, as well as wealth. 'State' institutions were also gradually absorbed and incorporated into the prevailing system of economic control. It was the laws of the "state" which assisted in sustaining the dominance of the owners of the means of production by protecting existing property relationships (i.e., state owned land preferentially sold to the owners of the means of production). Burnham saw, under the rule of capitalism, a system which maintained a separation between the state and the economy. Or, in other words, he saw a system within which the government supplied the legal framework for economic functioning while maintaining a "non-intervention" policy in the capitalists' enterprise. Success or failure of the elite in perpetuating its power largely depended upon its ability to monopolize the "instruments" (i.e., managerial hiring, raw resources, stable markets) of production. If it were to allow another group "*access*" to the existing productive "instruments" and permit it to develop novel techniques, the elite would be undermining its position. To Burnham, the explanation of class change (going from a non-ownership to an ownership position) was assuredly Marxist, but his assertion that the result would in all circumstances involve the re-establishment of class rule was elitist.[48]

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[46] Burnham, The Managerial Revolution., p. 56.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

The problem which Burnham saw in capitalism arose out of fact that the formal "owners" of production (the capitalists) had become increasingly separated from the actual operations of production. He believed that the "capitalists", having (originally) been the managers of their own enterprises, later left this capacity to professional managers and concentrated on financing which he interpreted as a stage once removed from the productive process. He also suggested that the final stage of decline for the capitalist class was its gradual "retirement" from financing to constitute a "*leisure class*" spending the profits from its firms without contributing to production.[49] In the mean time, it was hypothesized that the productive process itself had fallen into the hands of a "managerial" class (a class of skilled technical elite) whose position was dependent, not on the economic structure of production, but rather on the technical nature of modern production to which it was essential. In Burnham's eyes the managerial class controlled access to the means of production and controlled the distribution of resources which, when distributed, would secure preferential treatment for the leisured capitalists, who, in turn, were becoming a vanishing commodity in the activity of production.

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[48] *Ibid*., p. 63. Burnham, like Marx, believed class change was a result of "structural factors" rather than "socio-psychological" ones purported by Mosca and Pareto. For Burnham and Marx displacement of the elite occurred independently of character and motivation of the elite.

[49] A similar analysis had been suggested earlier by Thorstein Veblen in his celebrated work, The Theory of the Leisure Class. (New York: MacMillan, 1899). There is little certainty as to whether Burnham borrowed heavily from Veblen but one is easily convinced of the similarities in doctrine.

Though such a contradiction in Marxist terminology was doomed to failure, Burnham saw "*control over access*" to be decisive. He also believed that the "control over access" would eventually be consolidated into complete control over the means of production and this would include the receipt of preferential treatment. Burnham did not see the capitalist ruling class being overthrown in favour of a classless society. Instead he saw it being displaced by the technically indispensable managerial elite.

Was access and control an indispensable part of the elite's ability to regulate membership of Toronto's sport and business clubs? Their importance will be examined in the context of who controlled access to the clubs and who exercised the greatest authority over membership. More simply put, this current investigation will examine which occupational group possessed the ability to restrict membership into sport and business clubs.

An Institutional Approach

C. Wright Mills

C. Wright Mills shared with Burnham the belief that the status and composition of an elite could not be properly explained in terms of talents and/or psychology of its individual members. Rather, he felt that it needed to be studied in the context of the economic and social structure of a particular society. Mills believed that positions of power were not carved out by "*great men*" but were attached to certain roles in the society. Unlike Burnham who believed that the power in society arose from control of the means of production, Mills saw it attached to a wider set of institutions such as the military, big corporations and the political executive.[50] This point will be examined later in this dissertation. The elite were, in Mill's terms, a product of the "*institutional landscape*" of the society. Power was the function of the institution. Certain institutions occupied "*pivotal positions*" in the society with the uppermost ranks of the hierarchy in these institutions constituting the "*strategic command posts of the social structure*". [51] Thus, Mill's elite was composed of those who held leading positions in the strategic hierarchy. Again, the likelihood of this phenomenon occurring in Toronto's sport and business clubs will be examined by this current study.

The cohesiveness of the elite was in large part dependent on the closeness of the links between the institutional hierarchies. Mills explained:

> If these hierarchies are scattered and disjointed; if they have many interconnections and points of coinciding interest, then their elites tend to form a coherent kind of grouping. [52]

In Mills view, for a national "power elite" to exist there had to be some contact between the leaders of the hierarchies. Such contact could range from "*conspicious conspiracy*" to a consensus among the leaders as to policies and values. This "institutional promixity" was strongest where individuals "interchange commanding roles at the top of one dominant institutional order with those in another". [53]

Mills cited numerous instances where presidents and directors of large business corporations in the United States had taken up major governmental posts and then returned to business or to great entrepreneurial foundations. To Mills, the ease with which the interchange of roles occurred confirmed the degree of cohesiveness of the elite. The greater the degree of interchange and institutional proximity the more unified the elite.[54] Because the unity of Mill's elite depended largely on the institutional structure, it was again evident that power was of a cumulative nature in that the interconnections of the elite led to a shared style of life and/or a "consciousness" added to a "coherence".[55] Certainly shared lifestyles will be a point of close examination in this dissertation of sport clubs and executive positions. The style of life also tended to perpetuate the recruitment of persons into the hierarchy of the institutionalized society. As a result, Mills pointed out that the elite of the United States tended to be recruited from the wealthier classes.[56]

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[50] Mills study was completed in the later 1950s in the United States, therefore, he chose to examine their most outstanding post-war institutions.
[51] Mills, The Power Elite., p. 4.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 288.
[54] To see a corroboration of Mill's point, examine C.R. Aron's article, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 1 and 2 (1950), pp. 1-16 and pp. 126-143, *passim*.

Power in modern American society (later 1950s), for Mills, was not so much a function of the attribute of a particular class or person but of institutions. The power elite consisted of those "*...in positions to make decisions having major consequences ...in command of the major hierarchies and organizations of modern society*".[57] The elite was thus described in terms of its potential power rather than the actual exercise of power. An important point of Mill's analysis was that the power attached to elite positions was not necessarily the power used by their occupants. At the core of Mills' analysis was the belief that within the dominant institutions of the United States were the means for exercising power in a more concentrated fashion than at any other time in history. Such power was seen as the ability to "make history"[58] or, in other words, it was seen as the ability of one person or group to change the course of large numbers of persons' activity in a significant way.

The history-making power of the elite was sufficient, Mills believed, to overturn the *status quo* and to call into question the existing social relationships in society and to produce the emergence of a new social structure. He saw the inner core of elite converging into an "all-dominant" form with the power to determine the roles both it and others would play in society. Ultimately, Mills saw the unification of the interchange and integration of the elite of each hierarchy and the "...decisive centralization of all means of power and decision, which is to say - all the means of history-making".[59] While this dissertation will lean heavily towards Mill's theory, it will also examine how sport clubs, as institutions, functioned in preserving an elite.

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[55] Mills, The Power Elite., pp. 15 and 19.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 278-280.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-25. Also see C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 40.

B. The Rise of the Professional Class in the Nineteenth Century

The emergence of a more industrial society in England in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, signalled an end to traditional social relationships based upon dependence and social deference. The perceptions of reality and values of the ruling aristocracy with regards to hegemony (inherited leadership), were now losing their influence as other classes began to emerge with competing ideological systems.[60] Each class tried to build a vision of society which placed it and its values at a central focus. What will be attempted in this study will be to show how the professional class rose in importance during the nineteenth century (1827 to 1881) and how they became integrally involved in the administration of important social institutions (i.e., sport clubs) in Toronto. It will also be shown how the professional class developed an ideology based on *duty and service*. This ideology was compatable with the more aristocratic outlook of society and was therefore easily melded with the upper class version of social doctrine. The point is particularly relevant in terms of upward mobility among the middle class professionals.

From a traditional point of view, two distinct groups competed for ideological dominance in the nineteenth century, these being the *old landed aristocracy* and what was termed the "*new entrepreneurial classes*".[61] The third group, the working classes, waited patiently in the background for its opportunity to rise to prominence. But, a fourth group existed, who, though not completely ignored, has been pushed into a 'peripheral position' in the analysis of social and ideological competition in the nineteenth century. This group was the *professions*, or what one scholar called the "*Forgotten Middle Class*".[62] Though not totally forgotten, the professions have rarely been recognized as constituting a distinct social class, with a unique ideology and identity. For the most part, the members of the professions have become identified in their supporting roles of the aristocracy, the business classes and even the working class.[63] An attempt has been made here to describe the *professions* because they will be integral to the analysis of sport and class later on in the dissertation. While the information surveyed has been large and varied, it is hoped that a clearly definable characterization of the professional class will be imparted so that their role in nineteenth century society will be understood.

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[59] Mills, The Sociological Imagination., p. 182.

[60] See the following for their recognition of the emergence of new social classes. P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost. (New York: Scribner's, 1965); L. Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700", Past and Present, No. 33 (1966), pp. 15-55; A. Briggs, "The Language of 'Class' in Early Nineteenth Century England", in A. Briggs and J. Saville (ed.), Essays in Labour History. (London: MacMillan, 1960), pp. 43-73; and H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), *passim*.

[61] Daniel Duman, "The Creation and Diffusion of a Professional Ideology in Nineteenth Century England", Sociological Review. Vol. 27, No. 1 (1979), p. 113. These new entrepreneurial classes were thought to represent the lower middle class composed of clerks, accountants, artisans, shopkeepers and semi-skilled labourers.

The profession's portrayal as a peripheral or auxillary class is perhaps a consequence of difficulties which scholars have had in identifying, describing and defining their occupations. Sociologists for years have struggled rather unsuccessfully in their attempts to distinguish the characteristics of the professions from those of other occupational groups.[64] And what is more important is that the professions have defied attempts at locating them in the context of traditional social categories.[65] Professional men in the nineteenth century were

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[62] Perkin, The Origins..., pp. 252, 319-320 and 428-429. Perkin originally coined the phrase. He saw them as being closely aligned with the new entrepreneurial classes and this perhaps overshadowed his analysis of them. But Perkin did give professional men a place in his social history of nineteenth century Britain and thereby assisted in drawing out some of their basic characteristics and functions.

[63] *Ibid.*, See Chapter 7, pp. 218-270. Perkin saw the professional men as spokespersons for other classes, including the working class, until at least mid-nineteenth century.

[64] For example, see M. L. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 33 (1953), pp. 33-50; E. Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession", Social Work, Vol. 2 (1957), pp. 44-55; G. Millerson, The Qualifying Association: A Study in Professionalization. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), implicitly Chapter 1; H. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49, No. 2 (1964), pp. 137-157.

[65] P. Elliot, The Sociology of the Professions. (London: MacMillan, 1972), p. 143; For discussions of the professions and social class, see, J. Ben-David, "Professions in the Class-System of Present-Day Societies", Current Sociology, Vol. 12 (1963-64), pp. 247-298; A. Giddens, The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies. (London:

respectable and even *gentlemanly* but they had to work for a living. Most did not conform to the ideals of landed society, nor did they conform to the ideals of the commercial-industrial society. They served the interests of other social groups but were not subservient to them. They were neither wholly modern nor wholly pre-modern. They were somewhere in between, or, as William Thackeray described his own generation, "...we belong to the new time and the old one. We are of the time of chivalry...We are of the age of steam".[46]

The purpose of introducing the professions into the theoretical discussion of nineteenth century society is to show that they developed a distinct and self-conscious category within the context of the evolution of the larger society. The development of this distinct and self-conscious category involved the formulation and diffusion of a unique ideology based on *service* as a moral imperative. This provided doctors, lawyers, clergymen, financiers and a number of other growing occupations with an "*article of faith*" that justified their claim to superior status and special privileges. Theoretically, the *ideal of service* allowed the professions to reconcile the concept of the gentleman with the necessity to work for a living and to formulate a definition of their relationship with clients and society. To this point in time, the traditional professions (i.e., medicine) had been closely associated with the aristocratic elements of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The new British professional grew out of what were the traditional professions of the eighteenth century. Though the old occupations of the church, the bar, medicine (the physicians), and the military remained stable, entirely new ones arose which were based on the new knowledge and needs created by industrialization. In fact, at mid-nineteenth century, when pre- and post-industrial elements of society co-existed, one could see how collegiate institutions and the ideal of gentility and service co-existed with increased specialization, competition and achievement orientation. The connections between the professions and the landed classes were evident. Not only did the professions include many younger sons of both

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[45](cont'd) Hutchison, 1976), see Chapter 10; N. Parry and J. Parry, The Rise of the Medical Profession. (London Croom-Helm, 1976), Chapters 2 and 3.

[46]Quoted from W. E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 3.

the peerage and gentry within their ranks, but they existed, by and large, to ***serve the needs of the landed classes***. From a sport point of view, when the professions began mixing with the landed classes, this was when the former group began entering the otherwise aristocratic sport clubs of the British elite.

Not suprisingly, the standards and expectations of landed society constituted a major influence on the social and occupational styles and attitudes of the professional man. In the eighteenth century, when there were fewer and more well-delineated professionals, *status* and *not* function was emphasized relative to their occupation. Their social superiority was not dependent upon the "intellectual intensity" or on the social or economic worth of their work. In fact, the professions were seen and valued as occupations which provided their practitioners with an environment and sufficient resources -- *leisure and at times finances* -- to live a life that was indicative of their superior station. In essence, an individual's profession served as a means to an end, this being a gentlemanly life, a right to the correct social milieu and an acceptance as a member of the nation's social elite.[67] They were also viewed as paths of upward social mobility for many individuals, even leading to the establishment of a landed family. Clubs, as a consequence, became important "points of contact" for the aristocracy and the professions. Social mobility was in large part a function of the close institutional proximity of the aspiring professionals and the landed classes. The significance of this point will be revealed in later sections.

The social and economic changes which were brought about by industrialization in the nineteenth century had a direct effect upon the customary characterization of the professions. The traditional bonds between the professional and the landed aristocracy began to loosen. The 'patron-professional' relationship of the eighteenth century, wherein the professional practitioner was dependent upon aristocratic patronage, was replaced by a 'client-professional' relationship. As a result of greater social diversification in a more industrialized society, the demand for professional services also became more diversified. People were now requesting services from such professions as bankers, barristers, engineers, brokers, veterinarians, architects and dentists. Consequently, the professional was released from his exclusively small, wealthy and homogeneous group of patrons.[68] The new professional became part of a developing elite which in its own right, began to influence the leadership within the various contemporary institutions in the nineteenth century.

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[67] See T. H. Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structures and Social Policy", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 5 (1939), pp. 325-340; E. Robson, "Purchase and Promotion in the British Army in the Eighteenth Century England", History, Vol. 36 (1951), pp. 57-72; N. D. Jewson, "Medical Knowledge and the Patronage System in Eighteenth Century England", Sociology, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1974), pp. 369-385.

Within his new market environment, the professional was only limited by his ability to use his special skills to solve the problems of his clients. It was a relationship based on mutual obligations, regulated by a system of professional ethics and sometimes by government supervision, the goal of which was to guarantee the quality of the services rendered. But service no longer involved *dependency* and as such, the social and occupational ideals of the professional could now diverge or differ from those of his client.

Thus, growing independence was one aspect of the professions constituting a distinct, self-conscious social entity, but by no means did independence alone suggest a homogeneous and ideologically uniform group. Other factors came into the definition of the nineteenth century professional. A quantitative survey of evidence has suggested that a professional class of occupations was coalescing into a distinct group in the early nineteenth century. The survey also suggested that a uniform professional group was materializing out of a variety of quasi-professional occupations which included bishops, judges, foreign office recruits, important members of the medical profession, army officers, home civil servants and commercial magnates.[69] Although it did not appear that any distinct definition of a professional was immediately forthcoming from the survey of literature, a few generalizations were readily apparent to the reader.[70] One of the most obvious generalizations was that during the course of the nineteenth century, many of the traditional professions recruited an increasing percentage of its members from among the sons of new professional men. Or, in other words, individuals were recruited who did not have a long-established professional connection to the aristocracy. In fact, it would appear that the aristocracy had little interest in the professions. This phenomenon was recognized by Spring who stated:

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[68] Perkin saw the emergence of the professions as a distinct social class when he observed their freedom to move in the market place relative to income and the special character of their employment. Perkin, The Origins..., pp. 253-254.

[69] Daniel Duman, "The Judges of England, 1730-1875; A Social, Economic and Administrative History". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1975; C.B. Otley, "The Social Origins of British Army Officers", Sociological Review, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1970), pp. 213-238; P.E. Razzel, "The Social Origins of Officers in the Indian and British Home Army, 1758-1962", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 14 (1963), pp. 248-260; G. Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977); D.H.J. Morgan, "The Social and Educational

> If the novel is any indication of what was happening to English society at the end of the eighteenth century, it would seem that professionalism made contact with the upper classes through the occupations of the younger sons (of the new professionals).[71]

Moreover, as a result of the growth of new professionals entering traditional roles, there was a decline in the percentage of professional men with landed origins. And, in most professions, there was a rise in the percentage of recruits whose fathers were members of the same profession. Career choice was becoming predicated on what one's father did for a living. Consequently, one can make the assumption that the evolving new professional was moving away from his landed ties and was beginning to transform into a unique and

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[69] (cont'd) Background of Anglican Bishops - Continuities and Changes", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 20 (1969), pp. 295-230; M.J. Peterson, "Kinship, Status, and Social Mobility in the Mid-Victorian Medical Profession". Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1972; R. Jones, The Nineteenth Century Foreign Office, An Administrative History. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); C.J. Dewey, "Education of a Ruling Caste: The Indian Civil Service in the Era of Competition", English Historical Review, Vol. 88 (1973), pp. 262-285; J.M. Compton, "Open Competition and the Indian Civil Service, 1854-1876", English Historical Review, Vol. 83 (1968), pp. 265-284; R.K. Kelsall, "Self Recruitment in Four Professions", in D.V. Glass (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), pp. 308-338; F.F. Mendels, "Social Mobility and Phases of Industrialization", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1976), pp. 193-216; W.D. Rubenstein, "The Victorian Middle Classes: Wealth, Occupation and Geography", Economic Historical Review, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1977), pp. 602-622; J.N. Ingham, "Elite and Upper Class in the Iron and Steel Industry, 1874 to 1965". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1973.

[70] The author noted that straight-forward comparison of studies was made difficult by virtue of the fact that many of the studies did not exist in parallel time periods, they were of varying lengths, and that the systems of classification and analysis were not identical.

[71] David Spring, "Aristocracy, Social Structure and Religion in the Early Victorian Period", Victorian Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1963), p. 263.

self-regenerative social entity. The professions, new and old, were developing into an occupational grouping which was more clearly defined in terms of *social origins and class perspective*. The relevance of this point will be demonstrated later in the dissertation. It will be of interest to see whether or not sport and business club membership gravitated toward specific homogeneous traits.

The achievement of social and economic independence by members of the professions during the industrial revolution was not without cost. The most important factor was that men could no longer claim social superiority by virtue of their connections to the landed classes, although many still maintained and nurtured these ties through membership in several aristocratic institutions, namely the sport club. Much of the business for the new professionals came from the increasingly wealthy commercial and industrial classes.[72] Even the service occupations (i.e., government bureaucrat), which did not have to rely on private business clientele, were affected by entrance of the new professionals into the London, provincial and colonial society where they became a source of economic and social competition. But one of the chief results of this change was that the old professional faced an identity crisis. They were, except in a few cases, no longer providing their services to individuals whom they perceived as their social superiors. Therefore, professional men, generally, were left to defend the social position which they had inherited from their eighteenth century predecessors, but without the support of a high status clientele, such as the aristocracy.

As a remedy to this problem, professional men began to create a unique ideology in the early years of the nineteenth century. What they stressed was the importance of specialized training, the need to test a practitioner's competence (by way of examinations), and the exacting demands of professional work, which in turn, made them believe that their occupations were desirable and useful ends in themselves.[73] It was on the common understanding of their social functions and ethical obligations that this ideology was based and upon which the development of the professions as a distinct social entity grew. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the ideology provided the professional with the moral justification for their claim to high social status, namely the *service ideal*. As might be proven later in this study, the professions in Toronto were able to include themselves in the elite category of society due to their *service ideal* to both the upper and working classes. And within this framework, it was possible for the profession to be more than an occupation, for it developed into a way of life. Dr. Thomas Arnold, in a letter written in 1836 to a former pupil of his who had entered the medical field, provided just such a definition:

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[72] As a matter of point, many of the commercially influential were included in the professional class. For instance, a bank owner was an integral part of the new professional class as were governmental bureaucrats.

[73] Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalism...", p. 326. As Marshall

> It is a real pleasure to me to find that you are taking steadily to a profession, without which I scarcely see how a man can live honestly. That is, I use the term "profession" in a rather large sense, not as simply denoting certain callings which a man follows for his maintenance, but rather a definite field of *duty*, which the nobleman has as much as the tailor, but which he has not, who having an income large enough to keep him from starving, hangs about on life, merely following his own caprices and fancies...[74]

The precise components of professional duty were hard to define but a civil servant gave a rather comprehensive disclosure to a Parliamentary Committee in the mid-1850's.

> The first duty and cardinal quality you want is a deep self-sacrificing sense of *duty*; not a conventional one, satisfied by doing and avoiding certain prescribed and proscribed things; but such as is only satisfied when it has done its best, whether the sacrifice demanded thereby be that of ease, personal feeling, or private opinion. The sense of *duty* is one of the quietest and least demonstrative of qualities, because it finds so much of its reward in itself. You cannot go into the general market and lay your hands upon it as a visible commodity.[75]

Clearly the professional man's *duty* was to his client or to those groups in society which were thought to need his assistance. This may have been the case in both philanthropy to the poor

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[73](cont'd) theorized, the basis of professional work had changed since the eighteenth century. "Leisure is no longer in the same sense the mark of the aristocracy, and commerce is no longer a disreputable occupation...The professional had to change his ground. He had to admit that his occupation was labourious, like the tradesmen's - and even to glory in the fact - but to assert that it was labour of a superior kind... The *idea of service* became more important than the idea of freedom".

[74] A.P. Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D., (London: Wardlock, 1910), p. 288.

[75] As cited in Dewey, "Education of a Ruling Caste...", p. 268.

and recreation for the working class. Again, more will be mentioned on this point in later sections.

The description of the nineteenth century professional ideology would be incomplete without somehow showing that it was *self-conscious and group oriented*. Dr. Thomas Percival, in his 'standard' work on medical ethics, first published in 1803, made this clear when he reminded members of his profession that:

> The *Esprit de Corps* is a principle of action founded in human nature, and when duly regulated, is both rational and laudable. Every man who enters into a fraternity engages, *by a tacit compact*, not only to submit to the laws, but to promote the honour and interest of the association, so far as they are consistent with morality, and the general good of mankind. A physician, therefore, should cautiously guard against whatever may injure the general respectability of his profession.[76]

The *esprit de corps* gave the professions a motivation to be closely connected, both socially and professionally. As a result they constructed institutions to protect the credos of their work, plus, they created organizations (i.e., sport clubs) which would act to unify their social class and their ideology within society.

The sources of the nineteenth century professional ideology were discovered in both the old pre-industrial society and in the new industrial one. The ideology itself was an eclectic one in that it incorporated elements from both the aristocratic and entrepreneurial ideals and then shaped them to fit the needs of professional men.[77] Much of the impetus for this re-shaping came from the new professions which did not share the gentlemanly status of the 'learned' or old professions or services. Because the traditional social relationships and old professional ideals could not serve to elevate the social status of the new professional man, an alternative system of values had to be devised.

In order to justify their claims for social superiority, the developing professions (*new professions*) had to demonstrate that their skill, functions, training and ethical standards were far above those of the inferior occupations and trades. Armed with their new professional associations as spokesmen, they sought to openly question the values, standards and organization of the 'old' or upper class professions. Assisted by reformers drawn from within the ranks of the old gentlemanly professions, plus the Benthamite "champions"[78] of utility, efficiency and administrative rationalization,[79] the new professional men helped to break down the bonds between the professional ideal and the traditional or old aristocratic concept of gentleman. What materialized was a new definition of professionals with higher social status, special occupational privileges, such as self-regulation, and a justification for the social services which they and only they were competent to render. The administrative values of the old professional ideal, such as patronage, purchase and sinecures (offices of profit) were gradually eroded, yet, in some social circles, particularly provincial colonial society, they persisted in their value to upward social mobility.

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[76] L. Percival and C. D. Leake (eds.), Percival's Medical Ethics. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1927, reprint), pp. 104-105.

[77] For further details on the growth of the professions, see A. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, The Professions. (London: Frank Cass, 1964) and W.J. Reader, Professional Men. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).

Despite the successes of the reformers, one aspect of the old professional ideal which they had trouble in removing was the gentlemanly heritage of the professions. The old social hierarchy within the occupational classes remained. The gentlemanly professions still retained their social superiority over the new professions. This was to remain well into the mid-1800s and it was only a matter of time, through the reformulation of attributes associated with the traditional concept, that the aristocratic qualities of a professional gentleman faded. The ideal of the gentleman was refurbished to conform with the expectations and requirements of modern society. Ultimately, the professions, or more correctly individuals and institutions connected to the professions, produced a definition of the gentleman which was more conducive to the nineteenth century. The modern gentleman was "*a truly noble man, a man worthy to command, a disinterested man of integrity, capable of exposing, even sacrificing himself for those he leads.*"[80] At least in theory, the professional man led his community not by the material but rather by the moral arts. To one way of thinking, the new professional represented the successor to the medieval knight and his chivalric code; Thomas Carlyle's "Chivalry of Labour" was now to be *public service*.[11] Thus, for the professional, *public service* was his source of superiority over other social groups as well as his source of moral superiority. Out of this new professional quality, as will be seen later in the dissertation, came a reforming tendency which heavily impacted on sport.

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[78] For a further explanation of Benthamite social reform and his close-knit school of English Utilitarians, see Crane Brinton's introduction to Jeremy Bentham's, The Handbook of Political Fallacies. (New York: Harper, 1962, reprint), p. ii.

[79] The administrative rationalization was essentially the bureaucracy which the likes of Mosca and Pareto saw developing in nineteenth century politics.

[80] W.L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1968), p. 259.

The ultimate success of the new gentlemanly professional code of *duty and service* was dependent upon its introduction into educated public opinion. The reformed public schools played a central role in this process and they were well-suited to the task. The public schools drew most of their students from the elite classes of British society and were the major training grounds for the leadership groups of the future. It was in the hallowed halls of Eton, Harrow and other public school establishments, where the sons of the aristocracy, the gentry, professional men, and later commercial leaders, were socialized in a common set of values, that a single, uniform philosophical belief of their class role in society was learned. This is not to infer that all who were educated in these institutions were pressed from the same mould, but rather to suggest that the public schools tried to imbue their pupils with a new social ideal,[12] this being *duty and service*.

The success of the transmission of this new social ideal was largely due to the men who taught at the public schools. Most of the masters were by and large professional men; all being educators and the majority being clergymen.[13] Not surprisingly, they institutionalized the ideal of "*calling*" and were motivated by it in their professional duties in both the classroom and the church. Certainly Dr. Arnold was not alone in impressing upon the boys the belief:

> That you are capable of bearing, without injury what to others might be a

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[11] See Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present. (Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin, 1965, reprint), p. 292. The work was originally published in 1843.

[12] T.H. Green, "The Oxford Philosophy of Duty and the English Middle Class", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1977), pp. 481-497.

[13] T.W. Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools. (London: Nelson, 1967), p. 124.

> burden, and therefore to diminish your duties and lessen your responsibilities would be not a kindness, but a degradation -- an affront to you and the school.[14]

Moreover, the majority of the public school boys once they had completed their schooling, entered one of the professions.[15] Imbued with morality, devotion to duty and the ideal of gentlemanly service, and educated according to the classical syllabus of the public schools, "old boys" naturally gravitated toward the gentleman professions rather than to the newer scientific and technical ones. Though the tradition of the public schools was not dedicated to the creation of the gentlemanly amateur, as understood in the eighteenth century, it did favour the traditional learned professions over the newer technical ones. Therefore, it is not out of place to assert that the goal of a public school education was to produce a responsible gentleman who was capable of picking up the professional ideal of *duty and service* and perpetuating the image of a morally sound and industrious person. In this context, sport, and its practice, changed to suit the needs of the evolving professions. While the aristocratic value and attachment remained with such sports as cricket, 'hunting', horse-racing and yachting, a new ethic surfaced to fulfill the service and need values of the professions. Sport now took on a reforming ethic. Superior moral observancy in sport became a trademark of the professions and a symbol of reform within the traditional games of the working class. The tolerance of the aristocracy for the folk games of the lower class (i.e., mass folk football) now changed to the intolerance of the professions for the often barbarous, cruel sports of the poor. No longer would the workingman be able to practice his traditional games within the new professional "reforming" society.[16]

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[14] Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold., p. 70.

[15] See Reader, Professional Men., pp. 212-215; T.J.H. Bishop and R. Wilkinson. Winchester and the Public School Elite. (London: Faber, 1967), pp. 64-69; Bamford, Rise of Public Schools., pp. 209-222; *idem*, "Public Schools and Social Class, 1801-1850", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 8 (1961), pp. 224-235; and L. Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910", in The University in Society, Vol. 1 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 37-48 and 66-67.

[16] See Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 3.

The conceptual and real boundaries of what a professional was were definitely emerging by mid-nineteenth century and were firmly in place by mid-1860s. The old professional had gradually melded with the new professional to form a unique class whose ideology was based on *duty and service*. The context of this marriage was best portrayed by Walter Bagehot in 1865:

> The aristocracy cannot lead the old life if they would; they are ruled by a stronger power. They suffer the tendency of all modern society to raise the average, and perhaps absolutely, to lower the summit.[17]

Thus, what occurred during the 1860s and beyond was a convergence of the upper strata levels of the elite in society. The aristocracy, while still claiming to be the epitomy of all things gentlemanly, lowered themselves to accept the expanding new professional class. By doing so, they diminished their prestige level in society but raised that of the professions. The convergence was necessary due to what the aristocracy felt was a *coup d'etat* of their exclusive claim to social superiority by the new professional elite. The latter group's importance to the new commercial and industrial society had made exclusive rule for the aristocracy a near impossibility. Therefore, in order to maintain its relative high social standing in society and its weakening control of institutional leadership, the aristocracy formed a coalition with the new governing professional class. Sport reflected this shared form of elitism by having both the aristocracy and the new professions within the bounds of its club structure.

C. Philanthropy, Benevolence and Workingmen s Clubs

One of the most striking features of nineteenth century society was the interest that the professional class had in reforming the attitudes, values and beliefs of the working class. Humanitarianism, temperance, sabbatarianism and self-help were features of professional middle class reform.[18] The ideology of *duty and service* to fellow man spread from not only the professional business environment but also the moral reform movements of the nineteenth century. In fact, *moralizing* in this period of history was the most popular topic of "polite" conversation as well as being the strongest motivating force behind philanthropic organizations. G.M. Young, in recognizing the impact of this movement, said that "by the beginning of the nineteenth century virtue was advancing on a broad invincible front".[89] Sobriety and piety, no doubt, were full measurement of the "moralization" of the philanthropic or upper middle classes.

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[17] Bagehot, The English Constitution., p. 83.

[18] B.J. Howe, "Clubs, Culture and Charity; Anglo-American Upper Class Activities in the Late Nineteenth Century City", Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1976. *passim*.

Philanthropy, in the nineteenth century, according to David Owen, was primarily concerned with "the benefactions of Englishmen which went to create and support a network of services for the mitigation of poverty, disease, infirmity and ignorance".[90] Though Owen concerned himself mainly with medical charities, voluntary poor relief and schools, he did mention that philanthropy was given through such organizations as Bible societies, anti-slavery associations, missions, church building, pastoral aid societies and mechanics' institutes. Moreover, evidence indicated that it was also directed through house building societies, atheneaums, lyceums, fraternal organizations, agricultural societies and sport clubs.[91] All these organizations in some way attempted to ameliorate the destitution, poverty and impropriety brought about by a more industrial setting in the Victorian city. Not only was money a main factor in philanthropy but ***time, thought, energy and organizational abilities*** were pervading elements in relieving the miseries of the poor, the neglected and the oppressed. The only people who fitted these qualifications were the elite professionals, many of whom were members of several sport clubs.

Philanthropy to the Victorians was a subject of national pride. In often seeking to highlight the sins of the poor, the British (the English particularly) would foster an image of superiority and goodwill. By doing so, they sought to emphasize the goodness of one class of individuals over another. Alexis de Tocqueville's contrast between the English and French philanthropists may have been very appropriate, in that "the Frenchman constantly raises his eyes above him with anxiety. The Englishman lowers his beneath him with satisfaction".[92] Philanthropy and benevolence were a fact of life in the nineteenth century and one which touched the majority of social institutions, even the sport club.

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[89] G.M. Young, Victorian England: Portrait of an Age. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 4.

[90] David Owen, English Philanthropy, 1660-1960. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 1.

[91] Bailey, Leisure and Class..., pp. 9, 14, 36, 45, 49 and 60.

The temperance and sabbatarian movements were essentially those of the church. Evangelism had long been a staple of the clergy, and the popularity of intemperance and sabbath observance were mere outgrowths of the religious origins of social reform. As Harrison believed:

> ...religious proselytion was itself designed to remedy (or alleviate) early Victorian poverty and ignorance...indeed religious evangelism and social amelioration were seen as cause and effect at a time when poverty was supposed to result largely from moral failure.[93]

Nineteenth century churches and chapels were often places of unformalized worship and as such they more or less resembled friendly societies, giving rise to such associations as the "Dorcas Clubs", thrift associations, "Bands of Hope" and discussion groups. While the Anglican church saw urban church building as a prophylactic measure against Chartism, many believed Complete Suffrage to be the inevitable end of working class indifference to Christian education.

Temperance, plus other institutions of reform, for example, the Lord's Day Observance Society and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,[94] were all supported by the bishops, professionals, "philanthropists" (middle classes), aristocrats and nonconformists. A unique feature of these reform movements and a major reason for their success was that they drew interest from many religious spheres. By uniting evangelical Christians of several denominations, the reformists could push into the background intellectual and theological doubts and strive collectively to improve the conditions of the less fortunate. But the majority of the reform push came from the "Established Church" -- the Anglican Church of England. The temperance movement in its attempt to further the belief in moral progress, drew on the *respectable* characteristic of *self-help*.[95] This fact gave cause for many philanthropists to claim that temperance, above all other reform movements, was more self-supporting and effective in retaining an individual's dignity and character. No matter how much a poor man could contribute, they argued, reform could pave the way to great gains in self-respect. The temperance movement had compassion for the drunkard because it believed he was a victim of a society which had placed temptations in his path. Essentially, the teetotaling philanthropists were *moral suasionists* and it was their aim, as the wealthier classes, to set the example for the workingman. On many occasions teetotalers transformed temperance meetings from occasional gatherings of local "worthies" discussing ways of elevating their inferiors, into counter-attractive functions which enabled the workingman some respite from the public-house temptation. But, for all intents and purposes, the elite professionals set the example for moral and social reform. Even in sport, the gentlemanly amateur outlook was erected into a philosophical platform which would hopefully be an emulative tool by which to reform and control the recreative pastimes of the working class.

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[92] Alexis de Tocqueville, Journeys to England and Ireland. J. P. Mayer (ed.) (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 75.

[93] Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", Victorian Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1966), p. 356.

[94] Brian Harrison, "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England", Past and Present, No. 38 (1967), pp. 98-99.

It was the intention of the Temperance, Lord's Day, and Prevention to Cruelty to Animals societies to educate the public. Each of them published a periodical plus supplied "tracts and petitions".[96] In speaking of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in 1866, the Bishop of Lichfield stated that:

> It is not merely for animals that this society is instituted, but it is for ourselves. By encouraging kindness to animals, the Society hoped eventually to civilize manners, and hence to make the masses more receptive to religious instruction.[97]

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[95] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 101. Tracts were small booklets espousing the uplifting qualities of temperance.

[97] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Annual Report. 1866, p

Moreover, it was not uncommon for these organizations to offer monied prizes for essays submitted by the working class man. This became common and customary for not only these organizations but also for horticultural societies, mechanics' instititutes, bible societies and industrial exhibition associations. By encouraging the common man to read, write and think, these associations perpetuated the middle class ideal of self-help and furthered the cause of "elevating status" or "improving" activities.

Those who were most interested and motivated in saving souls in the nineteenth century were the "leisured class". It was they who could afford the subscription fees plus the annual dues of the respective societies, and it was they who had the administrative experience and the leisure time to run the charitable establishments. The giving of money, time and thought must have been considerable for the Victorian philanthropists. By 1890 in Britain, annual contributions for philanthropic ventures, not counting the private benevolence and monies given to churches and chapels, exceeded the five million pound mark.[98] It was an incredible sum when one considers an English pound was then worth approximately twenty dollars Canadian today. Though Victorians were frequently at fault for congratulating themselves on the scale of their charities, they could never have been accused of reflecting too much on the prevalence of misery.[99] What was paradoxical about philanthropic giving during the nineteenth century, was that as much as the professional and middle classes gave, they directed little attention toward solving the true problems of the destitute. Benevolence to the needs of the poor rather than amelioration of their social problems apparently was the credo upon which the elite functioned. G.D.H. Cole's verdict of Joseph Sturge, a leading early

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[97] (cont'd) 33, as cited in *ibid*., p. 100.

[98] Harrison, "Philanthropy...", p. 353. The size of philanthropic giving must have been considerable during the nineteenth century. For as Beatrice Webb wrote at the turn of the century, "Among the social changes in my lifetime, in the London that I have known, none is more striking than the passing 'out of the picture' of personal almsgiving". Beatrice Webb, My Apprenticeship. (London: Longmans and Green, 1926), p. 194.

[99] Angela Hookham, "The Literary Career of Henry Mayhew". M.A. thesis, Birmingham University, 1962, p. 152. Obviously, if the Victorians had given more thought as to why they were giving so much, they may have come to the conclusion that the misery was increasing in magnitude.

Victorian philanthropist, was perhaps indicative of this dilemma.

> His (Sturge) weakness was that, with all his ready sympathy, he looked much less at causes than at effects, and never penetrated below the surface ills of the society which he so ardently desired to reform.[100]

But as unimaginative and superficial as the Victorian philanthropists might have been in their evaluations of society, they were often enlightened in many of their sympathies and they were opposed to social change. Many philanthropists, with the exception of the sabbatarians, were enthusiastic of the advent of the railway and penny post. By having such communicative means, the problem of propagandism was solved. Philanthropic humanitarians who defended many improving causes deliberately encouraged inventions which would help eliminate ignorance among the poor.[101] The rapid railways, for instance, eliminated the need for whipping and spurring horses and reduced the occurrence of having animals haul large loads over burdensome distances. Plus, the penny post displaced, to the glory of the temperance reformer, the public-house as the center of the communication system. Furthermore, professional and middle class philanthropists showed sizable imagination in bringing within the limits of citizenship those who had for a long time been ignored. They brought drunkards, lunatics, orphans, prostitutes, tramps and vagrants all within the sphere of public concern.[102] From a sport point of view, the working class were assisted in seeking recreational activities which would "elevate, civilize and refine" their deprived passions for drink and cruel sport. The professional middle class saw to it that recreational opportunities were available for the workingman. The new elite gave leadership in several improving recreative societies (i.e., horticultural clubs) and they also sponsored games and athletic sports for the masses. Thus, self-help was not solely restricted to the philanthropic institutions such as the Temperance, the Lord's Day or the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

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[100] G.D.H. Cole, Chartist Portraits. (London: MacMillan, 1941), p. 186.
[101] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Annual Report. 1834, pp. 37-38, as cited in Harrison, "Philanthropy...", p. 362.
[102] See T. H. Marshall's excellent analysis of this process in his Citizenship and Social Class. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950). *passim.*

Philanthropists, according to Owen, were well represented by childlessness, bachelorhood, or widowhood.[103] Yet, the majority of the reforming philanthropic movement was the giving preserve of the professional middle class who were usually married and well-established in the wealth gathering activities of their respective occupations. To many, even the married ones, *charity took the place of the family*. As welcoming as the philanthropists were to charity causes they still clung to their class distinction in the role that they played. When a working man at a temperance annual meeting in 1838 suggested that some members of his own class should sit on the committee of management, he was told by Lord Stanhope, a patron, that only *men of leisure* could conveniently hold such posts.[104] It was not unusual for philanthropic businessmen to retire early in their careers to devote full-time energies to charity causes.[105]

It was their possession of leisure time which enabled so many respectable Victorians to engage in philanthropic ventures. The housewives of professionals and spinsters particularly, figured largely in nineteenth century charity. Their ability to involve themselves in charitable works was facilitated by house servants who performed most of the domestic duties normally attributed to the non-professional wives of the working class.[106]

Victorian women saw "slumming" or "helping" among the intemperant and poor as a pleasure. Deprived of alternative outlets for their literary and organising talents, and possibly their emotions, they derived from philanthropy all the excitement and unexpected pleasures which accrued from observing the unknown and novel aspects of living among the poor. As a result, they found a change of scene and activity rejuvenating which, in itself, characterized recreation.[107] Fund-raising was a speciality among nineteenth century women, for in this realm of activity she could display an audacity which would have been, coming from a man, offensive. In an amusing case of one instance, Mrs. Gladstone wrote to a friend demanding one thousand pounds for charity and when she received a cheque for only five hundred, she promptly sent it back, pointing out that it was not the sum which she had originally asked for. The required sum arrived by return post.[108]

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[103] See Owen, English Philanthropy..., pp. 77, 81, 83, 304, 364, 370, 439, 471 and 490.

[104] New British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, May 26, 1838, p. 171, as cited in Owen, *ibid*., p. 370.

[105] Harrison, "Philanthropy...", p. 59.

[106] F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 187-195. Also see de Tocqueville, Journeys to England..., p. 68; J.F.C. Harrison, The Early Victorians, 1832-1851. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 108-109; and Eugene C. Black, Victorian Culture and Society. (London: MacMillan, 1973), pp. 210-222.

Snobbery and ambition were often motivations for generous giving. Emulation of those who gave to charity not only served to raise the standard of subscription contributions from the middle classes but it also led to heightened aspirations of rising in the social order. It was not unheard of, even with an evolving professional class, who were often outside a system of patronage, to hear that an individual who had given generously on a loyal basis to some charity had received a favoured seat in government.[109] As Harrison believed, "The sale of honours was never considered unethical in the philanthropic world".[110] In fact, the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance offered Vice-Presidency to all who gave over a thousand pounds or more to its Guarantee Fund. And similarly, the philanthropic importance of snobbery was highlighted at the 1856 annual meeting of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, when, unexpectedly, Princess Christian cancelled her engagement to attend the meeting and its President, the Earl of Harrowby, was forced to admit to a half-filled hall that:

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[107] Brian Harrison, "Drunkards and Reformers: Early Victorian Temperance Tracts", History Today, Vol. 13 (1963), p. 184. See also F.K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 320.

[108] Georgina Battiscombe, Mrs. Gladstone, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1936), p. 167.

[109] See Black, Victorian Culture..., pp. 270-278; Asa Briggs, "Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846", Past and Present, No. 9 (1956), pp. 65-74; Walter L. Arnstein, "The Survival of the Victorian Aristocracy", in F.C. Jaher (ed.), The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 203-256, *passim.*; G.O. Trevelyan, "Gentility through Patronage", in W. L. Guttsman (ed.), The English Ruling Class. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 38; and M. B. Simey, Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), p. 56.

[110] Harrison, "Philanthropy...", p. 364.

> Humanity is a very popular thing but Princesses are popular also, and still more attractive, and I have not the least doubt we should have filled the Hall at the present meeting could we have had the advantage of her attendance.[111]

Philanthropy and the overt display of wealth and patronage were earmarks of nineteenth century upper and middle class expression. Again, as will be shown in later chapters of the dissertation, large sums of money were given by Toronto's elite for philanthropy related to sport.

Philanthropic organizations within the Victorian city were by no means haphazard affairs.[112] Many took sincere pride in their ability to efficiently and successfully fund-raise, administer and organize activities of their respective charities or societies. A successful charity was thought to be able to give birth to as many "imitations" as a successful industrial invention. In London, England, in 1833, there were no less than four organizations catering to animal cruelty; in 1840, there were no fewer than four temperance organizations claiming national popularity and in the 1870s there were no fewer than five bodies campaigning to uphold Sunday observance.[113] Though members of these philanthropic organizations often expressed the desire to amalgamate with other similar bodies to share costs of charity, few unions ever occurred, for in charities as in churches, no sanctified body of good, particularly among the well-to-do, cared to admit defeat. Annual meetings usually provided philanthropic officials with opportunities to praise each other on self-sacrifice and enthusiasm for their respective cause. But philanthropic sectarianism from institution to institution blocked any hope of charities efficiently ridding Victorian society of human misery and as such, were supposedly as effective as the churches were in spreading Christianity.[114] They were often accused of being more energetic in suggesting alternative remedies for the problems than in attacking the ones they already faced.[113] Part of the problem effecting philanthropic efficiency was the residential isolation of the rich from the poor by mid-nineteenth century. This made it difficult for the wealthy to be sensitive to the needs of the slums. Philanthropists preferred to see the effects of their time and donations in their own districts rather than in the slum regions because they were "fastidious" and often lacked the courage to visit the ghettos. But this did not serve to remove them from their reforming tendencies or duties. Philanthropists continued to further their middle class ideal of *service* and in so doing, promoted the "gospel" of self-help and self-denial.

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[111] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Annual Report. 1879, p. 22, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 365. It is of interest to note that the Annual Reports after 1890 carried photographs of all patron princesses and aristocrats.

[112] Owen, English Philanthropy..., p. 129. This author suggested only in passing to the "...grubby aspects of organization and finance".

[113] See Brian Harrison. "The Temperance Question in England, 1828-1869". Ph. D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1965, *passim*.

[114] A general refutation of working class acceptance of middle class reform can be seen in F.M.L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain", Economic History Review, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1981), pp. 189-208.

During the Victorian era, philanthropy assisted in validating existing social institutions by highlighting the generosity of the rich and the inadequacies of the poor. As well, it served to control the mobility aspirations of the working class and allowed philanthropists a thermometer's view of the state of unrest in the working class.[114] Nowhere was this clearer than in the working men's club movement.[115] Here, the philanthropists were able to cast the working men in their own image and attempt to instill in them the desirable qualities of intellectualism, teetotalism, sociability, self-help, religiousity, and self-denial.[116] The thrust of these establishments was to educate the masses and to "civilise", "refine" and "elevate" the workingman's knowledge of the world. The theme which was most prevalent at the opening of many of these clubs was the dependency which Britain had on her artizan and working classes for economic greatness. This was typified at the inaugural meeting of the Ayr Mechanics' Institute in 1824.

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[113] See Brian Harrison, "Sunday Trading Riots of 1855", Historical Journal, Vol. 8 (1965), pp. 222-240.

[114] One aspect of Victorian middle class ideology which has been recognized but scantily researched is the Victorian's fear of revolution or mass unrest. See Derek Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), particularly Chapter 11.

[115] See both Christopher Kent, "The Whittington Club: A Bohemian Experiment in Middle Class Social Reform", Victorian Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1974), pp. 31-55 and Richard N. Price, "The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform", Victorian Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1971), pp. 117-147.

[116] See Geoffrey Crossick, "The Labour Aristocracy and Its Values: A Study of Mid-Victorian Kentish London", Victorian Studies, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1976), p. 301; Francis B. Smith, The Making of the Second Reform Bill. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1966), p. 8; Michael D. Stephens and Gordon W. Roderick, "British Artisan Scientific and Technical Education in the Early Nineteenth Century", Annals of Science, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1954), pp. 87-97; *idem*, "Middle Class Non-Vocational Lecture and Debating Subjects in the 19th Century England", British Journal of Education Studies, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1973), pp. 192-201; Edward Royle, "Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860", Historical Journal, Vol. 14 (1971), pp. 305-321.

> The great superiority this country holds in the world is derived not so much by the powers of the mind, as by the early habits acquired at our parochial schools, and, having become by these people able to read and write, we have, when we leave the parental fireside, the rudiments of what may forward us in our several pursuits, as philosophers, master mechanics, or operatives, from the lowest departments to the highest scale of mental accomplishment. Surely, therefore, every aid to natural genius, and every means for pushing forward, ought to be had if possible. This we gain by forming mechanics' institutions...It is truly gratifying to me, from the frequent communications I have had from tradesmen generally, both masters and operatives, to see such good sense, and such dispositions to learn.[119]

As well, it was the feeling of the reforming class that these "*agencies of improvement*" should appeal directly to the working man because as James Hole, in 1854, in writing of the Mechanics' Institutes, said:

> To raise the working man [*sic*] we must take hold of him where he is, not where he is not. Attract him, get possession of him and you may lead him by degrees to something better.[120]

Anything which made a man more *humane* was a part of reform education. Concerts, lectures, debates, recitals, gymnastics, rifle clubs, libraries, athletic meetings were all considered part of the curriculum for these associations because as Maurice described:

> The more we look upon man as a spiritual being, the more we regard education as intended to bring forth his spirit, the more we shall desire to train his animal nature and his senses, because they will certainly enslave his spirit if they are not made its servants. [121]

Generally, the promotion of the well-being of the working class was the credo of the workingmen's clubs. In an article in the Temple Bar in 1863, entitled "Working Men's

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[119] Stephens and Roderick, "British Artisan Scientific...", p. 91. For a further discussion of the general *moralizing* benefits of such associations see P.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961) and Ruth Barton, "The X Club: Science, Religion and Social Change in Victorian England". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1976.

[120] J.F.C. Harrison. Learning and Living, 1790-1960. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), pp. 74 and 133.

[121] L.D. Maurice, Learning and Working. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 148-149.

Clubs", the author tried to put in context the philosophy of the professional middle class and its reform work.

> It is nowadays graciously conceded that ignorance is not a blessing, and does not make the poor happier or more religious. Hence a new theory has arisen, that if ignorance is to be displaced by education, education must be rightly directed. Large and powerful was the army of obstructors, but it has been defeated by new zealous, earnest, intelligent, prayerful and devoted workers in the cause of intellectual and social improvement. The labouring classes, instead of being allowed to rot and fester beneath the cold shade of indifferentism, have been regarded as a part, and an essential part, of the body politic, and their claims to consideration have been recognized by the philanthropist...As in the region of morality there are offences which no law can take cognizance of, so in the social world there is good to be effected which no legislation can achieve. It is to supply this deficiency that the individual members of the community must of themselves labour; and bravely has the work been taken in hand. In our Ragged Schools, Industrial Homes, Free Libraries, Public Reading Rooms, and Working Men's Clubs [*sic*], we have an excellent illustration of the kind of labour to which we particularly allude...[122]

In essence, the workingmen's clubs were instituted to rival the public-houses which so often were the scene of intemperance, improvidence and religious indifference. In their efforts to inject 'social life' and "substantial knowledge, steady habit, personal effort and a sense of duty", the clubs supplied newspapers, large and clean premises, games rooms filled with draughts, chess tables, bagatelle, parlourballs and dominoes, plus club-rooms for lectures and refreshments, just like the philanthropist's own sport clubs.[123] Subscription for the workingman, in accordance with the reform doctrine of self-help, ranged anywhere from a half penny to eight pence per month or to two shillings per yearly quarter. Initially liquor and beer were not allowed, but after some reflection of how to attract larger numbers of workingmen, the laws did permit a "hard-working" individual a pint of beer twice a week.[124]

Working class clubs, though largely frequented and used by working class men, remained in the control of the philanthropists. Because it was necessary to rely heavily on wealthy benefactors for the initial investment capitol, these organizations remained within the influential realm of the trustee. The philanthropic trustee not only gave financial assistance but he also vested time in the administration and organization of club activities.[125] This help was usually most needed during the early years of a club when the workingmen required the greatest direction possible in the "arts" of committee work and business affairs. In citing recognition of this fact, Henry Solly, in 1875, wrote,

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[122] "Working Men's Clubs", Temple Bar, Vol. 8 (July 1863), pp. 583-584.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 585.
[124] See Price, "The Working Men's Club...", p. 127.

> ... a committee of working men [*sic*] will seldom be found to agree, and it is not to be expected that their experience can give them the best ideas of what a public institution requires and of those adoptions on which success will often depend".[126]

Solly recommended that a workingman should be disqualified from absolute management of clubs due to what he saw as "woeful mistakes through ignorance...and unbusinesslike habits". It was not until the 1880s when a better educated group of artizans entered these clubs, that self-sufficiency and financial responsibility rested with the workingman. As a consequence, middle class patronage was an essential feature of workingmen's clubs throughout most of the nineteenth century and this was particularly so with respect to workingmen's sport clubs. Though the illusion of self-help and self-determination were the calling cards of many workingmen's clubs, control inevitably sat with the philanthropic minority. Mortgage and lease control by the predominantly professional middle class always awakened the possibility of interference. Therefore, the threat that the workingman would be constrained from doing anything that failed to meet the approval of the trustees was a constant burden to which the working class institutions had to adjust during the Victorian period.

D. Clubs in the Social Life of Nineteenth Century England

The discussion of professional social life in the nineteenth century would be incomplete without the mention of the importance of club-life. The club was not a unique feature of English society. In fact, it came to encompass a very large role in the life of the wealthier or upper classes. Social interaction and exchange, in arts, in music, in literature, in games, in religion, in education, in sport, in politics, in "culinary delights" and in business, centered on the club. Few gentlemen of good social standing were without a club.

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[125] *Ibid.*, p. 129 and Stephens and Roderick, "British Artisan Scientific...", p. 92.
[126] Henry Solly, Working Men's Clubs and Alcoholic Drinks. (London: n.p., 1875), p. 5, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 130.

The term *club* had its roots in Greek society. The etymological derivation of it, *ctaipia*, or in Latin, *sodalitas*, meant "an association within the state of persons not united together by any natural ties of kinship, real or supposed".[127] The earliest mention of clubs was in Solon's, Digest of Justinian,[128] when it was incidentally mentioned that a law had been created to guarantee the administrators of the Greek state independence of these associations provided they kept within the bounds of the laws. The clubs mentioned were (apart from phratries) for religious purposes, for burial, for trade, for privateering, and for the enjoyment of common meals. It is plausible that these associations originally had religious connections as many were contributors to charity, a custom still carried on by many clubs today.

In Roman times, the *sodalities* and the *collegia opificum*, or trade guilds, were believed to have been instituted by Numa and regulated by a *jus divinum* which would infer particular worships.[129] The *collegia opificum* included guilds of weavers, fullers, dyers, shoemakers, doctors, teachers, and painters, and as learned from Ovid, in Fasti, they were described as being associated with the cult of Minerva, the deity of handiwork.[130] As well, there were guilds associated with athletes in the Roman Empire. Though these guilds may not have had their Roman origins in religion, it did appear that they were associated with a *unifying cult*.

The more modern derivation of the word '*club*', usually associated with the promotion of good-fellowship and social intercourse, is not very old, only becoming popular in England around the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is doubtful whether its use originated in its meaning of a *knot of people* or from the fact that the members "clubbed" together to share the expenses of their meetings. The earliest descriptions of a club were anything but formal socieites and generally incorporated the periodic gatherings of friends for the purposes of dining and drinking together.[131]

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[127] Encyclopedia Brittanica. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 564.
[128] Solon, Digest of Justinian. (47.22), as cited in *Ibid.*
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] Ovid, Fasti. (iii, 819 foll.).

The earliest club of which there is record was the *Le Court De Compagnie*, described in a poem, La Male Regle, by Thomas Hoccleve, who was a member. It flourished during the reign of Henry IV and was evidently a dining club, which met in a house near the fashionable Middle Temple region of London.[132] The *Elizabethan Friday Street, or Bread Street*, club was also a dining association; it met at the famous Mermaid tavern, which was said to have been founded by Sir Walter Raleigh.[133] Supposedly, in 1585, Raleigh smoked his pipe at 'his' club, while Shakespeare looked on and wondered why a man would want to take up such a habit.[134] Donne, Beaumont and Fletcher, famous writers of the period, were also thought to be members. About 1616, Ben Johnson founded the Apollo club in the Devil tavern by the Temple Bar. Its many distinguished members included contemporaries Lucius Cary, Sir John Suckling, Robert Herrick and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, all famous literari of the period. Interestingly, though purely masculine in membership, it did allow females to dine on special occasions. Again, this is a custom which is still practiced in gentlemen's clubs today.

With the introduction of coffee drinking in the middle of the seventeenth century, clubs entered on a more permanent era.[135] The landlords of a coffee-house usually allotted a special room to a club and provided its members with not only refreshment but an abundance of food and newspapers as well. Before 1715, not less than two thousand coffee-houses were within London's boundaries.[136] And, it was believed that, "Every profession, trade, class party, had its favourite coffee-house".[137] It was at this time that the term '*club*' in its modern sense came into common use. "We now", said John Aubrey, an important literary figure of the period, "use the word clubbe for a solality in a taverne (coffee-house)".[138] Similarly, in 1660, Samuel Pepys mentioned Woods' tavern in Pall Mall as the place where he and his friends went "for clubbing". Thus, the coffee-houses of the later Stuart period were resembling what could be termed "modern clubs".

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[131] "The Clubs of London", National Review, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1853), p. 295.
[132] Chamber's Encyclopedia. (London: Pergamon Press, 1967), pp. 664-665.
[133] "The Clubs of London", New Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 18 (1869), p. 134. This article has an excellent history of club formation up until the time the piece was written.
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] "The Clubs of London", National Review, p. 301. The first coffee house in London was evidently established in 1657. The introduction of the drink was accredited to Daniel Edwards, a Turkey merchant.
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] Ibid.

The clubs of the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth century were much like their Tudor forerunners in that they were usually associations for conviviality or literary endeavors. But many were confessedly political, for example, the Rota, or Coffee Club, (est. 1659), a debating society for the spread of republican ideas broken up at Restoration, the Calves Head Club (est. 1665), and the Green Ribbon Club (est. 1675). The characteristics of all these clubs were: (1) they had no permanent financial bond between the members, or rather, each man's liability ended when he paid his "score" for the meal; (2) they had no permanent club-house, though each "clique" tended to make some special coffee-house or tavern their headquarters. The clubs of this period were often hotbeds of political scandal and intrigue, and in 1675, Charles II issued a proclamation which read:

> His Majesty hath thought fit and necessary that coffee-houses be (for the future) put down and suppressed...owing to the fact that such houses divers false, malitious and scandalous reports devised and spread abroad to the Defamation of his Majesty's Government and to the Disturbance of Peace and Quiet of the Realm.[139]

So unpopular was this proclamation that it was almost immediately revoked and by Queen Anne's reign, the coffee-house club was a common feature of English social life.

From the eighteenth century clubs were usually of two types: (1) there was one which was essentially a social and dining club of a 'fixed' institutional nature which had permanent club quarters, and (2) there were those which met only occasionally or periodically and possessed no club-house -- these existed primarily for some specific object (i.e., many were purely athletic, sport or pastime clubs, such as, the Turf Club, yacht clubs, hunt clubs, literary clubs, reading clubs and scientific clubs). The social clubs, which grew immensely in

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[138] "The Clubs of London", New Quarterly, p. 135.
[139] Encyclopedia Brittanica., p. 566.

London during the early 1700's, very often would absorb the whole accommodation of the coffee-house or tavern where they held their meetings, thus these eventually became their club-house premises. It was not uncommon for these clubs to retain the name of the original keeper; ie., White's, Brook's, Arthur's or Boodles.[140] These "*modern clubs*" were proprietary in nature, whereby the establishment would be owned by a private individual or syndicate, and he or they would charge the club according to space and food consumed. The likes of these clubs reached their highest development in London in a district known as St. James. Commonly called "Clubland", this area contained no less than twenty-two clubs in the earlier eighteenth century.[141] A contemporary tabloid described what type of establishments these clubs were:

> Clubs may be generally described as houses combining the characters of restaurants and reading rooms, *for the use of a select number of associated persons*, who agree to make an annual payment for their support, whether they resort to them little or much, and pay besides for whatever refreshment they may require at cost free of profit.[142]

And another periodical described exactly what went on inside the club and where many of them were situated:

> The cits *(professionals)* met to discuss the rise and fall of stocks, and to settle the rate of insurances at Garraways or Jonathans; the parsons exchanged university gossip, or commented on Dr. Sacheverell's last sermon at Truby's or at Child's in St. Paul's Churchyard; the soldiers mustered to grumble over their grievances at Old or Young Man's, near Charing Cross; the St. Jame's and the Smyrna were the headquarters of the Whig politicians, while the Tories frequented the Cocoa-Tree or Onind[illegible]s, all in St. James Street; Scotchmen [*sic*] had their house of call at Forrest's, Frenchmen at Gile's or Old Slaughter's in St. Martin's Lane; the gamesters shook their elbows in White's, and the Chocolate-houses, round Covent Garden; the *virtuosi* honoured the neighbourhood of Gresham College; and the leading wits gathered at Will's, Button's, or Tom's in Great Russell Street, where after the theatre, was playing at piquet and the best of conversation till midnight.[143]

It was of interest to note that all of these places, "except for the most aristocratic coffee or chocolate-houses of the West End", allowed the practice of smoking. This must have marked the beginning of a smoking room within the club enviroment. Often a penny was laid down on the bar by the members as they entered, to cover the cost of the lights and newspapers and an additional twopence was spent to enjoy a cup of coffee or tea.[144] The most popular of the eighteenth century clubs which still survive in London were: White's, originally established in 1698 as White's Chocolate House, becoming the headquarters of the Tory party; Brook's, founded in 1764, and originally the resort of the Whigs; Boodle's, established in 1762, and having a tradition of being the 'home-away-from-home' of country gentlemen and the *masters of foxhounds*; Arthur's, set-up in 1765, originally an offshoot of White's and having always been as social as had the Cocoa Tree Club (circa 1746). Of the clubs without a club-house, the Literary Club ("The Club"), founded in 1764 by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Ben Johnson, stands most prominent.[145] Though many of the clubs were restrictive in their membership by virtue of the fact that they were situated in coffee-houses, many experienced intruders, as this quotation from Lord Campbell's, Life of Lord Thurlow, exhibited:

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[140] "Club-Life", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, Vol. 4, No. 94 (October 1845), p. 241.

[141] *Ibid.*

[142] *Ibid.*, According to Chamber's, "...they (clubs) are devoted to the unclassical and everyday purposes of eating, drinking, lounging and reading newpapers".

[143] "The Clubs of London", National Review, p. 301.

> A.D. 1769. At that time, and indeed when I myself first began the study of law, the modern club-system was unknown, and (as in the time of Swift and Addison) men went in the evenings for society to coffeehouses, in which they expected to encounter a *particular set of acquaintance*, but which were open to all who chose to enter and offer to join in the conversation, at the risk of meeting cold looks and mortifying rebuffs.[146]

Clubs in the nineteenth century came to realize that if they wished to be completely free of "*bacchanalian*" interference then they would have to sever their associations with taverns and coffee-houses. In doing so, many clubs established separate quarters exclusively for the use and enjoyment of their members. These clubs were wholly owned by the members and constructed through funds raised by the issuing of debentures. Several resembled mansions or "Grecian Temples" and if one were to stroll down by Pall Mall on any given day, one would readily have observed every form of architecture from "Doric to the most florid Composite".[147] The Athenaeum, founded in 1824, by Sir Walter Scott and Thomas More, was:

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[144] "Unfashionable Clubs", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, Vol. 11, No. 441 (June 1852), p. 369.
[145] "On Some Clubs, and Their Ends", Temple Bar, Vol. 34 (March 1872), pp. 469-482, *passim*.
[146] *Ibid*., p. 482.

> ...for the association of individuals known for their scientific or literary attainments, artists of eminence in any class of the fine arts, and noblemen and gentlemen distinguished as liberal patrons of science, literature or the arts," [148]

It was a classic example of Greek Doric architecture. Within many of these elegant edifices were such things as fine, spacious dining-rooms, reading, writing, billiards (a gentlemanly sport), card rooms, in most cases a library, bedrooms or small apartments for country members or guests, and again, in some cases, a "bath-spa".[149] Bulwer-Lytton in 1833, in seeing the rapid muliplication of clubs as a sign of social improvement remarked:

> By this species (clubs) of co-operation the man of L200 (lower middle class) a year can command the luxuries of a man of L5,000; airy and spacious apartments, the decent comforts of the table, lights, fires, books and intellectual society.[150]

As well, others saw the comforts of a club as a significant advantage of communitarianism displayed by the English upper classes.[151] Their accounts rarely failed to mention the London

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[147] "Club Life", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal., p. 241.

[148] Chamber's Encyclopedia., p. 665. There is a picture which shows the Athenaeum in 1830, taking up almost a whole city block.

[149] "The London Clubs", The Nation, Vol. 20, No. 510 (April 1875), pp. 238-239; "An Account of Some Curious Clubs in London, About the Beginning of the 19th Century", Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 17 (August 1818), pp. 552-554; "Leaves from Club Books", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. 91, No. 1055 (March 1862), p. 331; "Where is Belair?", Temple Bar, Vol. 13 (March 1865), pp. 78-84; "Clubs - Club Life", The Galaxy, Vol. 22 (June 1876), pp. 227-238; "Family Club-Life in England", Temple Bar, Vol. 12 (November 1864), pp. 396-403; D. W. Jobson, London Clubs, Their Anecdotes, History, Private Rules and Regulations. (London: Henry Adams, 1853), *passim*; T.H.S. Escott, Club Makers and Club Members. (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1914), *passim*; and Ralph Neville, London Clubs. (London: Chattos and Windus, 1911).

[150] E.G. Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840), p. 257.

[151] For example see, Alphonse Esquiros, The English at Home. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862), pp. 36 *ff*, Julius Rodenburg, England, Literary and Social, from a German Point of View. (London: Bentley, 1875), pp. 230 *ff*, Mary Gillies, "Associated Homes for the Middle Class", Howitt's Journal, Vol. 1 (May 1847), pp. 270-273, and Vol. 2 (July 1847), pp. 38-40; and A. Wynter, "Club Chambers for the Married", People's Journal, Vol. 3, p. 49.

Reform Club within which laid the "legendaryly [*sic*] magnificent" kitchens of Alexis Soyer with its gas ranges and steam powered roasting spits, plus its palatial rooms appointed in mahogany, marble, crystal, silver and leather and where deferential servants glided about on felt-soled shoes to the "bidding" of the members. Indeed, it was simple to see how the "higher comforts in life" could lead to not only social and economic leverage but also to a "greater sense of moral dignity".[152]

Admission to one of these London clubs was dependent usually on three factors. Firstly, a potential member had to be of a suitable social standing (lower middle class minimum) and secondly, he had to be proposed by a member and balloted for by a committee of members,[153] a practice which was adopted later relative to sport club membership in Toronto in the nineteenth century. Usually, one black-ball in ten would eliminate a man as a member. Albany Poyntz pointed out, in 1843, the seriousness of club election:

> But the definition of a club, thus derived would be White's by itself - White's; *the* Club from which men have died of exclusion, as Keats, of the Quarterly, - killed on the spot by a black-ball; *the* club, where, in dandy existence, "either you must live or have no life...". [154]

And Tickell's, "Lines from the Hon. Charles Fox to Hon. John Townshend traveling", pleasantly described how wonderful it would be to have Townshend back at Brooke's but he also warned of the danger:

Soon as to Brooke's thence thy footsteps bend,
What gratulations thy approach attend.
See Gibbon tap his box; auspicious sign,
That classic compliment and wit combine.
See Beauclerk's cheek a tinge of red surprise,
And friendship give what cruel health denies.
Important Townshend. What can thee withstand?

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[152] Bulwer-Lytton, England..., p. 257.

[153] "Club-Life", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, p. 243; A. W. Chaster, Wertheimer's Law Relating to Clubs. (London: Stevens and Haynes, 1903), p. 158. He cited the original law regulating election to clubs; 2nd Ed., VII. C. 28, S. 25(2) (e) and S. 28 (1) (g). Also see reprints of J. F. Josling and Lionel Alexander, The Law of Clubs. (London: Oyerz, 1964) and J. N. Martin, Daly's Club Law . (London: Butterworth, 1970). *passim*.

[154] Albany Poyntz, "Clubs and Clubmen", Bentley's Miscellany, Vol. 14 (1843), p. 453.

The lingering black-ball lags in Boothby's hand.
E'en Draper checks the sentimental sigh;
And Smith, without an oath, suspends the die.[155]

Moreover, even if an "undesirable" had somehow perpetrated the ranks of a club he usually had nothing to look forward to:

> But yet, supposing that a nobody, by accident or ignorance (for an unknown man has a far better chance of not being black-balled than his more known friend) *should* be elected a member of the most exclusive club in town, he would remain a nobody, so far as his club was concerned, to the end of the chapter.[156]

Exclusivity of nineteenth century clubs was a significant feature of class distinction in Victorian society, whether it was social or sport. By regulating those who wished to join the professional elite within these associations, *club members were able to guarantee a more occupationally homogeneous and ideologically unified membership*. In fact, as the popularity in belonging to a club rose during the nineteenth century, it was no longer sufficient to claim membership in a distinct, self-supporting organization. Clubs were now becoming more stratified in terms of social status and many were being rebuked for the lack of exclusivity.

> Everything is good according to its use. A *select club* is a necessary thing for a judge or a bishop or perhaps a peer of more than average stupidity. The Senior University is now the only refuge of these worthy members of society. Some years ago they used to congregate at the Athenaeum; but a club of twelve hundred members cannot be select...and that an opportunity offered for hobnobbing with archbishops and hearing Theodore Hook's jokes. Consequently, all the little crawlers and parasites, and gentility hunters from all corners of London, set upon the creep.[157]

But membership within a club did not guarantee an automatic 'elevation' of status. Many members, though from the professional classes, were recognized as being poor at their livelihood and as a result, were recognized as being occupationally inferior and fair game for the stigma of a "social-climber". Moreover, "live-ins" of clubs were thought to be unsuitable for marriage because of the supposed 'vice' which these institutions propagated. Whether this was true or not, it invoked great debate during the nineteenth century. One chronicler, in speaking in defense of clubs, sought to set the record straight by describing:

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[155] "The Clubs of London", National Review, p. 328.

[156] "London Clubs", Tinsley's, Vol. 8 (June 1871), p. 577. Also refer to "The London Clubs", The Nation, p. 238, for a description of how Sheridan was black-balled from the Garrick Club and was only admitted through the ruse of George IV, then Prince of Wales.

[157] "The Clubs of London", New Quarterly, p. 135. Also see "Clubs", Temple Bar, Vol. 51 (December 1877), p. 190, when the author admits that "...thirty years ago it was the exception for a man to belong to a club. The fact of club membership then implied some social position or distinction on the part of the individual".

> Of the various institutions which the requirements of society have created within this luxurious nineteenth century, few are more misrepresented, or give rise to more erroneous ideas, than those palatial buildings which line Pall Mall and St. James Street, and which we English call "*clubs*". To ladies -- especially to nervous wives and anxious mothers -- a club is synonymous with extravagance and every sinful allurement...which is false. By men in the lower middle ranks -- your third rate solicitors and city gents -- the fact of belonging to a club is looked upon as "a very swell thing" and as giving one "a position"...By that large class of social paupers, barristers without briefs, doctors without patients, curates without livings or Government clerk on attenuated salary, a club is often regarded as far too expensive a luxury for them to indulge in and one only suitable for magnates or the wealthier orders.[158]

Another chronicler defended clubmen by stating:

> A club presents at least a *respectable* place of resort...Women may feel pretty sure that they receive their husbands more virtuous and more fitted in every way for family life and *duty* from the Club than they did from the tavern.[159]

One of the major benefits attributed to nineteenth century clubs was their '*moral*' improving effect. Cognizant of the societal emphasis on *moral reform*, the members sought to display how belonging to a club would diminish one's tendency to unobservant moral behavior. Propagandism of social superiority in all facets of moral manners was the club's *modus operandi*.[160] This resulted in an increased aura of emulation among the lower middle class for club membership and attempted to show the less fortunate (working class) that improvement was within the sphere of anyone who tried. In an article on "Club-Life" which appeared in Chamber's Edinburgh Journal in 1845, the author summarized:

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[158] "London Clubs", Tinsley's, p. 569.

[159] "Clubs and Matrimony", The Nation, Vol. 2, No. 20 (1875), p. 236. This author went on to state that rather than clubs being the inhibiting force behind non-marriage, the increased costs and increased social pressure were more to blame.

[160] J.M. Curtin, "Etiquette and Society in Victorian England". Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1981, see Chapter 3. The author linked class mobility to manners. The better one could emulate the manners of his superiors, the better chance he stood of being upwardly mobile.

> The establishments have had a striking effect upon the manners, not only, we would say, of the departments of society from which their members are drawn, but upon society in general; and the change has been decidedly for the better. In the first place, they have brought economy into fashion. In the old time, associations were formed for the purpose of spending money, in a manner which did little good either to the receiver or disburser: Drinking clubs for wasting money and health; four-in-hand clubs, which cost each member some five or six hundred a-year [*sic*] to adopt the habits and manners of a stage-coachman, together with similarly senseless associations had the effect of encouraging reckless extravagance, accompanied with certain collateral irregularities, which caused the picture of English society, as presented towards the end of the last and beginning of the present century, to be the reverse of a bright one...Clubs, again, have helped to abolish the once fashionable vice of drunkeness. Formerly, one drunkard made many, because for the sake of conviviality, all were compelled to drink alike. Now, the individual is independent of his neighbours in this respect, and so thoroughly has been the scale thus turned in favour of sobriety, that no intemperant man is allowed to remain a member of a club.[161]

Similarly, in the expose of "Clubs and Clubbists", which appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in 1853, the author rejoined:

> ...we are decidedly of opinion that the clubs have wrought a marked improvement in many points of minor morals. A club is, out of all sight, a better place than a tavern, and as men must necessarily meet for interchange and communication of ideas, it is surely better that they should have a well-regulated place of meeting than be forced to congregate in houses where they are expected to be unnecessarily jovial...We believe that the club-houses have mainly contributed to remove the reproach of deep drinking from the present generation.[162]

Clubs in the nineteenth century stood for the best of everything. The members were of the highest and most respectable order, the facilities were the most comfortable and luxurious, the cuisine was the most exquisite, the sociability was of the best nature and the manners exhibited by those who were within their surroundings were the finest to be displayed anywhere. Intemperance, sabbath observance, duty and service, self-dependence, industry, thrift, intellectualism, gentlemanliness and friendliness to others of the same class were all enviable attributes of a club in a Victorian city. There is no doubt that deviances did occur but for the most part, clubs, as they were portrayed in Victorian society, were the showplaces of respectable Englishmen. It is unlikely that a gentleman ever shyed away from introducing a guest to his London club. In fact, he probably would not have hesitated in taking a guest to any one of his many clubs, for *multi-club membership* was a feature of fraternal association in the nineteenth century.

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[161] "Club-Life", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, p. 241. The author of this article went on to state that the average annual consumption of wine by club members generally, was no more than "half a pint per diem".

[162] "Clubs and Clubbists", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 449 (March 1853), p. 266.

> Many men belong to more than one (club): and the vanity of some who can afford it, induces them to get admission into four, five or even six, should they be eligible.[163]

The membership in numerous associations probably led a professional to further discourse in politics, law, religion, business or colonial interests. It was not unheard of to entertain such conversations within a club nor was it unusual for foreign visitors to be received within the confines of a club's walls. Bulwer-Lytton, in describing the impact of the club in the nineteenth century, spoke of both the raised character of the club and the beneficial effects which visitors had on its members:

> *Clubs form a main feature of the social system of the richer classes of the metropolis.* Formerly they were merely the resort of gamblers, politicians or *bons vivans* -now, they have assumed a more intellectual character; every calling has its peculiar club -- from the soldiers to the scholars. The effect which this multiplicity of clubs has produced is salutary in the extreme; it has begun already to counteract the solitary disposition of the natives; it opens a ready intercourse with our foreign guests, who are usually admitted as honorary members; prejudices are rubbed off; and by an easy and inexpensive process, the most domestic or the most professional learn the views of the world.[164]

Thus, clubs facilitated a means of international understanding and served to improve social and commercial aspects on various continents. Whether they were as successful in their transplantation to other countries is conjectural, as English clubs were thought to be "*sui generis*". And as many felt in Britain at the time, "*a club is a natural excresence of English social life, as the gall-apple on the oak*".[165] Therefore, it was not surprising to see social commentators of the period protect the uniqueness of the English club.

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[163] "Club-Life", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, p. 244. Also see "The London Clubs", The Nation, p. 238. For admission to some clubs, potential members had to wait the order of twenty-five years; see "Clubs", Temple Bar, p. 191.
[164] As cited in "Clubs and Clubbists", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, p. 266. Emphasis is this author.
[165] Poyntz, "Clubs and Clubmen", p. 453.

> The clubs and cercles [*sic*] in Paris, in Vienna, in St. Petersburg, and above all, those wretched transplantations called English and American clubs which flourish in every city of Europe, are as different from their Pall-Mall namesakes as the worship of Bacchus is from total abstinence.[166]

Clubs in the Victorian period represented an association of wealthy men, mostly professionals, who met for the purpose of mutual benefit;[167] whether it be social, economic, sporting, literary, musical,[168] horticultural,[169] political, denominational, commercial and professional. In their co-operative system of club debentures, entrance fees and annual subscriptions, members were able to own their own quarters and strictly regulate the machinations of the club in terms of activities, business affairs and membership. *Each club stood as a class symbol.* Within the club-rooms and libraries were members who exemplified the foundations upon which Britain's social and political elite were based. Through common class backgrounds and ideological concerns, club members in Victorian England attempted to shape the attitudes and values of the lower echelons of society, namely the working class and lower middle classes. Their efforts at reform were conscious and cohesive.

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[166] "London Clubs", Tinsley's, p. 569.

[167] "Clubs and Clubbists", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, p. 18.

[168] See William Weber, Music and the Middle Class. (London: Croom-Helm, 1975), *passim*.

[169] S.M. Gaskell, "Gardens of the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure", Victorian Studies, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1980), p. 483.

Chapter III

PROLOGUE TO SPORT IN TORONTO

> An examination of the development of sport in British North America, from 1800 to Confederation, is a reflection of the development of British North American society itself, and the social, economic, technological and cultural influences exerted on it.[1]

Sport development, in British North America and in Toronto during the period 1827 to 1881, was a sharp reflection of the society which was evolving in the colonial settlement. Sport, in the minds of most British settlers, was an institution which was worthy of transplantation to British North America due to its intrinsic closeness to the value structure of a society which they had left behind and which they were attempting to recreate in the colonies.

As well, sport, like other long-established institutions, such as the church, the tavern, the fraternal societies, the military, the political establishments, the elitist schools, the benevolent associations, the commercial practices, the theatres and the social clubs, all followed the settlers to the new lands of British North America.[2] While many of these institutions developed at varying times and at varying rates, most inevitably found their place within colonial society. The religious edifices, the political machinery, the business regimens and the military garrisons were some of the earliest institutions to be initiated due to their essential nature within the newly formed communities. They afforded the novel society the basis for religious practice, government rule, economic viability and sovereign protection. Yet, other 'seemingly' less important institutions were not far behind in their introduction to colonial life. Sport, for instance, sprang up almost as quickly as the church and the military garrisons, because of what several authorities have felt to be its importance in transmitting cultural values and traditions.[3] Sport acted as not only a cultural bond between the mother nation and its transplanted people of the colonies, but it also served as an agent of custom and tradition which heightened the awareness of the settlers to old, established values. One of the values of colonial British North American society which sport assisted in perpetuating was *social class*.

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[1] Peter Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 1.

[2] See for example, Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875. (London: Fontana Press, 1971), particularly chapters 3 and 4 which examined "Education, Religion and the Uses of Leisure" and the "Social Order of Mid-Victorian Britain". Also see Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes. (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), *passim*.

Class had always been an indelible fact of life in British society. Up to the mid-1800s, Britain had been split between the upper class, mostly composed of the aristocracy and landed gentry, and the working class, those who laboured at manual tasks and were sentenced to a life of struggle and hard work.[4] It was a custom which had had its historical roots in feudal society. The British society of the nineteenth century was largely composed of two classes, those who possessed most everything, including wealth and leisure time to play at sport, and those who had nearly nothing, materially or otherwise, except perhaps for their folk games which were at times restricted due to upper class censure. Class differentiation impinged on almost every facet of society. It determined, in a generalizable way, what religion one could be a member of, what regiment and what rank of the military one could belong and aspire to, what housing was available to oneself, what social organizations were acceptable to one's station in life, whether fraternal or otherwise, what section of the city one was allowed to live in, what recreational outlets one had access to, what politics, if any, one involved oneself in and, what sport clubs one was qualified to be a member of. In essence, class differences, and access to various institutions within British and British North American society, was a social value and custom long-held in nineteenth century society.[5] Although the emergence of a professional middle class in mid-century did alter the value structure somewhat, it did little to affect the elitist or upper class views of society in general. The middle class professional who moved into the upper class through either outstanding capabilities or extensive friendly relationships, largely ascribed to elitist doctrinal values and as such, largely represented the views of the ruling oligarchy. His upwardly mobile acceptance depended upon his recognition of and loyal service to the value structure. Therefore, the individuals who had most everything in the respective homeland and in the colonial society, were those who directed the interests and evolvement of most aspects of society, including sport. As Lindsay stated in 1969,

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[3] See Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972, *passim*.; Max Howell and Nancy Howell, Sport and Games in Canadian Life. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1969), pp. 7-18; John R. Betts, America's Sporting Heritage, 1850-1950. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974), *passim*.; Morris Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1970-1886", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1980), pp. 25-36; William J. Baker, Sports in the Western World. (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982), *passim*.; and Richard D. Mandell, Sport: A Cultural History. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), particularly pp. 178-195.

[4] Asa Briggs, Victorian People. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977), Chapters 1-3 and R.D. Altrick, Victorian People and Ideas. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), *passim*.

> The majority of the active sportsmen throughout the greatest part of the period, were from a minority section of the community, that is, gentlemen players from the upper strata of society...[6]

And as Metcalfe pointed out:

> Organized sport in pre-Confederation British North America was largely dominated by the more affluent members of society in particular the British colonial officers, the garrisons officers, and the commercial and mercantile middle class of the larger towns.... the dominant social groups moved to create a network of social sporting clubs that were available only to the elite of society.[7]

Thus, class in the colonial environment heavily impacted on the evolution of sport just as it had in Britain. But, to what degree and what extent did class limit or enhance sport and who were the individuals most active in participating in and developing sport? And, did these individuals control not only most aspects of sport, but most aspects of society? Plus, were these people, as an upper class, *interlocked* in friendship through sport and business club membership? These are but a few of the questions that have been examined in this study.

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[5] Best, Mid-Victorian Britain...., pp. 99-153.

[6] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 9.

[7] Alan Metcalfe, Canadians Learn to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), p. 32.

The fact that class affected most segments of British home and colonial society begged an examination of class influences on sport in Toronto.

Toronto's genesis as a city was formal and highly linked to British values. It was the intention of the city's founder, Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe, to establish in Upper Canada, a community which was the *image and transcript* of British society.[8] Simcoe, a distinguished commander of the loyal regiment of Queen's Rangers which fought in the Revolutionary War of the United States, was a man imbued with a vision of a true provincial capital with a landed aristocracy at its social apex.[9] While this plan ultimately failed to materialize because the Home government believed it would lead to a threat of independence and separation, Simcoe was able to supply his new town with a quasi-gentry who brought with them long established traditions and customs. To this end, he wished his capital to be the flagship of all things truly British. Simcoe wanted all important "home institutions" immediately woven into the fabric of the town's social composition. He foresaw a society of a quasi-gentry whose wealth and social positioning supported an "Established Church", this being the Anglican church.[10] He also saw a society which was based on governmental affairs and patronage appointments.[11] Moreover, he believed that a society devoted to the profession of law would easily be able to control access to and participation in the highest social orders.[12] Hence, what initially took place in the establishment of the town of York (later Toronto) was a grand scheme to organize society based upon a highly organized hierarchical structuring of institutions, people and professions.[13] Toronto became a template for the transplantation of all things associated with contemporary British society. Class and social differences among the inhabitants of the town impacted ponderously upon all aspects of social organization, including sport. Unlike such long-established towns as Halifax and Montreal where gradual development and various ethnic, economic and religious influences deluded the class-ethnocentricity of society and sport to a certain degree, Toronto, as a formally organized British settlement, evolved as a pre-fabricated community relatively devoid of socially contaminating influences - at least initially. The town possessed a certain purity or homogeneity about it from its origins in 1793. The stock of people who lived there was largely English of heritage and for the most part, Anglican by religion. Most of Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, whom he had recruited for the principle governmental positions of the new provincial capital in Toronto, were men who had been educated at several of the best private schools in England and who had bought military commissions which sent them to North America.[14] These men were familiar with upper class society in their British homeland and were well-prepared to take hold of Simcoe's visions of a hierarchically based society. Further, these men were also willing to establish and organize social and sport institutions which would promote the interests of Toronto's ruling upper class. Therefore, what arose in Toronto were social activities and sports long associated with the elite of Britain. In evidence were aristocratic pastimes which were highly social and exceedingly discriminatory in nature. As a consequence, sport clubs appeared to be the primary means of sport delivery.[15] Reflecting upon the importance of a club as an important vehicle for socialization and discrimination in Britain,[16] the elite of Toronto used the sport club to restrict and control not only sport participation but also social membership. It served the *Family Compact*, those families of early Toronto who were fortunate to covet the patronage of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in terms of employment and social standing, much like the Law Society of Upper

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[8] R. Burns, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1773-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers. (1973), pp. 213-228.

[9] J. Ross Robertson (ed). The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1934), p. 226. Also see E.A. Cruickshank (ed.), The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1923), *passim*.

[10] R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, pp. 31-34.

[11] Jesse E. Middleton, Toronto's 100 Years. (Toronto: Centennial Committee, 1934), p. 7.

[12] Burns, "God's Chosen People...", pp. 213-217.

[13] *Ibid.*

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[14] See D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 4.

[15] Metcalfe, Canadians Learn to Play..., pp. 22-46.

[16] For instance, see D.W. Jobson, London Clubs, Their Anecdotes, History, Private Rules and Regulations. (London: Henry Adams, 1853); T.H.S. Escott, Club-Makers and Club Members. (London: Fisher Unwin, 1964); and Ralph Neville, London Clubs. (London: Chattos and Windus, 1911).

Canada did in discerning between acceptable and non-acceptable individuals. The Law Society of Upper Canada was one of the most important socially discriminating institutions of early Toronto. More will be explained on this point later in the dissertation. Thus, sport and its attendant club structure of the nineteenth century, apparently represented a transplanted institution which served socially to control not only sport but also the development of society as a whole.

Sport to the early Torontonians was simply an extension of their unwritten social policy with respect to class differentiation and class homogeniety. The conservative, largely loyal Tory social alliance was held together in a significant way by natural affinities arising from common social, economic and institutional outlooks.[17] The social alliance perpetuated itself because of its belief in common institutional memberships where close social contacts could be nurtured and maintained and where they could be used to personal advantage. The bewildering maze of inter-relationships between the upper orders of Toronto society, whether in business, law, religion or any other aspect of the community, allowed the elite to share many things.[18] For instance, business connections within Toronto and Upper Canada were vital to the new colonial economy. A frequent means of communicating ideas and fostering commercial projects was a function of the club and of many other institutions in society. Personal contact was a necessary fact of life in a community severely lacking in contemporary means of communication. As an example, efficient mail service only became practical in the 1830s and 1840s when transportation routes were made more navigable and steam became the major source of transportation power. Initially, social organizations, such as the sport club or business club, did much to concentrate and communicate the commercial dealings of businessmen. They were able to maintain a network of discrimatory links between the upper echelons of society. And, fraternal, benevolent, educative and political organizations apparently permitted the elite members to discuss and affirm oligarchical policy with respect to many social problems which faced a developing colonial society. Here, within social clubs and societies, policy was developed to care uniformly for the problems of drunkenness, temperance, crime, insanity, *rational recreation*, poverty and health, to name a few.[19] These organizations also apparently functioned not only as institutions which promoted elite association but also as foundations whose collective purpose was to formulate, enact and enforce elite social policy.[20]

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[17] S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition", in Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), p. 26.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

The networking of social, commercial, legal, educational, fraternal, military and political associations within nineteenth century Toronto was in large part a precise reflection of what was occurring in Victorian Britain.[21] The institutional names remained the same, (i.e., the Mechanic's Institutes, Athenaeums and race courses of St. Leger and Newmarket), and the general purposes of the organizations were consistent with that of British tradition. The upper class who came to control the major institutions of Toronto's society were an *image and transcript* of English societal tradition. The close-knit group of Toronto elite were in positions of leadership in the major institutions of society for most of the century. Whether they were able to make significant decisions that ruled many aspects of social development will be a point to be examined in this dissertation.[22] And, in accordance with British custom, the hegemonic upper class of Toronto apparently controlled most constituent elements of sport evolvement. This included not only elite or quasi-aristocratic sport but also sport development and opportunities for sport among the working class. Because sport participation was expensive, socially restrictive, time consuming and fraught with organizational and administrative necessities, it would have seemed likely that it remained in control of the group who could best accommodate these needs and requirements - *the elite*. The workingman, for all intents and purposes, was supposedly left to the dominating control of the elite.[23] The impact of this supposition will also be examined in the later chapters. The working class, employed as labouring subordinates to the elite, had little time or money to spend pursuing sport. This group, was also without the educational background and administrative skills with which to make an organizational *coup d'etat* of elite sport. Thus, the working class was evidently subject to legislative restrictions against certain sports, plus, it was restricted in participating in sport on certain days, particularly the Sabbath, and it was coerced into accepting 'improving institutions' (i.e., Mechanics' Institutes) as a means of recreation. Moreover, the working class was again apparently at the mercy of its employers in terms of early closing hours and it often had to solicit the elite for financial contributions and administrative support in order to stage sporting events (i.e., athletic games and regattas).[24] In essence, the tightly connected ties of the elite members, through the various clubs and associations within which they had multiple memberships and connections, purportedly served to coordinate social policy toward the working class, (i.e., to keep its members content within their particular strata), and acted to control the development and growth of elite and non-elite sport. The credability of this claim will be substantiated in the later analysis.

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[19] See Eric Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto: Panic, Policy and Public Response, 1857-1873", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1978, *passim*.

[20] Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1770-1880. (London: Croom-Helm, 1980), pp. 98-99. Also see David Owen, English Philanthropy, 1660-1960. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), and Brian Harrision, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", Victorian Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1966), pp. 352-357.

[21] Best, Mid-Victorian Britain..., *passim*.

[22] See C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 3-4. Mills major assumption for the assertion of power was that men and women were in positions from which decisions, directing power, could be made. He stated, "The power elite is composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments or ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences".

Sport for the majority of the nineteenth century in Toronto was, in all likelihood, the controlling preserve of the members of the upper strata. Because they controlled not just the social, political, educational, legal, fraternal, benevolent, religous, ethnic and economic aspects of society but also the sport elements of the societal mosaic, it can be assumed that they were an important force in regulating and controlling the competitive play facets of sport. The sport club, in this context then, was an important social institution which stood as an association for the founding, maintenance and coordination of elite ideology. It perpetuated, along with other social institutions, the ruling class's common outlook and 'will' toward a developing society. Order, respectability, charity and industry were continually echoed by the elite in the rhetoric of their doctrine. Elite sport, as a consequence, developed autonomously and without external influences from other *bacchanalian* elements within society (i.e., the poor). Thus, the initial sport development in Toronto was apparently a sharply divided class phenomenon. It was evidently a very conservative institution and it was one carefully regulated by the elite.

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[23] For one example of this theme, see W.F. Mandle, "The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century", Labour History, Vol. 23 (1972), p. 8.

[24] See for example, F.M.L. Thompson's thematic discussions in "Social Control in Victorian Britain", Economic History Review, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1981), pp. 189-208.

Throughout the period of this study it will be shown that the elite were always involved in the development and control of sport. As with most other elements of society at the time, the elite gave considerable attention to the oligarchical growth of sport. Sport was initially restricted to the few families who represented the original elite interests of John Graves Simcoe, but later became of interest and control of the upper middle class. The sport clubs of the period 1827 to 1840 were dominated by the *Family Compact*. Included within their membership were the Jarvis, Robinson, Small, Sherwood, Allan, Baldwin, and Gwynne families, to name a few, who were members of this small oligarchical group, the *Family Compact*. The *Compact* sport enthusiasts were uniquely associated, since many shared common social backgrounds and were of similar occupation, ethnicity, religion and political suasion. This occurred as a result of Simcoe's prescribed settlement plan. Most were interconnected socially by numerous fraternal connections, and several families practiced intermarriage so as to further their oligarchical cause.[25] The biographical portraits of three *Compact* members, William Botsford Jarvis, George William Allan and John Beverly Robinson II have been included in the succeeding chapters to demonstrate the interconnections of the elite and how these impacted on its social, economic, professional, educative, charitable, military, religious, political and sport lives. The extensiveness of their friendly associations were apparently not uncharacteristic of the elite during this era. Inter-relationships of the kind portrayed through the biographies of Jarvis, Allan and

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[25] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", pp. 31-35.

Robinson, showed how the original elite controlled most aspects of Toronto's early society and how this control was passed on from one generation to another (i.e., Allan and Robinson II). Inherited control and membership within the elite was evidently a common factor of elite rule during the 1800s.

In the period 1840 to 1860, the original elite of Toronto, or the founding families, began to broaden their hold on the ever increasing institutional growth of the city. In order to keep up with this growth and in an attempt to connect themselves to commercial growth of the region in and about Toronto, the Simcoe oligarchy selectively admitted certain professionals, entrepreneurs and merchants who were of significant value to their economic interests to warrant inclusion among the 'inner circle'. People, such as William McMaster, proved integrally important to the banking and dry goods concerns of the upper class and almost single-handedly set the stage for revolutionary 'turn-of-events' strategies in Upper Canadian business practices. By allowing someone like McMaster to enter their 'inner circle', the elite were pragmatically recognizing the need to befriend men of great commercial ability in order to promote their own developing business enterprises. In the later century this gave the elite the aura of being quite flexible in their recruitment practices. The biographical chapter on McMaster displays the type of individual which the elite were accepting into their 'inner realm of rule' and shows how sport benefitted as a result of prominent men being involved in elite sport and recreational policy. McMaster apparently proved to be a significant philanthropist not only to sport but also to many other segments of society. The extensiveness of his social memberships in various organizations probably stood as testament to the degree to which the original elite of Toronto allowed an Irish, Baptist recruit to infiltrate their ranks and parlay his energies into society. As much as the elite possessed dominant traits in social characteristics, they were apparently sensitive enough to recognize the advantages, both economically and administratively, in accepting talented individuals of McMaster's calibre, who were of different denominational breeding. Though other merchants entered the ranks of the elite through association and not by meritocratic means, they did so only by virtue of what appeared to be timing, luck and ascription to elite values and principles. As will be shown in later chapters, ascription and membership in the "correct" clubs and associations were often *prima facie* factors in determining whether a middle class individual was or was not acceptable to the elite. Generally though, it would appear that upward mobility into the elite required a private school education, an ascribed liking for Anglicanism and Conservative politics, plus, a willingness to become a member of several of the elite organizations in Toronto, not the least of which was the sport club.

The period demarcated by the years 1861 to 1881 was one of tremendous social and economic growth in Canada. The spirit of nationalism which spread throughout the country after Confederation in 1867, led to certain demographic changes among the elite. While the elite, who held joint sport and business club memberships, remained generally similar in their social background characteristics, being largely English or Canadian in ethnicity, Anglican by religion, public (privately) school educated, and politically Conservative, they did tend to be drawn from the ever emerging professions of the increasingly sophisticated society. Lawyers, dentists, doctors, bankers, engineers, etc., were now becoming an increasing part of the elite. The large diversification of Toronto's society in the later 1870s went at odds with the dominant traits of the upper class. Yet, in relative terms, the elite still tended to draw its members from the *cream* of the middle class. Ascription to elite social policy was an apparently important prerequisite for admission as was 'correct' social affiliation through clubs and other social organizations.[16] At no other time outside of 1860 to 1881, had the importance of friendly inter-relationship with clubs and associations been so crucial to an aspiring middle-class professional. The increase in the population growth, and particularly the expanding middle class, had made close social contacts a *must* for a chance at upward mobility. The participation rates in sport rose during this period in direct proportion to the rise in population numbers. However, sport, in terms of development and control, remained within the realm of the elite and their socially discriminatory clubs. To signify the importance of this point and to show the ever increasing importance of the middle class professional in the development of sport and Toronto society, the biographies of Casimir S. Gzowski, James Gooderham Worts and William and George Gooderham have been included. As will be seen, these men, as the *cream* of the middle class professionals, apparently had a very extensive involvement in most aspects of Toronto's society, and in one way or another, displayed a common characteristic of multiple sport club membership. Again, this was typical within the elite milieu of the later nineteenth century. All these men acquired significant wealth. The accumulation of assets was believed to be heavily dependent upon the numerous inter-connections they had with other elites. Yet the wealth they accumulated was not the only dependent variable of elite recruitment. Recognition of certain values (i.e., a private school education) and structures was also important. The sport club served as an institution where the elite could meet and share common social, economic and institutional outlooks. The elite of the later 1800s, while representative of more middle class professional interests, probably persisted in its social reform and social control policies. Regulation of working class sport, or professional sport, would have remained within the jurisdiction of the elite. Although the social control emphasis of sport took on a more national complexion in the later 1870s and 1880s, mirroring that of society and commerce in general, it did not apparently remove itself from the regulatory influences of the upper class. The biographies of Gzowski, Worts and Gooderham epitomize the elite's broadened control of sport and societal development.

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[16] A point made by T.W. Acheson, in "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1885" in David S. MacMillan (ed.), Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 144-174.

Methodology

This study recorded and examined approximately 15,636 names from the Records and Minutes of five business clubs and seventeen sport clubs.[27] The data base which materialized to handle the data collated all entries and attached these names to directorships held within

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[27] For a methodological discussion of the data base and its positive and negative points, see Appendix V.

various segments of Toronto's society. Directorships relative to commerce, education, fraternal, benevolent, religious, military, legal, ethnic and political associations were factored relative to each name recorded from the various clubs and societies. Of the 15,636 recorded names, it was determined, after all entries were made into the data base, that 1,819 of the names were unique or different, or considered to have been recorded only once (many repeated themselves on various rosters). Of these 1,819 unique names, it was established that in the fifty-seven year period under study, 315 of the names shared common or joint membership in both sport and business clubs. This meant that approximately twenty-nine percent of all individuals considered in this study, with unique names, held memberships in both a sport and a business club sometime during the period 1827 to 1881. Due to the fact that membership in any particular club or association started and stopped periodically for some persons, and that conclusive biographical data on certain individuals was unattainable, certain data is not represented in the tabular results found in Appendix I. However, the data did show definite explainable facts about the social mosaic which made up the membership of most clubs in Toronto from 1827 to 1881 and it was from this context that further explanation relative to the elite progressed.

The biographies and the names of people which appear in the next several chapters are but a few of the 315 names of individuals who held joint or common sport and business club membership. The biographies of Jarvis, Allan, Robinson II, McMaster, Gzowski, Worts and Gooderham stand by themselves in exhibiting the phenomenal control which members of the elite apparently had in Toronto society during the period. Though all these men, in one form or another, made significant contributions to the development of sport in Toronto, each should be examined individually for his other interests and duties. By doing this, an appreciation will be gained for the active role which the elite took in directing and managing the overall social, economic, philanthropic, educational, political, legal, fraternal, military, religious and benevolent affairs of the city. The context of their expansive involvement in the several spheres of Toronto's societal affairs, was used to explain and substantiate not only elite attitudes toward sport but also elite attitudes toward friendly interconnections and pragmatic social and economic inter-relationships. The development of the data base was a most important step toward understanding and corroborating associations and connections between the elite. Manual synthesis of the data would not have revealed in such a quantitative and qualitative manner, the vastness of the directorships held by the elite nor the extent to which they were involved in and in control of, many aspects of Toronto's nineteenth century society.

Sport and the elite were evidently inextricably tied together during the nineteenth century. Major developments and improvements in sport were in all likelihood largely attributable to the ruling class. Their clubs and associations not only discriminated against who could compete but they also acted to determine the nature of sport competition (i.e., social versus competitive) plus the frequency, duration, and location for sport. Moreover, elite sport clubs were apparently responsible for formulating rules by which competition was carried out and they also were responsible for determining the economics of becoming a participant in a formally constituted sport.[21] In this regard, the elite sport clubs would have served to discriminate against working class participation in sport and would have acted to eliminate the possibility of the autonomous development of sport for the *labourer, artizan and mechanic*. Rational recreation for the working class apparently became a major reform ethic in the Victorian era. The elite served up various improving opportunities for the common man but sport was only one of many outlets. Music, drama, lectures, reading, strolling, horticulture, and workingmen's clubs were all other options. Therefore, the elite policy to reform and socially control the development of sport was a multi-faceted one which was sensitive to preserving not only sport for those who could afford it but also one which did its utmost to channel away interest from those persons who were believed to be the ruin of Victorian respectability, the working class.

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[21] Within a formally constituted club with a definite set of rules and regulations.

Chapter IV

THE SHERRIFF OF TORONTO SPORT: WILLIAM BOTSFORD JARVIS

The human mosaic that made up the sport fraternity of nineteenth century Toronto was drawn from several different social groupings. The one which had the greatest impact on sport and which exerted considerable influence throughout the era was the *Family Compact.*[1] Composed largely of Toronto's initial families, the Compact sought to situate itself at the pinnacle of all society. It was an ideologically homogeneous group which perpetuated itself through closed marriages (inter-family matrimony), professional nepotism and educational discriminiation.[2] More will be mentioned on this point in later chapters. Moreover, this quasi-aristocratic association attempted to dominate and monopolize not only the early commercial ventures of Canada West,[3] but also the majority of the political, fraternal, religious, military, sport and philanthropic organizations. The aim of the *Compact* was to establish a ruling oligarchy in Toronto and control the class aspects of social development. To this end many early sport associations were exclusively *Compact strongholds*. In order to illustrate the influence and continued impact of the *Family Compact* on the development of sport in nineteenth century Toronto, a biographical sketch of one of the Compact's leading members follows.

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[1] For two general sources describing who the Family Compact was see Robert E. Saunders, "What Was the Family Compact?" Ontario History, Vol. 49 (1957), pp. 165-178 and Alison Ewart and Julia Jarvis, "The Personnel of the Family Compact, 1791-1841", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1926), pp. 209-221.

[2] An excellent treatise on these factors and the Compact can be found in R. Burn's, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1973), pp. 214-228. Another excellent reference work with regards to *Family Compact* recruitment was Frederick H. Armstrong's, "Ethnicity in the Formation of the Family Compact: A Case Study in the Growth of the Canadian Establishment", in J. Dahlie and T. Fernando, Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada. (New York: Methuen, 1979).

[3] See M.L. Magill, "William Allan: A Pioneer Business Executive", in Frederick H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson, and J.D. Wilson (eds.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 101-113; T.W. Acheson, "The Nature and Structure of York Commerce in the 1820s", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 50, No. 50 (1969), p. 415; and *idem*, "John Baldwin: Portrait of a Colonial Entrepreneur", Ontario History, Vol. 61, No. 3 (1969), pp. 153-166.

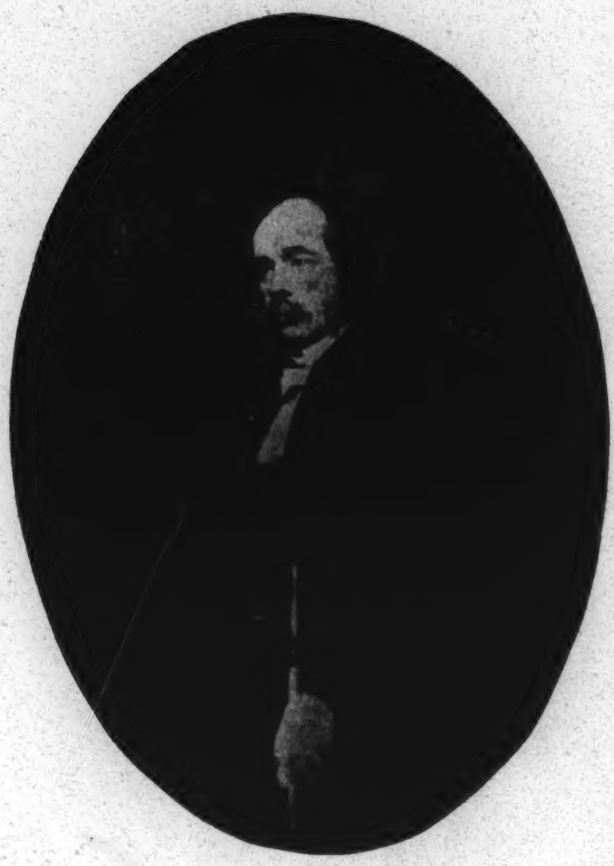

Figure I: Picture of William Botsford Jarvis, 1799-1864.

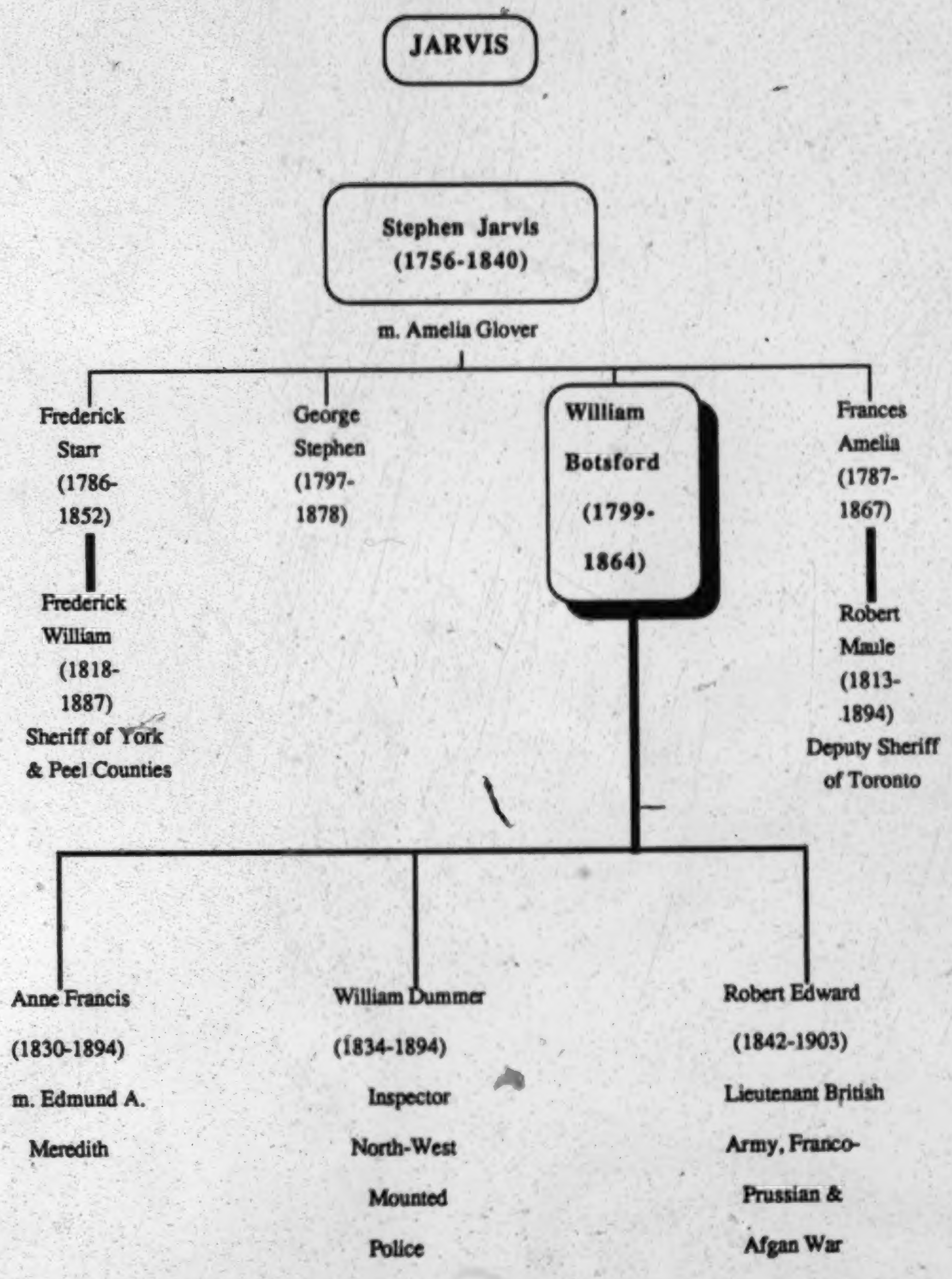
JARVIS
Stephen Jarvis (1756-1840)
m. Amelia Glover
Frederick Starr (1786-1852)
George Stephen (1797-1878)
William Botsford (1799-1864)
Frances Amelia (1787-1867)
Frederick William (1818-1887) Sheriff of York & Peel Counties
Robert Maule (1813-1894) Deputy Sheriff of Toronto
Anne Francis (1830-1894) m. Edmund A. Meredith
William Dummer (1834-1894) Inspector North-West Mounted Police
Robert Edward (1842-1903) Lieutenant British Army, Franco-Prussian & Afgan War

FIGURE II : Genealogical Sketch of the Jarvis Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

William Botsford Jarvis was born on May 4, 1799 at Fredericton, New Brunswick, the third and youngest son of Stephen Jarvis and Amelia Glover[4] (see Jarvis family geneological sketch, Figure 2). Stephen Jarvis had moved to York (Toronto) in 1809 where his cousin, William, was a prominent local official.[5] In fact, it was William Jarvis who led the first fox hunt in York in 1801.[6] Stephen Jarvis fought in the Revolutionary War with Lieutenant Governor Simcoe's Queen's Rangers and settled in New Brunswick in 1784. His decision to move to York was due to the strength of his cousin's official position and the attendant powers of patronage which he might enjoy. Originally, a store owner during the War of 1812, Stephen Jarvis quickly took advantage of William's good graces and later obtained the position of Registrar of Deeds for the Home District.[7] In this position, Stephen enjoyed the connection to and the status of the *Family Compact*. His acceptance into the official 'inner circle' of York society also elevated him to the sinecure of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to Upper Canada's Assembly in the decade prior to his death on April 12, 1840.[8]

William Botsford Jarvis attended the district school at York, originally under the tutelage and direction of George Okill Stuart, but later under a dominant *Compact* member, Reverend John Strachan.[9] It was at this school that William Botsford and the other "young gentlemen" of York's first families learned the rudiments of latin, grammar and other subjects. [10] Young Jarvis became a clerk in the provincial secretary's office in 1818, where his cousin, and later prominent sportsman, Samuel Peters Jarvis, was acting head.[11] William

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[4] Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Vol. 9 (1861-1870), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 411.

[5] As one of the original members of the *Family Compact*, William Jarvis had secured the appointed positions of Provincial Secretary and Registrar of Upper Canada. His good fortune in recieving these appointments was due to his service, and loyalty as a coronet in John Graves Simcoe's Queen's Rangers.

[6] Upper Canada Gazette, (American Chronicle), February 14, 1801. There is evidence to suggest that this was the first formal sport event to take place in York.

[7] Alden G. Meredith, Mary's Rosedale and Gossip of "Little York". (Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1928), p. 27.

[8] W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1978), p. 388. Also, see G.A. Jarvis, The Jarvis Family. (Hartford, Conn.: n.p., 1879).

[9] Meredith, Mary's Rosedale...., p. 41.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary...., p. 411. Samuel Peters Jarvis was not only a

Botsford remained in this position until 1827 when he was appointed Sheriff of the Home District.[12] His appointment to Sheriff was brought about by a complex shift of offices among the leading families, none of which reduced the oligarchical power of the *Family Compact*. Jarvis remained in the position of Sheriff until 1856 when he opted to retire in favour of his younger nephew, Deputy Sheriff Frederick William Jarvis.[13] It is of interest and importance to note the closed nature of this pivotal judicial position which the Jarvis family dominated during the nineteenth century. In addition to the unprecedented fifty-nine years which Jarvis' held as Sheriff of the York and Peel districts, Jarvis' also served in deputy sheriff roles. Robert Maule Jarvis was Deputy Sheriff under both William Botsford and Frederick William, and Henry Skynner Jarvis was Deputy Sheriff under Frederick William.[14] (see genealogical sketch). This example of occupational monopoly vividly demonstrated the controlling characteristics of such an oligarchical group as the *Family Compact* but it does not supply conclusive proof. Monopolizing control was solidified in the *Family Compact* by inter-marriage between leading families, Jarvis being no exception. William Botsford Jarvis married Mary Powell, the granddaughter of William Dummer Powell, a *Family Compact* member and a Chief Justice of Upper Canada.[15] They were married on November 22, 1828 in York by the "Venerable Archdeacon" of the town, John Strachan. [16] William Botsford's marriage to Mary Powell not only signified the restrictive nature of *Compact* society in York in the first several decades of the nineteenth century, but also showed the practical

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[11](cont'd) prominent soldier, lawyer, and politician, but he was also a superb horsemen, being a moving force in the Toronto Turf Club in the 1830s and 1840s, and a fine cricket player.

[12] United Empire Loyalist, June 30, 1827.

[13] R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 297. Frederick William Jarvis served as Sheriff for the Home District for thirty years, stepping down only one year prior to his death in 1887.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[15] William Dummer Powell had a sport connection in Toronto as it was he who donated his estate, Caer-Howell, to the controlling hands of the Toronto Turf Club and Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club. See historical accounts of Caer-Howell in the British Colonist, October 7, 1840 and the Toronto Star Weekly, June 19, 1915.

[16] See The Globe, July 27, 1864.

significance of marrying into a family who could service one's patronage and upwardly mobility needs.

Although Sheriff Jarvis died in 1864, at the age of sixty-five, his life was one of tremendous energy and variety.[17] Jarvis contested three provincial elections for the town of York. In 1830, he was narrowly defeated by Robert Baldwin in a byelection, but was successful later that year against the same opponent when a new election was called upon the death of King George IV.[18] William Botsford Jarvis pressed for York's incorporation as a city, while objecting to the name change of Toronto. To him, Toronto sounded disloyal and totally non-British.[19] Although Jarvis was a staunch Tory and President of the British Constitutional Society (the political arm of the Tories during the rebellious 1836-38 period), he advocated voting by ballot in the municipal elections because he felt constituents wanted it. Though this appeared to be a seeming act of heresy for a *Compact* member, Jarvis' action showed a personal characteristic of fairness which resurfaced throughout his tenure as Sheriff of the Home District and as articifier of many philanthropic and sport enterprises. In 1834, he was defeated by a moderate, James Edward Small for his York seat in the twelfth Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada.[20] During the Rebellion in Upper Canada, William Botsford Jarvis and William Lyon MacKenzie (Mayor of Toronto in 1834) engaged in a bitter personal feud due to Jarvis' sympathies for the *Family Compact* and his insistance that MacKenzie lacked sensitivity for the problems of the people he was attempting to help as Mayor of Toronto.[21] It seems ironic that it was Jarvis who ordered the single volley from his loyalist picket which disrupted MacKenzie's rebel march on Toronto on December 5, 1837.[22] In 1841, Jarvis returned to politics as a Toronto alderman for the St. Andrew's Ward, but resigned early in 1842 when the city council failed to choose him as Mayor, opting instead for another *Compact* member, Henry Sherwood.[23] Jarvis obviously had pride in his abilities, but perhaps this was overshadowed by his keen sense of civic duty, a point to be discussed later.

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] See the Upper Canada Gazette, October 21, 1830 for the results of the later election. Members returned to the eleventh Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada not only included Jarvis for the York district, but also *Compact* member, Henry John Boulton for Niagara.

[19] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 297.

[20] Upper Canada Gazette, November 6, 1834. William Lyon MacKenzie, Thomas D. Morrison and David Gibson were other elected officials for the York district.

[21] Katherine Hale, Toronto: Romance of a Great City. (Toronto: Cassell, 1956), p. 79. Sheriff Jarvis challenged MacKenzie in 1834 due to the fact that the first thing he did as Mayor of Toronto was levy a personal tax of three pence on the pound to construct plank sidewalks and drains in the city. This, Jarvis felt, took the money out of the pockets of the poor people who MacKenzie professed to represent.

Like other members of the official class, William Botsford Jarvis participated in land speculation in and about Toronto. He owned not only the large plot of land known as 'Rosedale', on the northeast corner of Yonge and Bloor Streets, but he also owned much of the land which eventually became Yorkville on the northwest corner of Yonge and Bloor.[24] It was the intention of Jarvis and tavern owner, Joseph Bloor, who owned property along Bloor Street, to subdivide their holdings into small blocks of land and sell them at a price several times greater than what they had originally paid for it. As a consequence, this premium land was quickly bought and a village arose almost spontaneously, centered around Bloor's Red Lion Tavern.[25] Both men profitted handsomely from their speculative ventures. In fact, to render his share of the Yorkville property more valuable and more accessible, Jarvis initiated a short-lived tramway service on Yonge Street, only to discontinue it when he had sold his stock of land in the Yorkville region.[26] Jarvis also speculated and had financial dealings with his cousin, Samuel Peters Jarvis, noted horseman and cricketer.[27] It was not unusual for members of the *Family Compact* to speculate in land during the early decades of the nineteenth century.[28] Many of the leading families amassed considerable wealth as a result of selling small parcels of land originally given to them gratuitously by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe.[29]

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[22] Meredith, Mary's Rosedale..., p. 177. Also see Edwin C. Guillet, Toronto: From Trading Post to Great City. (Toronto: Ontario Publishing, 1934), pp. 330 and 331, for a description of the personal battle waged between Jarvis and MacKenzie. As well, see Henry Scadding, Toronto: Past and Present. (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1884), p. 180.

[23] Jesse E. Middleton, The Municipality of Toronto: A History, 3 Vols. (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1923), Vol. 2, p. 793. When Jarvis retired early in February, 1842, a loyal *Compact* member, James McGill Strachan, replaced him as alderman for St. Andrew.

[24] Meredith, Mary's Rosedale..., p. 17. Also see C.P. Mulvany, Toronto: Past and Present. (Toronto: W.E. Caiger, 1884), p. 261, for a description of Rosedale and the village of Yorkville.

[25] *Ibid.*, Also, see Guillet, Toronto: From Trading Post..., p. 265.

[26] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 411.

[27] See T.A. Reed, "Memoranda Re, the Crown Grants of Park Lots in the City of Toronto Based on the Records in the Registry Office", compiled in 1926. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Samuel Peters Jarvis sold the original 100 acre Jarvis park lot in the 1840s for what was considered a small fortune. The park lot was

As a leading member of the *Compact* oligarchy, Jarvis had many opportunities to enter into many profit-making schemes. While it was true that Sheriff Jarvis took advantage of numerous business ventures through *friendly connections* with other *Compact* members, he did show independence of mind and action in helping to establish many other entrepreneurial concerns. He was recognized not only for his generous donations to the initial subscription campaigns for new ventures but also for his adept administrative skills and his integrity for the social well-being of his community. William Botsford Jarvis' involvement in the business and social affairs of the city (town prior to 1834), began in earnest in 1830 when he was one of the founders of the Home District Agricultural Society.[30] Along with many of the *Family Compact* founders, Jarvis looked upon this organization as a practical philanthropic venture which would educate and at times, financially assist the farmer in his quest to conquer the harsh hinterland about Toronto.[31] Ideally, by having a thriving rural community, the *Compact* stood to gain both financially and socially, as many of their speculative dealings were related to agriculture. Specifically, farmers would want to borrow money to plant crops and buy farm machinery and, therefore, interest would accrue to *Compact* bankers, plus, the *mechanic*

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[27](cont'd) given to the Jarvis family by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe gratiutously in 1793.

[28] For examples of Family Compact speculative dealings, see David Gagan, "Property and 'Interest': Some Preliminary Evidence of Land Speculation by the *Family Compact* in Upper Canada, 1820-1840", Ontario History, Vol. 70, No. 1 (1978), pp. 63-70; *idem*, "Land, Population and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1978), pp. 293-316; and Frederick H. Armstrong, "The Oligarchy of the Western District of Upper Canada, 1788-1841", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1977), pp. 87-102.

[29] See Burns, "God's Chosen People ...", *passim*.

[30] Upper Canada Gazette, May 27, 1830. William Botsford Jarvis was the initial Treasurer of the Home District Agricultural Society.

[31] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1830. Included among the original directors were *Compact* members, James Baby, William Warren Baldwin, Joseph Wells, John Henry Dunn, and William Proudfoot, a confidant of the Compact.

would be busily occupied and, therefore, unable to involve himself in municipal and provincial politics, social and fraternal organizations, and intemperate inns and taverns. Therefore, the agricultural associations of Upper Canada served as an instrument of social control for the elite. More will be mentioned on social control in later chapters. It is of interest to note that no sooner had the Home District Agricultural Society been formed when the Home District Savings Bank was established in June, 1830.[32] This largely *Compact*-controlled institution was formed to harbour "... the earnings of journeyman, tradesmen, mechanics, servants, labourers, & c. ...". Jarvis dedicatedly administered the Home District Agricultural Society by serving on its executive for almost twenty years; nine as Secretary, one as Treasurer, five as Vice-President and four as President.[33] In the agricultural field, Jarvis also served as one of the chief founders of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada in 1847, a body devoted to the widespread knowledge of agriculturally based activities (i.e., plowing matches and horse-racing).[34] As well, Jarvis had earlier been instrumental in securing grants to foster the establishment of other agricultural societies in Upper Canada, such as the one organized in 1847.[35] Further, and attendant to his interest in the welfare of the farmer and the exploitive possibility of making a humble profit, he was instrumental in establishing the Farmers' and Mechanics' Building Society in 1847.[36] By lending needy individuals money to construct homesteads and houses, the building societies solved a major urban problem in the nineteenth century city, this being the lack of adequate housing for the common folk. In serving their purpose to help supply housing, the respective building societies also returned a profit on interest of between three and four percent.[37] By no means would the profit gained from such a venture make an entrepreneur wealthy, but it did serve as an alternative avenue through which one could capitalize on a business need and an investment opportunity. In most cases in Upper Canada and Canada West, during the nineteenth century, it was the people who had the wealth and the monetary backing who ventured into such enterprises so as to recapitulate their already large riches, Jarvis being just one example. The wealth they gained indirectly gave them some say in the development of general social policy, which later in the century, became quite restrictive.

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] See variously, *ibid.*, June 6, 1833; British Colonist, September 16, 1843; May 7, 1844; September 9, 1845; February 12, 1847; February 22, 1848; February 27, 1849; The Globe, February 13, 1847; February 12, 1848; and February 28, 1849.

[34] Incorporation Act of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada. 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 61, July 28, 1847, Statutes of Province of Canada. Other Compact members such as J.B. Robinson I, Henry J. Boulton, Robert Baldwin, and William H. Boulton, were also founders of this Association.

[35] An Act for the Encouragement of Agricultural Societies and Agriculture in Upper Canada. 8 Vic. Cap. 5-4, March 29, 1845, *ibid.*.

[36] The Globe, August 25, 1847.

[37] This was apparently the going rate for not only building societies and loan

To state that Jarvis was trying solely to capitalize financially on immigrant needs would be misleading because it would appear he had a truly benevolent streak in his personality. He, along with other *Family Compact* individuals, helped establish the Toronto Mechanics' Institute in 1831;[38] the House of Industry in 1839;[39] the Lunatic Asylum in 1839;[40] the Toronto Athenaeum in 1845;[41] the St. George's Society in 1835;[42] the Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society in 1850;[43] the Church Societies of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Quebec and Toronto in 1844;[44] the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada in 1857;[45] and Trinity College in

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[37] (cont'd) companies but also for banks and brokers during this era.

[38] See Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Also, refer to Frederick H. Armstrong, "The Carfrae Family: A Study in Early Toronto Toryism", Ontario History, Vol. 54 (1962), p. 171 and the Incorporation Act of the Mechanics' Institute of Toronto. April 16, 1835. Statutes of Upper Canada, plus amending acts of 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 102, July 28, 1847 and 13 and 14 Vic. Cap. 105, August 10, 1850. Statutes of Province of Canada. As well, see D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 45.

[39] Upper Canada Gazette, November 12, 1840. Also see Incorporation Act of the House of Industry 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 35, August 5, 1851, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[40] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1839.

[41] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Athenaeum, 11 Vic. Cap. 16, March 23, 1848, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[42] Upper Canada Gazette, December 19, 1835. Also see Incorporation Act of the St. George's Society of Toronto, 22 Vic. Cap. 72, July 24, 1858, *ibid.*

[43] List of Founders, dated February 23, 1850, Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society Papers, Ontario Public Archives.

[44] Incorporation Act for the Church Societies of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Quebec and Toronto, 7 Vic. Cap. 68, June 27, 1844, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[45] Officers of 1858, January 5, 1858, Minutes, Board of Arts and Manufactures, Ontario Public Archives. Also see, Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 412.

1850.[46] He also helped establish the Toronto Horticultural Society in 1836;[47] the National Loan Fund Life Assurance Company ("a savings bank for the benefit of the widow and orphan") in 1847;[48] the County of York Agricultural Society in 1850;[49] and the Toronto Humane Society in 1863.[50] Jarvis's administrative and organizational talents significantly affected many of these organizations. For instance, he lent his abilities to the Mechanics' Institute for a period of fifteen years, serving as President twice in 1838 and 1843, as Vice-President on six different occasions, and as Secretary-Treasurer for three years. [51] He was a fervent believer in the fact that *mechanics' institutes* were invaluable in raising the intellect of the common man and supplying the elite with a mechanism by which to *reform and control* the lower classes. This point was reflected in the British Colonist on November 19, 1843:

> In Britain, Athenaeums, Mechanics' Institutes, and the like Establishments, have multiplied in quick succession, and now abound in all her great manufacturing and commercial towns; the result has been productive of vast improvements in every branch of trade, commerce and even agriculture. Until this general spread of instruction was patriotically supported by some of the leading men in the higher circles of society, who gave their patronage to the requisite institutions, science in its various departments, was almost exclusively confined to the middle and upper grades of society, and the "genius by nature," alone rose above the station in which fate had given him at birth, - and but few of these got beyond mediocrity, though all of them contributed data on which educated and too often designing men of talent built their own fortunes - adventurers who were capable both in fortune and ability, to improve and carry out the suggestions and discoveries of the less favoured.

Further, William Botsford Jarvis was Vice-President of the St. George's Society, a society instituted to benefit the poor and underprivileged, for a period of seven years.[52] He was also President of the Toronto Horticultural Society and the Board of Arts and Manufactures in 1845.[53] and 1857.[54] He was also a director of the former association in 1859 which capped a twenty-six year relationship to the fraternal order. Both these organizations were reforming agencies for the mechanics of the city yet, they still served as badges of exclusive privilege for the upper class. Similarly, Jarvis served a three year tenure as Vice-President of the Athenaeum in Toronto from 1845 to 1847,[55] as well as having served as a director of the Toronto Patriot Fund in 1855,[56] and Vice-President of the Wellington Testimonial Committee in 1852.[57]

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[46] Burns,"The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 219. William Botsford Jarvis donated land worth L2,000 to Rev. John Strachan's Trinity College.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 229. Also see Incorporation Act of Toronto Horticultural Society, 20 Vic. Cap. 181, June 10, 1857 and Act to Amend the Toronto Horticultural Society, 22 Vic. Cap. 126, May 4, 1859, Statutues of Province of Canada.

[48] The Globe, October 27, 1847. Jarvis was accompanied on the directorship by fellow *Compact* members, S.B. Harrison, William H. Boulton, Charles C. Small, James E. Small, W.C. Gwynne, and Charles Berczy.

[49] *Ibid.*, February 19, 1850.

[50] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1863. Other inaugurators of the Toronto Humane Society were Skeffington Connor, George Duggan, Jr., Colonel E.W. Thompson (longtime friend and compatriot of Jarvis' from the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada), John Elmsley, and Admiral Morgan Baldwin.

[51] Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *passim*. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.

Jarvis' organizational talents were not directed solely towards the social or fraternal activities of Toronto. He was very interested in business affairs and, like many *Family Compact* members of the time, he invested heavily in both time and money in anticipation of a profitable return. This was certainly the case as well when it came to his administration of the sport clubs he belonged to throughout the early to mid 1800s. William Botsford Jarvis was one of the original founders and directors of Upper Canada's first life assurance company.[58] The British America Fire and Life Assurance Company was established in 1832 to protect immigrant families from the chance occurrence of death by house fire or cholera ep*idem*ic. It was shrewd *Compact* members like Jarvis who saw the opportunity to capitalize on the immigrant's naivity and supposed need for protection against loss of life and capital investment. Though originally established to cater to the response of ever greater sums of money being spent on fire insurance by the new residents of York (Toronto), the Company eventually began to insure local merchants who feared having their stores destroyed by fire. In fact, Jarvis himself collected insurance in the "Great Fire of Toronto" in 1859 when six row houses he owned burned to the ground.[59] Interestingly, most of the incorporators and original subscribers of the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company were close friends of Jarvis and business partners in other commercial ventures. The incorporators included Compact members such as John Strachan; his son-in-law, Thomas Mercer Jones; cousin of Sheriff Jarvis, Samuel Peters Jarvis; Robert Baldwin Sullivan; James Grant Chewett; Henry John Boulton; Augustus Warren Baldwin; and John Elmsley.[60] Jarvis was also an original investor and director in the Toronto and Lake Huron Railway Company in 1845[61] (a venture anticipated to open up trade routes to the West, namely to Chicago), the Toronto Building Society in 1846,[62] the Toronto, Hamilton, and St. Catherines Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company in 1847,[63] the Toronto Dry Dock Company in 1847,[64] the Toronto Marine Railway Company in 1847,[65] the Toronto Island Bridge Company in 1857,[66] the Accident Assurance Company in 1863,[67] and the Railway Passenger Assurance Company in 1862.[68] He was also a director of the Canada Landed Credit Company in 1858,[69] where he made the business acquaintance of prominent commercial and sport figures William McMaster* and W.P. Howland. Both men will be discussed later. *Family Compact* members, John Beverly Robinson II*, William C. Gwynne, William H. Boulton and Richard L. Denison were also on the Canada Landed Credit Company's Board of Directors in 1858.[70] The fact that Compact families remained in prominent business positions among local and national companies, after 1840, dispells any doubt that their role in society, both commercially and socially, did not wane as a direct result of Lord Durham's reforms in 1840-41.[71] *Family Compact* members and their progeny continued to exert considerable influence in all aspects of society even though their numbers had been diluted by the upwardly mobile merchant and professional classes during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. Again, this phenomenon will be elaborated on in later sections. Most *Compact* backed enterprises would usually see more than one 'official' family represented on the Board of Directors. Simply stated, while they trusted the merchants and professionals with whom they were dealing, many of the Toronto elite felt there was safety in numbers when it came to deciding on business policy or commercial philosophy. Therefore, after 1840, *Family Compact* members maintained close social and business ties among themselves to preserve and perpetuate the ideals and customs of their quasi-gentile lifestyle of the late 1700s and early 1800s.

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[52] See British Colonist, January 22, 1840; February 10, 1841; February 23, 1842; February 1, 1843; February 6, 1844; April 25, 1845; and January 22, 1847.
[53] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1845.
[54] See the "List of Officers" for 1859, January 5, 1858, Minutes, Board of Arts and Manufactures, Ontario Public Archives.
[55] British Colonist, May 9, 1845; January 16, 1846; and January 19, 1847.
[56] The Globe, February 16, 1855. The Toronto Patriot fund was established to take care of the widows and children of veterans of the Crimean War.
[57] *Ibid.*, January 8, 1853. Jarvis was joined on the committee by George P. Ridout, George Duggan, George Gurnett, Thomas G. Ridout, John Cameron, Walter MacKenzie and close friend and former good athlete, Angus Morrison.
[58] Incorporation Act of the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company, 3 Wm. III Cap. 28, February 13, 1833, Statutes of Upper Canada.

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[59] The Globe, August 30, 1859.

[60] Incorporation Act of the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company, *loc. cit.*

[61] Incorporation Act of City of Toronto and Lake Huron Railroad Company, 6 Wm. IV Cap. 5, April 20, 1836, Statutes of Upper Canada. Though the Act was passed in 1836, the project was shelved until 1845 when Jarvis and others felt the railway was more feasible for the commercial trade of Toronto. Also, refer to Frederick H. Armstrong's article, "Toronto's First Railway Venture, 1834-1838", Ontario History, Vol. 58 (1966), pp. 21-41.

[62] The Globe, September 8, 1846. Among the original directors were *Compact* members S.B. Harrison, William H. Boulton, and James E. Small. Rising government appointees and merchants also numbered among the directors, for instance, Charles Besczy and Lewis Moffatt.

[63] Incorporation Act of the Toronto, Hamilton, and St. Catherines Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company, 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 81, July 28, 1847, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[64] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Dry-Dock Company, 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 85, July 28, 1847, *ibid.*

[65] The Globe, February 20, 1847.

[66] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Island Bridge Company, 20 Vic. Cap. 172, June 10, 1857, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[67] Incorporation Act of the Accident Assurance Company, 27 Vic. Cap. 51, October 15, 1863, *ibid.*

[68] The Globe, May 10, 1862. Jarvis showed great cunning in establishing the Railway

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[68](cont'd) Passenger Assurance Co.. It was the only company to insure against accidents while traveling on a train. Needless to say, there were several accidents during this boom period of railway growth and from all accounts the Company thrived for several years.

[69] *Ibid.*, September 20, 1858.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] There is a generally held belief among social historians of this period and region that the *Family Compact*'s influence severely waned after the monopoly breaking recommendations of Lord Durham's Report in 1840. This was simply not the case. The Compact bought the favour of the merchant class by supporting, both politically and financially, the commercial projects which the latter group wished to establish. By doing so, good business and social relationships were begun between the 'official class' and that of the commercial sector of Toronto's social fabric. Support is given to this point in Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", *passim*. See particularly, Chapters 8, 9 and 10 in Part II of the thesis entitled, "Decline and Duration". One might also refer to Robert L. Fraser, "Like Eden in Her Summer Dress, Gentry, Economy and Society: Upper Canada, 1812-1840". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979. *passim*.

An outstanding example of this close social and commercial bonding between the Compact and the merchant and professional classes was the attempt by William Botsford Jarvis to establish in London, England, a *Canadian Club* where visitors to this country from the Province of Canada could rest, socialize, and be catered to.[72] Clubdom was a very common feature of the elite in the United Kingdom and it only followed that such a luxury should be afforded a member of the 'official class' of Toronto. Though Canadian businessmen and gentlemen had enjoyed the benefits of several London clubs while visiting the Old Country,[73] Jarvis had it in his mind to organize an exclusive Canadian establishment. The Globe, of September 3, 1859, printed the following announcement:

> We are happy to find that Mr. W.B. Jarvis is making an attempt to establish, in London, a rendezvous for Canadians who may be called by business or pleasure to the capital of the world. Any one [*sic*] who has found himself a stranger in the wide world of London can tell from experience the pleasure to be derived from meeting even a single fellow-countryman, whether known to him before or not. He also knows how difficult it is to discover strangers in London - how much labour is involved in performing the simplest acts of courtesy to those whose residences may chance to be unknown. Mr. Joseph Stovell (former Torontonian) has assisted Canadians a good deal by keeping a register of visitors at his establishment in London, and the travelling public owe him many thanks for his attention. Something in a more regular shape is demanded, however, for the wants of the Canadian travelling public in London, and we think Mr. Jarvis has the right idea about it. He proposes that rooms shall be hired, attached to one of the numerous coffee-rooms at the west end, that a small annual subscription shall admit the traveller to the apartments and to the use of the provincial newspapers they contain, as well as to some of the other privileges pertaining to London Club-houses [*sic*]. The establishment would soon become a resort not only of Canadians, but other British North Americans, and would secure the contenance and support of residents in England who are connected in business, or by ties of relationship with these colonies. In time, a regular club-house might be established with all its attendant advantages, to which all colonists might be welcome. A meeting will be held on Monday, the 7th, at one o'clock, in the Rossin House, Sir A.N. (Allan Napier) MacNab in the Chair, for the purpose of taking the subject into consideration, at which all interested are invited to attend.

William Botsford Jarvis was not a total stranger to the advantages of a *social club*. In fact, he was one of the original members and directors of the Upper Canada Club when it was established in Toronto in 1837.[74] Later called the Toronto Club, it was the first such oganization in the city to appeal to the wealthy and influential, namely the *Family Compact*. One of the outstanding features of the Toronto Club in the late 1830s was that it was a focal point for discussion of trade and commercial activities as well as being "an outpost of informed opinion and culture".[75] It had been the wish of the founders of the Toronto Club that the club should be conducted "in the style of the best London clubs", thus it was not surprising that Jarvis initiated an attempt to establish the *Canadian Club* in London.[76] Among the original subscribers of the *Canadian Club* were some of Toronto's most influential and wealthy citizens, [77] many of them personal friends of William Botsford Jarvis. It should be noted that many of these individuals were frequently *interlocked* in directorships of various social, philanthropic, commercial, sport, political, educational, religious and benevolent associations with Jarvis. The subscribers included the likes of Hon. George W. Allan*, son of *Compact* member and former president of the Bank of Upper Canada, William Allan; Hon. George Brown, editor of the Globe; Hon. John Hillyard Cameron; Hon. William Cayley, M.P.P.; William Cawthra, one of the wealthiest men in Canada at the time; both Richard L. and George T. Denison, Compact members; Chief Justice William Henry Draper; Captain Thomas Dick, who would later become an important member of the Red Jackets curling team; Lt. Col. Casimir S. Gzowski*; Hon. William McMaster*; Hon. W.P. Howland, M.P.P.;

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[72] The Globe, September 3, 1859.

[73] *Ibid.*, November 8, 1848. One particular club which Canadians frequented was the European Club in London. The Globe announced with "much pleasure ..." the establishment of a club house at the west end of London for the banking, mercantile and manufacturing classes, both of the metropolis (London) and provinces. Such a place of reunion for those classes has long been wanted, and will prove a source of great advantage and gratification to them".

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[74] "A General History of the Toronto Club and Some Incidents of Early Days as Narrated by Sir Aemilieus Irving, Q.C.", (1970). Manuscript can be found in the possession of the Toronto Club. York and Bay Streets, Toronto. Also, see J.K. Johnson, "The U.C. Club and the Upper Canadian Elite, 1837-1840", Ontario History, Vol. 69 (1977), pp. 151-168.

[75] See Johnson, "The U.C. Club...", p. 154.

[76] The Toronto Club possessed everything that the finest London Club would have including a dining room, a club room (with billiards), a committee room, a smoking room, a sitting room, and three bedrooms for overnight use. It also had a staff of a steward (manager and his wife), a waiter, a porter, and a housemaid, plus the best in wine, glass, china and silverplate. See Minutes of the Upper Canada Club, Vol. 182, pp. 100431 and 100584-5. Public Archives of Canada. As cited in *ibid*. For a history of the Toronto Club see Toronto Star, October 19, 1985.

[77] For a list of the original subscribers for the *Canadian Club*, see The Globe, October 5, 1859.

Lt. Col. Samuel Peters Jarvis; Stephen Maule Jarvis; George Murray Jarvis, nephew to Sheriff Jarvis; Nicol Kingsmill; Hon. H.H. Killaly; Sir Allan Napier McNab, Bart.; Hon. David L. McPherson; Justice A. McLean; Hon. Sir John A. MacDonald; Hon. J.C. Morrison; Hon. Angus Morrison, later long-time president of both the Toronto Curling Club and the Toronto Rowing Club; William Proudfoot, President of the Bank of Upper Canada; John Beverly Robinson II*, M.P.P., an extraordinary cricket player and all-round athlete; George Percival Ridout; Thomas Gibbs Ridout; Hon. P.M. Vankoughnett; and Adam Wilson, Mayor of Toronto. It was obvious from the very beginning that the *Canadian Club* in London would be a success due to its elite membership, a membership only made possible by the integrity and friendly connections of William Botsford Jarvis. Upon his death in July 26, 1864, Jarvis was eulogized as being one of the "oldest and most respected inhabitants" of Toronto and it was his "generous disposition which endeared him to a large circle of private friends, while his energy and ability as a public man" caused "his loss to be deeply felt by the whole community."[78]

Sheriff Jarvis had an active and similarly successful involvement in the organization and development of sport in Toronto during the nineteenth century. His greatest contribution to the sporting community was in his organizational assistance to equestrian sport. Through his sponsorship and direction, the Toronto Turf Club was initiated on a formal basis in 1828.[79] Assisting Jarvis in this venture were Major Winniett and Lieutenant Huey of the 68th Regt., both experienced horsemen; John Radenhurst, the Solicitor-General of Upper Canada; Robert Stanton, publisher of the United Empire Loyalist; and John Henry Dunn, a *Compact* friend of Sheriff Jarvis. It was of interest to note the strong British connection to horse-racing in Upper Canada as the rules and regulations published in the United Empire Loyalist on August 16, 1828, were very similar to those long used in England and other parts of the United Kingdom.[80] In fact, in regulation number 13 of the Upper Canadian rules, as published in the United Empire Loyalist on the above stated date, it stated;

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[78] The Globe, July 27, 1864.

[79] United-Empire Loyalist, August 12, 1828.

[80] For several general articles on horse-racing in England see "The English Turf", The Broadway Journal, Vol. 3 (1847), pp. 75-78; "The English Turf", Fraser's

> That stewards in all decisions shall be guided by the Laws of Racing as specified in the London Racing Calendar.

It can be safely assumed that it was either Major Winniett or Lieutenant Huey who supplied the necessary rules as they were both experienced soldiers who were trained and educated in England. Before establishing the Toronto Turf Club in August of 1828, Jarvis had also acted as a steward for a turf meeting in June of this year.[11] He duplicated this responsibility at the Toronto Turf Club's York Races on October 6th, 8th,and 10th, 1828.[12] Jarvis was assisted in the later stewardship by *Family Compact* associates Charles C. Small and John Elmsley, along with Lieutenant Duff and Lieutenant Smyth of the 68th Regt.[13] Jarvis continued his organizing ways with the Toronto Turf Club in the 1830s as he acted as Secretary for nine straight years (1830-1839).[14] He maintained this involvement by acting as President in the period 1840 to 1844,[15] after which time he directed most of his organizing talents to the Presidency of the Home District Agricultural Society. It would appear that there was a strong connection between the turf associations of the period and the agricultural societies. In fact, many of Jarvis' associates in the Home District Agricultural Society were also his associates in the Toronto Turf Club. E.W. Thompson, William H. Boulton, and John Elmsley for

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[10] (cont'd) Magazine, Vol. 48, No. 408 (December 1863), pp. 806-814; and "The Turf", The Quarterly Review, Vol. 49, No. 98 (1833), p. 388.

[11] United Empire Loyalist, June 21, 1828. *Compact* members Samuel Sherwood and John Henry Dunn both entered horses and won their respective races. Mr. Sherwood's horse "Fidget" defeated E.W. Thompson's horse "Fly" for the Garrison Purse of L10.

[12] See *ibid.*, June 28, 1828; July 5, 1828; August 9, 1828; August 16, 1828; and October 11, 1828.

[13] John Elmsley would later team up with W.B. Jarvis to administer the Home District Agricultural Society. See *ibid.*, June 6, 1833.

[14] List of Officers, 1825-1841. Minutes of the Toronto Turf Club. The Minutes of the Club are partly held in the Magrath Papers of the Toronto Public Library, the Denison Papers of the Ontario Public Archives and in the Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Woodbine, Ontario.

[15] List of Officers, 1841-1844. *ibid.* Also see British Colonist, June 2, 1841; April 20, 1842; May 10, 1843; and February 16, 1844. Many of Jarvis' selected stewards were close associates of his in social circles of the 'official class' and in business ventures. In 1841 they included Allan Napier McNab, William Cayley, William H. Boulton, Isaac Buchanan, Henry Sherwood, George Duggan, Mayor George Monro and Donald Bethune.

instance, were long-time members and directors of both associations.[16] It is plausible that interest in the equine species acted as the locus of interest for individuals involved in both the agricultural and turf fraternities. Moreover, horse-racing, in some form, was a large and prominent feature of both organizations during the mid-1800s.

William Botsford Jarvis, besides being an enthusiastic horsemen and purveyor of agrarian education, was also a helpful supporter of many early attempts at organizing athletic events for the younger and less privileged children of Toronto. His spirit of benevolence and social harmony as the Sheriff of the Home District and as a ruling member of the Family Compact, must have greatly influenced his motivation for organizing such activities. Jarvis was a Steward of the Toronto Athletic Games of 1838 and 1839.[17] The Games were billed as the *Olympic Games* which was a unique feature to Toronto at the time but which was later duplicated in Montreal in 1844.[18] In a report in the British Colonist, on September 6th and 18th, 1844, bemoaning the lack of athletic games in Toronto for the year, the editor recognized Montreal's recent interest in establishing a similar event:

> There has been no attempt made, so far, as we have heard, this season in Toronto, to renew the athletic sports, which for the last few years were indulged in and which afforded so much amusement to those who witnessed them, and ***healthy recreation*** to those who took part in them. We perceive by the Montreal papers, that the Olympic Games have been introduced there this season, with as much spirit as could possibly be desired. Several of the 93rd Highlanders competed for and won prizes; and besides the general interest that has been excited by the introduction of these sports, the Indians from the neighbourhood gave variety to the scene by their presence and playing a game - "La Crosse".

Certainly, Indian participation and 'la crosse' were activities unique to Montreal as neither were mentioned in the reports of the athletic games of Toronto. Jarvis was also instrumental in helping to administer Toronto's first formal regatta in 1842.[89] In all probability, Jarvis was drawn into the organizational fold by his good friend and *Family Compact* member, John Elmsley (Chief Justice of Lower Canada), who was President of the Toronto Regatta Association.[90] Both Elmsley and Jarvis were joined on the regatta committee by *Compact* members: the Hon. John Henry Dunn, M.P.P., who had assisted Jarvis in setting up the Toronto Turf Club in 1828; William H. Boulton, on whose property was built the Toronto Turf Club's St. Leger Race Course and who was a long-time Secretary of the above mentioned club; Captain Morgan Baldwin of the Royal Navy; George Gurnett, Mayor of Toronto in 1837, 1848-50; George Monro, Mayor of Toronto in 1841; Henry Sherwood, Compact member and Mayor of Toronto from 1842-1844; George A. Barber, a leading cricket exponent in Toronto and principle supporter of many different sports during the next several decades; Peter Buchanan, Thomas D. Harris, John Cameron, James Browne, all leading merchants of the city; and Angus Morrison, later Mayor of Toronto in 1876, 1877 and 1878 and long-time president of the Toronto Rowing and Curling Clubs.[91] It is interesting to note that a separate event was held for the "fishermen of Toronto harbour". Evidently, in the minds of the organizers, there was a clear distinction to be drawn between the amateur sportsman and the professional athletes. In fact, in the featured event, the "skiff match for the championship of the bay", the regatta regulations stipulated that it was "to be pulled by gentlemen amateurs of Toronto" with the prize being a silver cup and a white flag.[92]

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[16] Upper Canada Gazette, May 27, 1830 and June 6, 1833; British Colonist, September 6, 1843 and May 14, 1844; The Globe, February 13, 1847; February 12, 1848; February 28, 1849.

[17] British Colonist, October 18, 1838 and September 18, 1839.

[18] Don Morrow in his centennial history of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association entitled, A Sporting Evolution: Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881-1981. (Montreal: Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1981), p. 14, mentioned that the Montreal Olympic Games of 1844 were the first and only one of its kind in Canada up until this time. This was supported by Peter L. Lindsay, in his work, "A Sport History of Canada, 1807-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 140. This was apparently not the case as Toronto preceded these Games by well over six years.

Apart from being an active organizer and supporter of various sports, Jarvis also enjoyed the recreational and healthful benefits of games. He was one of the original members of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club when it was formed in 1837 and he remained lively in his participation of club activities for almost ten years.[93] Also, Jarvis was an avid student of curling as he was a member of the Toronto Curling Club in the years 1844, 1845, 1846 and 1847.[94] Moreover, Jarvis apparently enjoyed both cricket and sailing as he was a member of both the Toronto Cricket Club in 1846,[95] and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1856.[96] Jarvis, because of his long-time involvement in the militia corps and Queen's Rangers,[97] naturally was interested in the volunteer movement of the early 1860s and as a result, willingly accepted the appointment as Secretary of the Canadian Rifle Association when it was founded in 1861.[98] His close friend, Casimir S. Gzowski* and himself, were credited with being the principle initiators of the rifle movement in Canada.[99] More about Gzowski will follow in a later biographical chapter. In addition to his true sporting interests, William Botsford Jarvis also enjoyed recreational pursuits and fraternal causes. He was a member of the Toronto Horticultural Society during the 1840s and 1850s being its President in 1845[100] and a director in 1859; plus, he was a member of both the St. Andrew's Masonic Lodge in the 1830s[101] and the Ionic Masonic Lodge in the 1840s; being a charter member of the latter group in 1847.[102]

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[89] British Colonist, August 17, 1842.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] *Ibid.*, To substantiate the mayoralty connections see Victor Russell, Mayors of Toronto, 1834-1889, (Erin, Ont.; Boston Mills Press, 1982), *passim.*

[92] *Ibid.*, For a general discussion of the amateur-professional growth and conflict in Canada during the nineteenth century, see Frank Cosentino's, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Nineteenth Century Canada", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973.

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[93] See Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club (later the Toronto Lawn Bowling Club), June 2, 1837. Ontario Public Archives. This apparently was the original founding date. Included on this date, were the constitution and rules of the Club plus the guidelines for play (see Appendix I). For historical accounts of the Caer-Howell Hotel and Pleasure Grounds, see the British Colonist, October 7, 1840 and the Toronto Star Weekly, June 19, 1915.

[94] List of members , 1835-1887. Minutes of the Toronto Curling Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[95] List of members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[96] List of members, 1852-1884. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.

[97] See the Upper Canada Gazette, January 4, 1838 and January 11, 1838 for lists of officers in the Militia General Order of Toronto. On the latter date, W.B. Jarvis is listed as a Captain in the Queen's Rangers. His Commanding Officer was his cousin, Lt. Col. Samuel Peters Jarvis.

[98] The Globe, August 19, 1861.

[99] *Ibid.*, July 28, 1864.

[100] British Colonist, February 21, 1845 and *ibid.*, April 2, 1859.

[101] Henry T. Smith, History of St. Andrew's Lodge A.F. and A.M., 1822-1922. (Toronto: Privately Published, 1922), pp. 171-176.

[102] W.R. Brown, Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory: 1846-47. (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1846), p. 37.

Although William Botsford Jarvis was usually thought of as the Sheriff of the *Family Compact*, the man who resisted MacKenzie's forces and who presided at the executions of Samuel Lount and Peter Mathews in 1838, he was also the man who freed the debtors in York's jail to save them during the cholera epidemic of 1834. Though a member of the social elite of the town and city, Jarvis, as Sheriff, witnessed much of the brutal and degrading side of nineteenth century life and tried to improve the living conditions of Toronto's citizens. He not only tried to educate the poor through the Mechanics' Institute, the Athenaeum, the Agricultural Societies and the Church, but he also sought to assist them in their material needs by setting up building societies and banking institutions. Jarvis also sought to improve the sport opportunities for the elite and the less fortunate alike. While he administered quasi-aristocratic turf, bowling, cricket and yachting associations, he also tried to establish athletic games and aquatic regattas which were open to all individuals. In a career only partially characterized by his official and political activities, he showed a keen interest in the development of Toronto and in the welfare of its residents, and ended his life a respected patriarch of his adopted city.

Chapter V

THE PHILANTHROPIST: GEORGE WILLIAM ALLAN

Sport, although it was an important socializing institution in nineteenth century Canada, represented only one aspect of a network of clubs and organizations by which the elite made informal contacts and important social connections for the furtherance of their ideological beliefs. This is not to say that sport was any less important in its socializing influence of an elite than any other factor but rather to point out that sport alone was not the ultimate means to mix and share the company of the rich and influential. This chapter represents an example of how an elite member from the *Family Compact* persisted and endured in the context of being socially influential in the non-*Compact* days of the later 1800s and how membership in a sport club signified only one aspect of the socializing experience in Toronto society. It is important to note the variety of private and public institutions which this sketched individual belonged to as this epitomized the ***multi-club and organizational membership*** of the elite during the nineteenth century.

George William Allan (hereafter George W.), was born into an already well established Toronto family on January 9, 1822.[1] His father, the Hon. William Allan, was a pioneer settler who had taken up residence in York during Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe's term of office, and who resided in Toronto until his death in 1853. William Allan had arrived in York in 1796 and had opened up a general store in partnership with Alexander Wood; a partnership which dissolved in 1801 sending Allan into business for himself.[2] Allan had already won the respect of his customers for being an honest and straightforward businessman and as a result, began winning the trust, patronage and respect of York's ruling class. By the mid-1820s, George William Allan's father had been appointed a magistrate, the Treasurer of the Home District and a legislative councillor, having entered the Executive

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[1] Henry J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 14.

[2] R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 326.

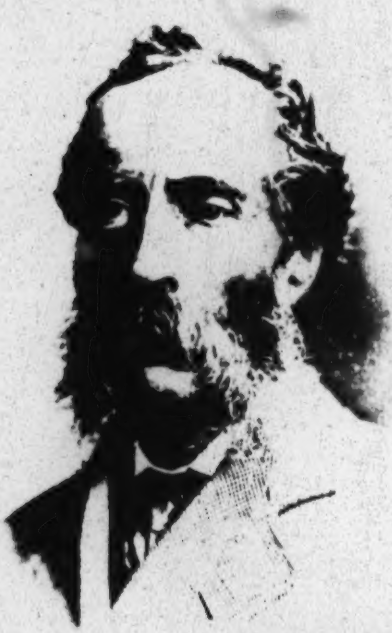
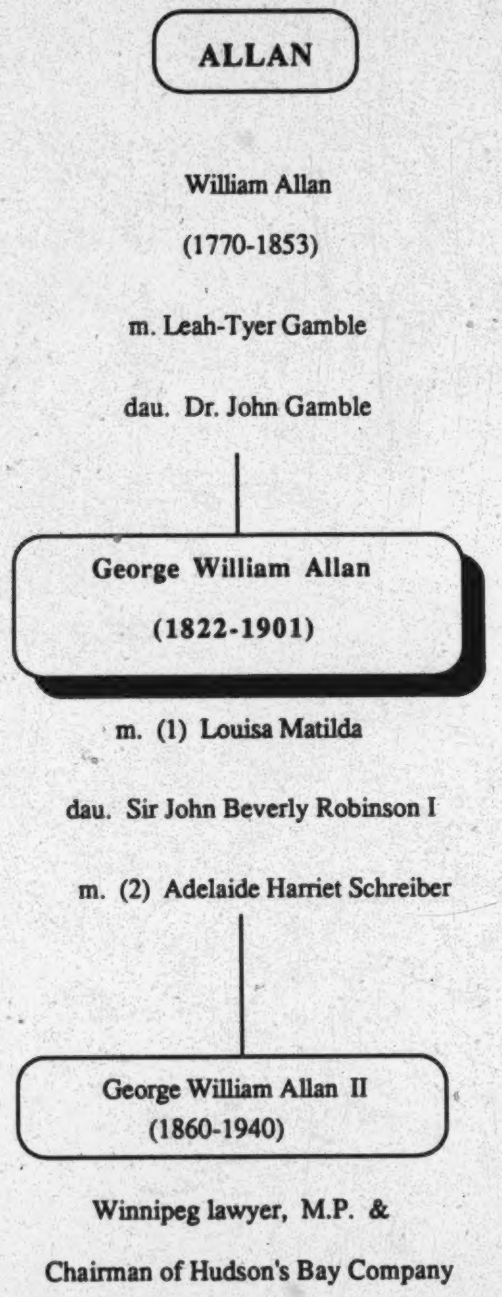


Figure III: Picture of George William Allan, 1822-1901.



ALLAN

William Allan

(1770-1853)

m. Leah-Tyer Gamble

dau. Dr. John Gamble

George William Allan

(1822-1901)

m. (1) Louisa Matilda

dau. Sir John Beverly Robinson I

m. (2) Adelaide Harriet Schreiber

George William Allan II
(1860-1940)

Winnipeg lawyer, M.P. &

Chairman of Hudson's Bay Company

FIGURE IV: Genealogical Sketch of the Allan Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

Council Upper Canada in 1836.[3] Prior to this he had been the Postmaster of Upper Canada, the Collector of Customs and the Inspector of Stills and Taverns for the Province. William Allan was also the first President of the Bank of Upper Canada (1822-1835)[4]; the first Governor (President) of the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company[5]; President of the City of Toronto and Lake Huron Rail Road Company[6]; the chief agent for the Canada Land Company[7]; and one of the original subscribers of the Provincial Fire Assurance Company.[8]

Throughout his career, William Allan showed an interest in the development of his community and in the welfare of its citizens, a trait which he passed on to his son, George W., as part of the family's ruling responsibility. In 1800, William Allan was a member of the York committee organized to clear Yonge Street from Bloor Street to Toronto Bay and two years later he was Treasurer of the Anglican Church Building Committee.[9] During the War of 1812, he served in the militia as a lieutenant-colonel.[10] Additionally, this devoted *Family Compact* member was Treasurer of the St. James Church (a bastion of Family Compact members), the Bible and Prayer Book Societies, the Society of Friends for the Relief of Strangers, [11] the Home District Agricultural Society,[12] the Toronto Athletic Games,[13] the St. Andrew's Society,[14] and the British America League.[15] Most aspects of his intense community involvement were taken up by his son, George W. George W. Allan did everything he could to involve himself in the various public and private affairs of Toronto. While there were some variations in his community involvement when compared to his father, few deviations were discernible. It was apparent that young Allan had inherited many of his father's philanthropic, religious, social, sport, commercial, fraternal and political memberships. A fact not wholly uncommon among the elite during this era.

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[3] Frederick H. Armstrong, Handbook of Upper Canadian Chronology. (London: University of Western Ontario, 1967), p.21.

[4] George M. Rose, Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: Rose Publishing, 1888), p. 78.

[5] Upper Canada Gazette, November 20, 1834.

[6] Incorporation Act of City of Toronto and Lake Huron Rail Road Company. 6 Wm. IV Cap. 5, April 20, 1836, Statutes of Upper Canada. Also, see British Colonist, June 10, 1845.

[7] Upper Canada Gazette, June 11, 1929.

[8] *Ibid.*, February 27, 1834.

[9] *Ibid.*, January 22, 1802.

[10] G. Mercer Adams, Prominent Men of Canada. (Toronto: Canadian Biographical Publishing, 1892), p. 421.

[11] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 257. Also, see *idem*, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1973), pp. 213-228.

[12] Upper Canada Gazette, May 27, 1830.

[13] British Colonist, August 29, 1839.

[14] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1840.

[15] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1849.

Due to William Allan's acceptance as an elite member of the *Family Compact*, George W. was educated by private tutors during his early years, a characteristic of most upper class children during this era. Later on he was sent to Upper Canada College by his father to get the "best education a gentleman could receive in British North America".[16] While at Upper Canada College, an insurrection, led by William Lyon MacKenzie, broke out, which called to arms all persons loyal to the ways of the ruling *Family Compact* and to sympathetic Tory ideals. As a consequence, young Allan, being a member of Toronto's official class, left school and joined the forces of the Bank Rifle Corps, whose members included Chief Justice J.G. Hagarty and Judge Thomas Galt.[17] Allan returned to college at the end of the Rebellion uprisings (1838), and remained there until he was eligible for his examination as a law student, which he passed in the 'senior class' of 1839. George W. Allan, only seventeen at the time, was articled to, and began his studies with, the firm of Clarke Gamble and D'arcy Boulton, both *Compact* members, and was subsequently called to the Bar of Upper Canada in 1846.[18] It was of interest to note that the Gamble connection to the Allan family had been long established prior to the legal relationship; George William's mother, Leah Tyrer, was the daughter of Dr. John Gamble, chief surgeon of Simcoe's Queen's Rangers[19] and part of the 'official class' of Toronto.

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[16] W.S. Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1926), p. 4.

[17] Adams, Prominent Men..., p. 421.

[18] Wallace, The Dictionary..., (1945 edition), p. 7.

[19] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 257.

Prior to commencing his career as a lawyer and setting up a practice of his own. George W. Allan was sent by his father to travel abroad, supposedly to make the relatively inexperienced barrister more familiar with the ways of the world. The extended tour through Europe and Asia lasted a period of approximately two years. Within this space of time, he travelled extensively through England, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. Additionally, he trekked up the Nile to Nubia, then on to Syria and the Holy Land, Asia Minor, Turkey and Greece.[20] These latter places were relatively uncivilized at the time and were largely lawless and unsettled. Allan's accounts of his travels won him fame among the adventurers of the period and secured for him election as a fellow to the Royal Geographical Society of England in 1849.[21] Upon returning to Toronto to a hero's welcome,[22] supposedly as a result of his courageous journeys, Allan won a popular vote and was elected alderman of the St. David's Ward.[23] He was able to retain his aldermanic post in 1854 and took a leading role in council and committee of the City of Toronto, being appointed to the all important standing committee on finance and assessment as well as to the increasingly controversial committee on wharves and harbours.[24] Allan was appointed by the Toronto City Council a commissioner of the Harbour Trust in addition to serving as the city's representative on the board of directors of the Ontario, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway (an enterprise his father had been interested in), and as such, was delegated the responsibility of expediting the passage in the Provincial Parliament of the amended Esplanade Act.[25] It was in this delegated capacity that George W. Allan reaffirmed his friendly relationship with Casimir S. Gzowski*. Both Allan and Gzowski had originally met in 1846 as founding directors of the Upper Canada Building Society[26] and it was as a result of their previous friendship in this Society, and because of Gzowski's reputation as a fine engineer, that Allan was largely responsible for awarding the Esplanade construction contract to Gzowski. It also did not hurt Gzowski's position that he knew James Gooderham Worts*, the other Harbour Commissioner, in his attempts to secure the Esplanade project. More will be mentioned on this association later. Although there were charges of nepotism and overspending in the Esplanade project, both Allan and Gzowski weathered the controversy in fine style and apparently continued living life with their respect and integrity intact.[27] Their success in this venture would later repeat itself in many fruitful interlocking commercial, fraternal and philanthropic undertakings throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, an aspect of elitism which was *not* uncommon during the 1800s in Toronto.

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[20] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women...., p. 14.

[21] Certificate of Membership. Allan Papers. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.

[22] Toronto Star, April 15, 1975. In recounting his return to Toronto, the author stated: "He was such a popular figure in Toronto's history that when he returned after a two-year holiday in Europe, the crowds came to the pier to play "Home, Sweet Home" and thousands of people marched in a torchlight procession to escort him home".

[23] Victor Russel, Mayors of Toronto, 1834-1899. (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1982), p. 53. Also see Jesse Middleton, Municipality of Toronto; A History. 3 Vols. (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1923), Appendices.

[24] ***Ibid.***

[25] Toronto City Council. Report of the Select Committee of the Corporation of the City of Toronto to Whom was Referred the Contract for Esplanade and the Explanade Bill before the Legislature. (Toronto: MacLear and Thomas, 1855). Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives. Also see The Globe, August 30, 1853.

Allan inherited considerable wealth from his father's estate in 1853,[28] and as a consequence, lessened his motivation to pursue his already burgeoning career as a lawyer.[29] Instead, he continued his interest in municipal politics and lent his financial and administrative support to various social causes, again a characteristic of the Victorian elite. George, at the age of thirty-three, was elected Mayor of Toronto in 1855.[30] He had gained much popularity after his return from his travels and from his civic involvement. Besides being an alderman of Toronto City Council in 1849, 1854 and 1855, George W. was the Secretary-Treasurer of the Toronto Horticultural Society in 1853[31]; an association of which he had been Vice-President several times in the mid to late 1840s and where he originally struck up the friendship with the Sheriff of the Home District at the time, William Botsford Jarvis*.[32] Jarvis and he were also instrumental in pushing forth the much needed commercial venture of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway in 1850.[33] In fact, in an open letter to Toronto Mayor, George Gurnett, in the same year, both Jarvis and Allan proclaimed the importance of the scheme:

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[26] British Colonist, May 23, 1848.

[27] The Globe, April 17, 1855. Also see Edwin C. Guillet. Toronto: From Trading Post to Great City. (Toronto: Ontario Publishing, 1934), pp. 71 and 403, for discussions of the controversy surrounding the Esplanade project.

[28] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto: 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 73. Also see The Globe, July 12, 1853.

[29] Toronto Star, April 5, 1975.

[30] Henry Scadding, Toronto: Past and Present. (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1884), p. 206. The population of Toronto in 1855, according to Scadding, was 41,760.

[31] British Colonist, March 29, 1853. The President and Vice-President of the Toronto Horticultural Society in 1853, were *Compact* members, Hon. Justice Henry John Draper and Hon. Samuel B. Harrison, respectively.

> We the undersigned taxpayers of the city, taking into consideration the vast increase which the construction of a Railroad to Lake Huron will necessarily give to the trade, commerce and general business of the city, and the great additional value it will give to the real estate, do strongly recommend the Corporation to pass a law to authorize the taking of $100,000 in debentures payable in twenty years, with interest at six percent per annum half yearly.[34]

Although both Allan and Jarvis had vast land holdings in Toronto and stood to gain substantially from increases in real estate values, each was civic-minded enough to foresee the general overall good which could be accrued to city merchants and residents alike by the railroad construction. It was in the Toronto, Simcoe and Huron venture that George W. reaffirmed his friendship with another second generation *Compact* confidant, John Beverly Robinson II*.[35] Robinson, an ardent sportsman in his own right during the majority of the 1800s, was the son of the *Family Compact*'s most fervent spokesperson, Sir John Beverly Robinson I.[36] John Beverly Robinson II* will be profiled in a succeeding chapter. It was the younger Robinson and Allan who parlayed several business transactions into profittable ventures and who took great interest in each other's careers during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Both men had served at aldermanic posts during the early 1850s[37]; both had served a term as Toronto's Mayor (John Beverly Robinson II in 1856); both had served as directors of the Canada Landed Credit Company[38]; both were members of the Toronto Club[39]; both contributed to the planning and construction of a new Toronto Union Passenger Station in 1870[40]; both were members of the federal Parliament[41]; both were directors of the Northern Railway from Toronto to Collingwood[42]; both celebrated Sir John Beverly Robinson's appointment to the Presidency of the Court of Error and Appeal in 1862[43]; both were among the first directors of the Church of England and Metropoliton Building Society[44]; both were instigators and councilors, along with Casimir S. Gzowski*, in the development of Trinity College[45]; both were backers of Gzowski* and David L. MacPherson's transcontinental railway scheme, along with friends and business associates, James Gooderham Worts* and William McMaster*[46]; and both were organizers of a 1860 celebration for the Prince of Wales in Toronto.[47] Additionally, both Allan and Robinson were interested in the promotion of health and good sport in Toronto as each, at one time or another, served as directors of the Young Men's Christian Association.[48] Moreover, both served on the executive of the Upper Canada Bible Society in the 1850s and 1860s,[49] with Allan serving as the Society's President for most of the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s.[50] It was in this organization that Allan met and nurtured his friendship with long-time executive member, William McMaster*, an individual to be described later on. In the truest sense, John Beverly Robinson II* and George W. Allan were the closest of friends, each respecting the familial background and tradition of the other and each doing his utmost to preserve the 'inner circle' of the elite upon which Toronto society was originally based. In fact, this *hegemonic connection* was galvanized by the fact George W. Allan had married John Beverly Robinson II's sister, Louise Maude, in 1846,[51] and had also practiced law, under the watchful eye of Clarke Gamble, with John Beverly's eldest brother James Lukin Robinson.[52] As a result, Allan and Robinson, classmates at Upper Canada College,[53] perpetuated the *friendly network characteristic* of the "old boy" system so familiar to the elite in the 1800s.[54]

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[32] Both Jarvis and Allan were prime movers in the incorporation of the Toronto Horticultural Society in 1857. See Incorporation Act of Toronto Horticultureal Society, 20 Vic. Cap. 181, June 10, 1857, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[33] British Colonist, May 21, 1850.

[34] *Ibid.*, June 4, 1850.

[35] *Ibid.* In addition to Jarvis and Robinson, other Compact members supported the construction of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway. They were: Robert Baldwin, James McGill Strachan, John Hillyard Cameron, William B. Robinson and William Proudfoot. The railroad was originally a *Family Compact* idea in 1836, which never came to fruition. See Incorporation Act of City of Toronto and Lake Huron Railway Company, 6 Wm. IV Cap. 5, April 20, 1836, Statutes of Upper Canada.

[36] For an excellent treatise on this outspoken advocate of the *Family Compact*, see Robert E. Saunders, "John Beverly Robinson: His Political Career, 1812-1840". M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1960. Also see Alison Ewart and Julia Jarvis, "Personnel of the *Family Compact*", Canadian Historical Association Records, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 1926), *passim*.

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[37] Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., pp. 56-59. Ironically, John Beverly Robinson II*, was mayor in 1856, one year following George W. Allan's term of office.

[38] Incorporation Act of the Canada Landed Credit Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 133, August 16, 1858,. Statutes of Province of Canada. Also see The Globe, January 14, 1863. In this year both Allan and William McMaster* were directors as were Allan and Gzowski* in 1869, see The Globe, February 12, 1869.

[39] List of Members, 1843-1881, Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club, Toronto.

[40] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Union Passenger Station and Dock Company, 34 Vic. Cap 70, February 15, 1871, Statutes of Ontario.

[41] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 15. Allan was appointed to the Legislative Council of Canada in 1858, a position he held until 1867 whereupon he was appointed to the Senate. Also see D.B. Read, The Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada and Ontario: 1792-1899. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), pp. 221-229. Like Allan, Robinson was elected to the Legislative Council of Canada in 1858. In 1862, he served as president of the Council in the MacDonald-Cartier administration.

[42] See The Globe, February 14, 1867. In this year, John Beverly Robinson II* was President of the Northern Railway and George W. Allan was one of the major stockholders. Other major shareholders included Col. Richard L. Denison, Col. George T. Denison, George Percival Ridout, Thomas Galt, Q.C.; and John Cameron.

[43] *Ibid.*, June 20, 1862. Also,in attendance were the majority of the members of the *Family Compact* including Bishop John Strachan, Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis* and William B. Robinson.

[44] List of Founders, dated February 23, 1850, Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society Papers. Ontario Public Archives. Also see Minutes, March 1, 1850, *ibid.*

[45] Incorporation Act of Trinity College School, 35 Vic. Cap. 111, March 2, 1872, Statutes of Ontario.

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[46] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, 35 Vic. Cap. 72, June 14, 1872, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[47] The Globe, September 11, 1860.

[48] Incorporation Act of the Young Men's Christian Association, 31 Vic. Cap. 59, March 4, 1868, Statutes of Ontario.

[49] Incorporation Act of the Upper Canada Bible Society, 18 Vic. Cap. 229, May 19, 1855, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[50] C.E. Anderson, Toronto City Directory, 1868-69. (Toronto: Anderson and Co., 1868), pp. 15-16.

[51] Wallace, The Dictionary..., p. 4.

[52] Russel, Mayors of Toronto..., p. 55. Also see C.W. Robinson, The Life of Sir John Beverly Robinson, C.B., D.C.L., Chief Justice of Upper Canada. (London: Longmans, 1904), *passim*.

[53] W.G. Gooderham (ed.), Upper Canada College: Old Boys' Association Address List, 1829-1929. (Toronto: Southam Press, 1929) and A.H. Young, The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College, 1830-1916. (Kingson: Hanson, Crozier and Edgar, 1917).

[54] See L.J.H. Bishop, Winchester and the Public School Elite. (London: Longmans 1967), p. 17. Also, George J. Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910. (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1910), p. 193.

Following his term as Toronto's Mayor in 1855, Allan put much of his energies into commercial, fraternal and philantropic activities. After having acted as the Vice-President of the Toronto Horticultural Society for much of the 1840s, George W. Allan took on its Presidency in 1855 and served as the organization's guiding force for close to thirty years.[55] The association was very similar in its purpose to the agricultural societies in that they provided educational instruction and exhibition opportunities to the *mechanical class* of Toronto's society, who often were the gardeners of the elite. As an example, at the third annual Toronto Horticultural Exhibition in 1863, prizes were awarded for the best floral presentations. The majority winner was announced as being, "J. Brown, gardener of J.H. (John Henry) Boulton".[56] This was not an exceptional incident as most of the exhibitors were gardeners of Toronto's wealthy.[57] Thus, what George W. Allan had started by having horticultural exhibitions in Toronto was built on the already well-established tradition of Britain, which allowed *mechanicals* to demonstrate their agrarian talents through gardeners' clubs and shows that were patronized by the elite.[58] Theoretically, horticultural societies, like mechanics institutes and bible societies, sought to *educate and uplift the moral qualities* of the lower classes and as such, acted as a philanthropic and *social reforming* agency for the elite. In a quote from an elitist journal, Amateur Gardening, in 1886, the ideology behind the theory was well demonstrated:

> "If we look about us for the cause of the majority of social evils which afflict society - say, for example, drunkeness, extravagance, general laxity of morals, irreligion - we shall surely discover that the thirst for amusement may be chargeable with by far the largest proportion of all that is wrong in the

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[55] The Globe, May 23, 1879. His Presidency supposedly ended in this year passing the responsibility onto Henry Pellatt, who in his own right, became a well-known philanthropist of Toronto. Pellatt will be described in a later chapter.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1859. At the First Toronto Horticultural Exhibition all the entrants were reported as being "... gardeners for estates of ...".

[58] "Gardens for the Working Classes", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 4, No. 201 (December 1835), p. 359. Also see Stephen Constantine, "Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Century", Journal of Social History, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Spring 1981), pp. 387-394. For secondary works on this principle see G. Taylor, The Victorian Flower Garden. (London: Longmans, 1952) and E. Hyans, The English Garden. (London: Longmans, 1964).

> conduct of individuals, as well as in the various relationships of interests and classes ... All that concerns us here to do is to direct the attention of our readers, and especially, the *philanthropists* among them, to the possibility of accomplishing much good among the poorer classes by directing their attention to the beauty of flowers and inducing them to become possessors and cultivators of plots that will not tempt them to drink, or gamble, or fight, or slander ... *One of the surest and safest means of improving the labouring population is to amuse them with innocent recreations.* [59]

Therefore, Allan, like many of his philanthropic and benevolent contemporaries, had an ideological basis for his participation in and administration of reforming organizations. This reforming ideal was epitomized in his membership and directorship of several benevolent societies: for instance, the Young Men's Christian Association (previously mentioned),[60] an organization dedicated to the veracity of moral character among young urban men; the Upper Canada Bible Society,[61] which supplied christian education to the lower classes; the House of Industry,[62] established to harbour the homeless and give training to those who were without employable skills; the Toronto Mechanics' Institute,[63] who would provide education to the artizans and labourers in the technical and scientific occupations of the period; the Newsboys' Lodging and Industrial Home of the City of Toronto.[64] which did much the same as the House of Industry in supplying lodging and training for the poor; the Protestant Boys' Home,[65] which George's second wife, Adelaide Harriet Allan, administered in the early 1860s and which supplied housing to orphaned boys[66]; and the Canadian Institute,

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[59] Amateur Gardening, Vol. 3, No. 109 (1886), p. 49.

[60] For evidence on the reforming qualities of this association see W.H. Withrow, "Young Men's Christian Associations", Canadian Methodist Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 3 (September 1876), pp. 193-204. Also, see David MacLeod, "A Live Vaccine: The Y.M.C.A. and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920", Journal of Social History, Vol. 11, No. 21 (May 1978), pp. 1-25 and Wendy Mitchelson, "The Y.W.C.A. and Reform in the Nineteenth Century", Journal of Social History, Vol. 12, No. 24 (November 1979), pp. 368-384.

[61] Toronto Star, April 5, 1975.

[62] See The Globe, January 12, 1865.

[63] Minutes and Records of the Toronto Mechanic's Institute, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library and the Incorporation Act of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 102, July 28, 1847, Statutes of Province of Canada

[64] Incorporation Act of the Newsboys' Lodging and Industrial House of Refuge of the City of Toronto, 34 Vic. Cap. 97, February 15, 1871, Statutes of Ontario.

[65] Incorporation Act of the Protestant Boys' Home, 24 Vic. Cap. 114, May 18, 1861, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[66] Philanthropy and benevolence were not restricted to male members of the elite. In fact, women often chose to lead various charitable agencies as evidenced by George

[67] which gave lectures on the geographical and geological riches of this country. Although his philanthropic directorships were many, Allan was probably best remembered, in a benevolent sense, for his generous donation of five acres of land to the City of Toronto for a permanent park.[68] Originally named the Horticultural Gardens upon donation in 1857, they were renamed Allan Gardens upon George's death in 1901.[69] The initial five acres were added to shortly after 1857. This time though, ten acres of Allan's property were sold to the City for $11,000, a fair price to pay for a downtown piece of property at the time.[70] The gift of land to the City of Toronto was consistent with the park reform or Enclosure Movement of the mid-Victorian period. More green space was created in the urban centers so that the mechanic and artizan could recreate themselves in the pleasant surroundings of grass and trees, and thus regenerate his moral, mental and physical capacities.[71]

In the course of his many directorships in benevolent organizations in the city, Allan befriended many other wealthy and prosperous individuals, people who were directly and indirectly involved in sport. For instance, Allan's initial friendship with William McMaster* in the Upper Canada Bible Society, spilled over into their directorship of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute.[72] As well, both men were directors of the Canada Landed Credit Company,[73] the Consumer's Gas Company,[74] the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company,

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[66](cont'd) W. Allan's wife. See John T. Cumber, "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy", Journal of Social History, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Fall 1980), pp. 99-111.

[67] W.S. Wallace (ed.), The Royal Canadian Institute Centennial Volume, 1849-1949, (Toronto: Privately Published, 1949), pp. 201 and 219.

[68] The Globe, July 24, 1901.

[69] Toronto Star, April 5, 1975.

[70] T.A. Reed, "Memoranda Re. Crown Grants of Park Lots in the City of Toronto Based on the Records in the Registry Office." Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. George's father, William Allan, had bought 100 acres of land between Queen and Bloor Streets in 1819, and at its southern end, at the corner of Sherbourne and and Queen Streets, built a home he called, Moss Park. In 1822, George was born there. It was a piece of this inherited land which George donated to the City of Toronto in 1857.

[71] Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 14.

[72] Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *passim.*, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.

[73] The Globe, February 12, 1869.

[74] Incorporation Act of the Consumer's Gas Company, 6 Wm. IV Cap. 9, April 20,

[75] the Toronto Golf Club,[76] the Royal Canadian Yacht Club,[77] and the Toronto Club.[78] And their mutual friendship was also tied to other associates with whom they had commercial and philanthropic dealings. For instance, Casimir S. Gzowski* was not only a staunch supporter of Allan's Horticultural Society, serving as an interim President in 1860,[79] but he was also a compatriot of Allan and McMaster in the Canada Landed Credit Company, the Consumers' Gas Company and the Inter-Oceanic Railway scheme.[80] Furthermore, Allan and Gzowski were associates in the establishment of Trinity College; the Upper Canada Building Society; the Rideau Club of Ottawa[81]; the Toronto Coffee House Association[82]; the Montreal Club[83]; Toronto's Volunteer Relief Fund of 1866[84]; and Sir John A. MacDonald's Trust Fund,[85] set-up to support the ailing Prime Minister in the 1880s. Also, it was of interest to note how George W. Allan, when elected President of his father's bank in 1863.[86], (the Bank of Upper Canada), moved to have Gzowski installed as its Chairman. His confidence in Casimir's ability plus his close working relationship with Gzowski in other ventures, precluded the latter's acceptance into Allan's most personal business affairs.[87] This was also true for Allan's other close friends James Gooderham Worts*, William Gooderham and George Gooderham*.

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[74](cont'd) 1836, Statutes of Upper Canada. Also, see The Globe, October 29, 1856; November 2, 1859; October 19, 1867; October 27, 1868; October 26, 1869; November 1, 1870; and October 30, 1873.

[75] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, 35 Vic. Cap. 72, June 14, 1872, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[76] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club. Toronto.

[77] List of members, 1852-1881. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

[78] List of members, 1843-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club. Toronto.

[79] The Globe, June 3, 1860.

[80] See previous footnotes citations.

[81] Incorporation Act of the Rideau Club of the City of Ottawa, 29 Vic. Cap. 18, September 18, 1865, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[82] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 184.

[83] Incorporation Act of the Montreal Club, 29-30 Vic. Cap. 145, August 15, 1866, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[84] The Globe, June 9, 1866.

[85] Ludwig Kos-Rabecewicz-Zubkowski and William E. Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski. (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1958), p. 127.

[86] The Globe, June 27, 1864.

[87] Gzowski will also be biographically covered in a later chapter.

Worts, a partner with the Gooderhams in a flour processing and distilling business, teamed up with Allan, Gzowski*, McMaster* and John Beverly Robinson II* to push through the idea of the Inter-Oceanic Railway.[88] Also, Allan and Worts*, plus Gzowski*, headed the list of subscribers for the Toronto Volunteer's Relief Fund for the Fenian veterans and their families in 1866.[89] Concomitant to this, it was interesting to see Wort's original business partner, William Gooderham, contributing to the Relief Fund as he usually distanced himself from most loyal charities. Allan and Worts also held close interlocking directorships in the Consumer's Gas Company; the Toronto Mechanics' Institute; The Toronto Club; the Toronto Golf Club, along with George Gooderham* and William McMaster*; the Toronto Granite Club.[90]; and in consequence of Allan's position in charge of the Harbour Trust, Worts was strongly favoured as the Toronto Board of Trade's appointed Harbour Commissioner,[91] a position he held for twenty-five years. It was Worts* and Allan's close friendship with Gzowski* in the Toronto Hunt Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Toronto Club, the Toronto Curling Club, the trans-continental railway project, plus various other commercial and banking ventures, which, not doubt, assisted Gzowski in securing the Esplanade construction contract for the City of Toronto. Thus, it appeared that sport, combined with business, created a interconnecting network of relationships which often furthered the personal and commercial interests of those closest to the core of the web.

William Gooderham and his son George Gooderham*, were probably closer to George W. Allan than Worts, because each invested considerable capital into ventures which Worts was apparently not interested in. Specifically, William Gooderham was a large investor in the ailing Bank of Upper Canada when George W. Allan took over its Presidency in 1863.[92] Each man lost considerable stock in the collapse of the Bank in 1866 but this apparently did not hamper their working relationship.[93] In all probability both realized that it was circumstances brought on by the tightening credit manuevers of the Bank of Montreal in Upper Canada, and not their directorship, which contributed to their losses. In any case, William Gooderham, once again, heavily invested in Allan's initial attempt at setting up a building and loan company for the settlers in the west in 1868.[94] George W. Allan was trying to capitalize on the steady migration of new settlers to the western reaches of Ontario and the southern parts of Manitoba. He was speculating that the population of the prairies would steadily increase over the next few decades and that if a trans-continental railway went through to Vancouver, as had been talked about in 1858 with the incorporation of the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company,[95] headed by his friend, William McMaster*, then there would be a large need for house building and development credit. Thus, both Allan and William Gooderham struck up a partnership in the Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society (later the Western Canada Loan and Savings Company, circa. 1875) which would last for some thirty years. Gooderham's son, George*, following in his father's interests, joined in the same company as a director in 1874 and continued in that capacity for almost twenty-five years.[96] Likewise, Gzowski's close associate, David L. MacPherson, invested much needed capital initially and continued as a director of Allan's enterprise until 1896.[97] MacPherson, as a prominent politician, was a valuable asset in this business scheme as he was constantly lobbying in Parliament for greater immigration quotas in the North-West Territories (later Alberta, the Yukon and the North-West Territories), and as Minister of the Interior from 1883 to 1885, he was able to watch for further business opportunities for the company.[98] Political "watch-dogging" was a common trait among elite politicians of the

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[88] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, *loc. cit.*

[89] The Globe, June 9, 1866.

[90] List of members, 1876-1881. Toronto Granite Club. Archives of the Toronto Granite Club. Toronto.

[91] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, March 13, 1856. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Also see George B. Brooks, A Souvenir: A History of the Growth of the Queen City and its Board of Trade. (Toronto: Sabistan Lithography and Publishing, 1893).

[92] The Globe, June 15, 1863. William Gooderham was a director of the Bank of Upper Canada from 1859 to 1863.

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[93] *Ibid.*, September 19, 1866.

[94] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1868.

[95] Incorporation Act of the North-West Transportation Navigation and Railway Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 122, August 16, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[96] Monetary Times, February 6, 1874.

[97] Edmonton Bulletin, October 29, 1896. MacPherson will be described later in the context of his relationship to Casimir S. Gzowski.

[98] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 57.

Victorian era.

William Gooderham, in an effort to hedge his investments plus pursue his belief in western expansion, also invested in William McMaster's* Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Society (later the Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Company, circa. 1872) a contemporary, direct competitor to Allan's Western Permanent Building and Savings Company, in 1870.[99] In all likelihood, both George W. Allan and McMaster were of the opinion that there was a large enough market in the insurance and loan business in the west, to allow their friend, William Gooderham, to reside on the two competing boards of directors. If anything, as the above example shows, ***cross-directorships in companies*** probably did much to strengthen the oligarchical control which the elite had in business circles at this time. By having few investors whose capital was spread between several ventures, the elite were able to have a powerful say not only in one or two aspects of business, but generally throughout numerous aspects of commerce and society.

In addition to commercial concerns, Allan was connected to the likes of William and George Gooderham* by fraternal and philanthropic activities. Upon the call of the citizens of Toronto to erect a general hospital in 1865, both Allan and William Gooderham spearheaded the group to raise the necessary monies.[100] While Gooderham took on the responsibility of Chairman of the fund drive[101], and sought to organize and delegate responsibility, Allan, along with Gzowski*, MacPherson, Hon. John McMurrich, Hon. A.M. Smith, Hon. D. MacDonald, George P. Ridout, Frederick W. Jarvis, and Rev. Henry Grassett, all canvassed around the city to draw sizable contributions to erect the hospital. Three sizable contributions which they were able to get were from William McMaster*, Hon. George Brown (publisher of The Globe) and Casimir S. Gzowski*, each giving $100 dollars to the cause.[102] Alternatively, Allan and William Gooderham were aldermen during the former's term as Mayor in 1855.[103] George W. Allan represented the St. David's Ward and William Gooderham represented the St. Lawrence riding, a region of the city, close to the waterfront and his mills, where he had resided since the early 1830s.[104] As well, George Gooderham* and Allan shared the honor of being charter members of the Toronto Golf Club when it was formally established in 1876 on a piece of property close to Port Credit.[105] Sometimes referred to as the "golf club of the elite of Toronto" or "the Banker's golf club",[106] the Toronto Golf Club was originally part of the Toronto Hunt Club's property on Kingston Road east, near the Carleton Race Course. And because there is evidence to suggest both men were avid golfers prior to the formal organization of the Club, it is reasonable to assume that both were golfing members of the Toronto Hunt Club as well.[107] In fact, George Gooderham* went on to be an avid 'chaser', being a Master of the Toronto Hunt Club in the early 1870s along with James Gooderham Worts.[108] George Gooderham* and Allan were also long-time sailing friends as both were members of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the former gentleman holding the office of Commodore in 1888 and Vice-Commodore in 1884, 1885, 1886 and 1887.[109] Allan did not participate on the executive, opting instead to use the club as a means of quiet recreation and informal socializing.

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[99] Monetary Times, June 10, 1870.
[100] The Globe, December 6, 1865.
[101] ***Ibid.***, January 4 and 5, 1866.
[102] ***Ibid.***

Although George W. Allan was intimately tied to the activities and enterprises of his close associates of Gzowski, Robinson, McMaster, Worts, and the Gooderhams, he, as an established member of Toronto's 'original elite', sought out other opportunities to reaffirm the elitist nature of his societal positioning. For instance, besides being a Trustee of the House of Industry and long-time President of the Upper Canada Bible Society, the Toronto Horticultural Society, the Mechanics' Institute, the Newsboys' Lodging and Industrial Home, the Protestant Boys' Home, the Canadian Institute, the Toronto Club, the Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society, the Bank of Upper Canada, and the Toronto Granite Club, the Church of England Life Assurance Company,[110] the Ontario Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, [111] and the Toronto Permanent Building Society.[112] Allan was also a Trustee of Trinity College from 1851 to 1901,[113] and Chancellor of the University of Trinity College from 1877 to 1901.[114] His service to many institutions in the city was long and loyal but none showed their gratitude more than the College. Allan received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws degree from the school in 1877, plus, he was specially honored in 1897 for his extended duty and assistance to the College as University Chancellor. In his twentieth year as Chancellor of the University of Trinity College, the graduates and undergraduates of the University presented him with a formal address recording their grateful sense of his services to the school for over forty-five years.[115] At the same time, in commemoration of the event, they also presented the institution with his portrait, taken in his robes as Chancellor of the University.[116] It was a distinguished honor and one which meant a great deal to Allan. He knew, from his many business and civic responsibilities, that a good education was of paramount importance in order to achieve and maintain success during the nineteenth century, particularly for members of Toronto's charter families. Access to power during this era necessitated, as a minimum prerequisite, a good education.

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[103] List of Alderman, Annual Report of 1855. Toronto City Council Papers, Toronto City Archives.

[104] See Monetary Times, April 8, 1870. William Gooderham along with his partner, James Gooderham Worts*, was one of the original brewers and grist millers in Toronto.

[105] A written speech of the Hon. Edmund B. Osler presented to the membership of the Toronto Golf Club at a dinner on October 19, 1912. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club. Toronto.

[106] Jack Batten, Toronto Golf Club, 1876-1976. (Toronto: Privately Published, 1976), p. 4.

[107] A written speech of the Hon. Edmund B. Osler..., *passim*.

[108] List of Masters, 1843-1912. Minutes of the Toronto Hunt Club, Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club. Toronto. Also see Frank Proctor. Fox Hunting in Canada and Some Men Who Made it. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1929), p. 29.

[109] List of Officers, 1854-1900. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

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[110] The Globe, July 8, 1851.
[111] *Ibid.*, July 17, 1873.
[112] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1852.
[113] Young, The Roll of Pupils..., p. 77.
[114] Toronto Star, April 5, 1975.
[115] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 15.
[116] *Ibid.*

Besides being *dutiful* to educational aspects of Toronto's society, Allan was also supportive of the arts and cultural community. George W. Allan was a hard-working President of the Ontario Society of Artists and was often identified with the growth of the organization.[117] In addition to his administrative help and financial assistance to the Society, Allan regularly studied the permutations of art and actively participated in the acquisition of paintings. In fact, at one time during his life, he was the largest private collector of the art of Canadian Paul Kane.[118] Kane's struggle to be recognized nationally was long and tedious but thanks to Allan and many of his friends in the artistic community of Toronto, his paintings of North American Indian scenes were widely accepted and highly valued. In appreciation of George W. Allan's efforts on his behalf, Paul Kane dedicated his first book of paintings, Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America, to the benefactor by stating, "To George William Allan, Esq., of Moss Park, Toronto, ... as a token of gratitude for the kind and generous interest he has always taken in the author's labours".[119] Most of the works included in Kane's book were the covetted property of Allan until the late 1890s when he sold them to his friend, and art appreciator, the Hon. Sir Edmund B. Osler.[120] Osler later passed on the works to the Royal Ontario Museum where they remain today. As well, Allan was the founder and long-time guiding spirit of both the Ontario Conservatory of Music and Toronto School of Art and Design.[121] Plus, George W. Allan was the originator of the Ontario Historical Society[122] and instigator and some time President of the Dominion Association for the Better Observance of the Lord's Day.[123] Whether his latter Presidency significantly affected the participation in sports on the Sabbath is suspect at best but it is true that he had a considerable impact on the cultural activities of Toronto. In an epitath to him upon his death on July 24, 1901, The Globe stated:

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[117] Wallace, The Dictionary..., p. 4.
[118] Toronto Star, April 5, 1975. Also see Katherine Hale, Toronto: Romance of a Great City. (Toronto: Cassell, 1956), p. 165.
[119] Frank N. Walker, Sketches of Old Toronto. (Toronto: Longmans, 1965), p. 317.
[120] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 50.
[121] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 15.
[122] List of founders. Ontario Historical Society Papers, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.
[123] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 15.

> Senator Allan deserved to be regarded from more than one point of view, as Toronto's first citizen. His whole life has been passed here, ..., it might almost be said, he was always concerned with the life of the community. His tastes and *public duties* touched those of his day and generation at a dozen different points. In its finance, education, art, philanthropy, horticulture, he had laboured with zeal and distinction. Indeed, there were very few laudable lines of *improvement* in which he had not borne his share of work.

There was no doubt that Allan did much for his community as he had for his business interests. He was a man who not only sought new responsibilities but he was a man in whom people felt confident. As a result, many opportunities knocked at his door. Allan's competency and business-like demeanor did much to land him, for instance, the job as Commissioner of the Canada Company in 1864.[124] It was in this position that Allan and the Canada Company lobbied strongly to open up immigration to the west. Perhaps this was where he got his ideas for establishing the Western Canada Building and Loans Company to take advantage of the financial needs of new western settlers. Whether this was exactly true or not, Allan did show foresight in a venture which would later pay dividends to his progeny, particularly to his son, George William Allan II, who picked up where his father had left off.[125] George W. II took over the management of the Western Permanent after his father's death and turned it into one of the country's largest financial institutions, the Great West Life Assurance Company,[126] based in Winnipeg. Although trained as a lawyer, younger Allan, (receiving his formal education at Upper Canada College and Trinity College, B.A. 1880; M.A. 1886), saw too many opportunities for business investment in the west to pursue a full-time career as a barrister. As it turned out, he recirculated his inherited capital into such ventures as the G.W. Allan Farming Company, Allan Securities Company, Canada Permanent Trust Company, British American Oil Company, Canada Land and Loan Company and Caledonian Investment Company. He amassed a sizable fortune building on his father's already large wealth.[127] Concomitantly, he held the Chairmanship of the Hudson's Bay Company for close to fifteen years and sat on the board of directors of some twenty-three commercial ventures in western Canada.[128] To say the least, young George had inherited more than his father's wealth and business concerns, he had also acquired a shrewd sense of entrepreneurship and tireless energy with which to pursue his goals. A fact which led him to be one of the wealthiest men in the country during the initial decades of the twentieth century. It was also of interest to note how Allan II had inherited his father's interest in club association, being a member of the Rideau (Ottawa), the York and the Toronto (Toronto), the Union (Victoria), the Manitoba (Winnipeg), the Lake Francis Shooting, the Winnipeg Golf, the St. Charles Country, and the Victoria Golf.[129] This feature of *inherited association* within clubs was a staple among the elite. It was within clubs that the elite, particularly many of Toronto's original families, had friendly gatherings and over the years solidified and perpetuated their social influence and class membership. In recognizing this among *Family Compact* members later in the nineteenth century, Burns summarized his findings in the following manner:

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[124] The Globe, December 29, 1864. George W. Allan took over the management of the Canada Company from fellow Torontonian, Dr. Frederick Widder.
[125] Wallace, Dictionary of Canadian Biography,(1970 edition), p. 9.
[126] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 259.

> A close examination of the membership of nineteenth century Toronto's various clubs, organizations and institutions reveals that the old elite families continued to play an active role in the city's social and cultural life, despite absolute population growth. Their civic involvement is a good indicator of their continuing prestige and influence within the community. In many social activities they retained largely unimpaired, their prominent position in the city for most of the nineteenth century. The time and interest which they devoted to such ends also indicates a certain degree of relative affluence and an attitude of noblesse oblige. As in other types of urban activity, they were gradually joined, and finally outnumbered, by the new entrepreneurs, but they were not removed or displaced from their earlier position in local society although their numbers gradually thinned out as the city evolved. In fact, as the province grew older a certain aura grew up around the founding families.[130]

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[127] Ross Hamilton, Prominent Men of Canada. (Montreal: National Publishing, 1932), p. 564.

[128] *Ibid.* Some of George W. Allan II's directorships included: Beaver Fire Insurance Co., Belgo Canadian Real Estate Co., Alloway and Champion Ltd., Canadian Bank of Commerce, Beaver Lumber Co., Northern Mortgage Co., Guarantee Company of North America, Home Investment and Savings Co., Manitoba Rolling Mill, Manitoba Steel and Iron, Manitoba Bridge and Iron Co., and Overseas Settlement Co..

[129] Canada's Who's Who, 1936-37., pp. 1101.

[130] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", pp. 223 and 224.

To a point, George W. Allan, and other second generation members of the charter group, continued to influence and attach prestige to their civic, philanthropic and commercial affairs. Each individual *dutifully* perpetuated long-established connections and traditions which would keep them among the elite and which would often pay dividends in the form of directorships of companies, political appointments or further commercial investments. He, as a member of the elite, also perpetuated his interest in sport club membership as this was a sign of his "elevated" status.

George W. Allan, although not an exception, stood as a testament to the continued influence which the *Family Compact* members had in many aspects of Toronto's society during the nineteenth century. His civic mindedness, his philantropy, his religious and educational dedication, his loyal association to other elite members within clubs, and his shrewd and largely successful business dealings, showed how the elite characteristically painted themselves in terms of remaining 'in touch' and powerfully connected to others of influence and wealth. Allan's military involvement as a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regimental Division of East Toronto and an honorary member of the Queen's Own Rifles,[131] plus his membership in the Church of England and his active role in the Anglican Synod, 'capped' his otherwise monumentally loyal and thredless life and perpetuated customs long-established by his father. In all aspects of his career, he lived as a nobleman should live and found repose in the energies he directed toward *moral rehabilitation, charity, philanthropy* and business concerns. Though the Mail and Empire eulogized him as "the kindliest and most caring of men".[132] The Globe more eloquently stated:

> The persons of position who were connected with the early life of Ontario in all probability dreamed of the possibility of founding families here. Sleepy Hollow, the Grange, Moss Park and other such houses were the provisional seats, at least, of this squirearchy. The air on this continent, or perhaps its lack of laws of primogeniture and entail, makes the continuance of such families somewhat precarious. In the case of Senator Allan, it can be said, however, that he had the culture, the *sense of public duty* and honorable traditions, that form the best recommendation of such a class. His leisure was

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[131] Mercer, Prominent Men of Canada., p. 422.

[132] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 15.

> not spent in the trivialities or idle pleasures, but in an endeavor to do whatever duties came to his hand as a member of the community. To his munificence it is largely due that Toronto possesses one of its handsomest public squares....[133]

George W. Allan was a man of ***duty and integrity***. Through his relationships with other *Compact* progeny and rising merchants and industrialists, Allan was able to stabilize the precariousness of his position in society and perpetuate his family's honorable traditions. While Allan was not the most involved person in the sporting scene of nineteenth century Toronto, he did exercise his family's long-established custom of socializing through sport club membership. Here within the club, he was able to informally maintain interlocking commercial, political and fraternal friendships, and initiate new, productive associations. Elite connections extended far beyond the sport club but it was this institution which helped maintain partnerships among the 'old boys' and served to give sport in Canada a more solid basis upon which to expand and develop. Perhaps the editor of the Toronto Star was right in 1975, when he stated that, "George William Allan was one of the greatest public servants in Toronto's history".[134]

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[133] The Globe, July 24, 1901.
[134] Toronto Star, April 5, 1975

Chapter VI

THE ELITE ATHLETE: JOHN BEVERLY ROBINSON II

The history of sport in Toronto and the elite would be incomplete without a descriptive biography of an individual who, as a member of the *Family Compact*, was prominent in not only commercial, fraternal and political affairs of the community, but also in the participatory activities of sport. It behooves a thesis on elite involvement in sport to show how they participated as well as administered various aspects of sport. In particular, an example of a member of the original ruling class of Toronto does much to further the idea that the elite took more than a 'controlling' ideology into their institutional memberships. Although it can be argued that the elite controlled the directorships of many prominent commercial, fraternal and civic organizations, it can also be contended that they were the prime participants in many of the important sport events in the cities which they inhabited. By taking part in sport, the elite were intimately familiar with the competitive aspects of sport and as a consequence, were well aware of how to best to institute regulations to control the development of it. What was attempted in this chapter was to demonstrate how one person of the elite involved himself in the playing of sport and how this carried over or affected his duties and relationships with other elites. It should be pointed out that John Beverly Robinson II was not unique among the original members of Toronto's society as many were significant participators in sport; yet, he stood as a good example of overall societal involvement and therefore, was chosen for this study to represent the early elite segment of Toronto's ruling upper class.

John Beverly Robinson II was born in York (Toronto) on February 21, 1820.[1] His entry into the world was by no means ordinary or common. His family was one of the original York families who were invited to settle in Upper Canada by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe.[2] The Robinsons, like so many of the other "appointed" families in

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[1] The Globe, June 20, 1896.

[2] R. Burns, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historial Association Papers, (1973), pp. 213-223.

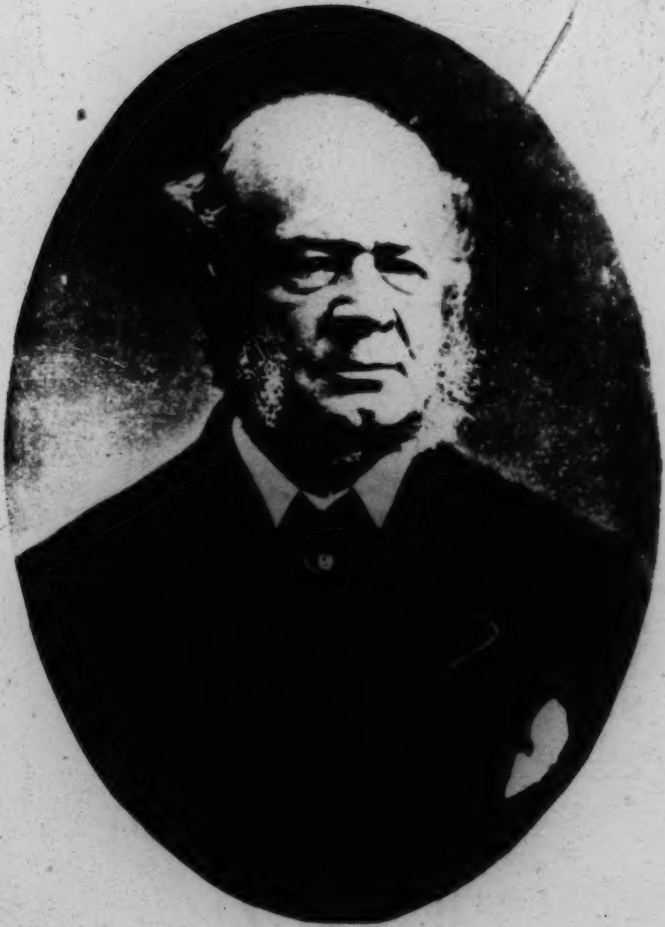

Figure V: Picture of John Beverly Robinson II, 1821-1896.

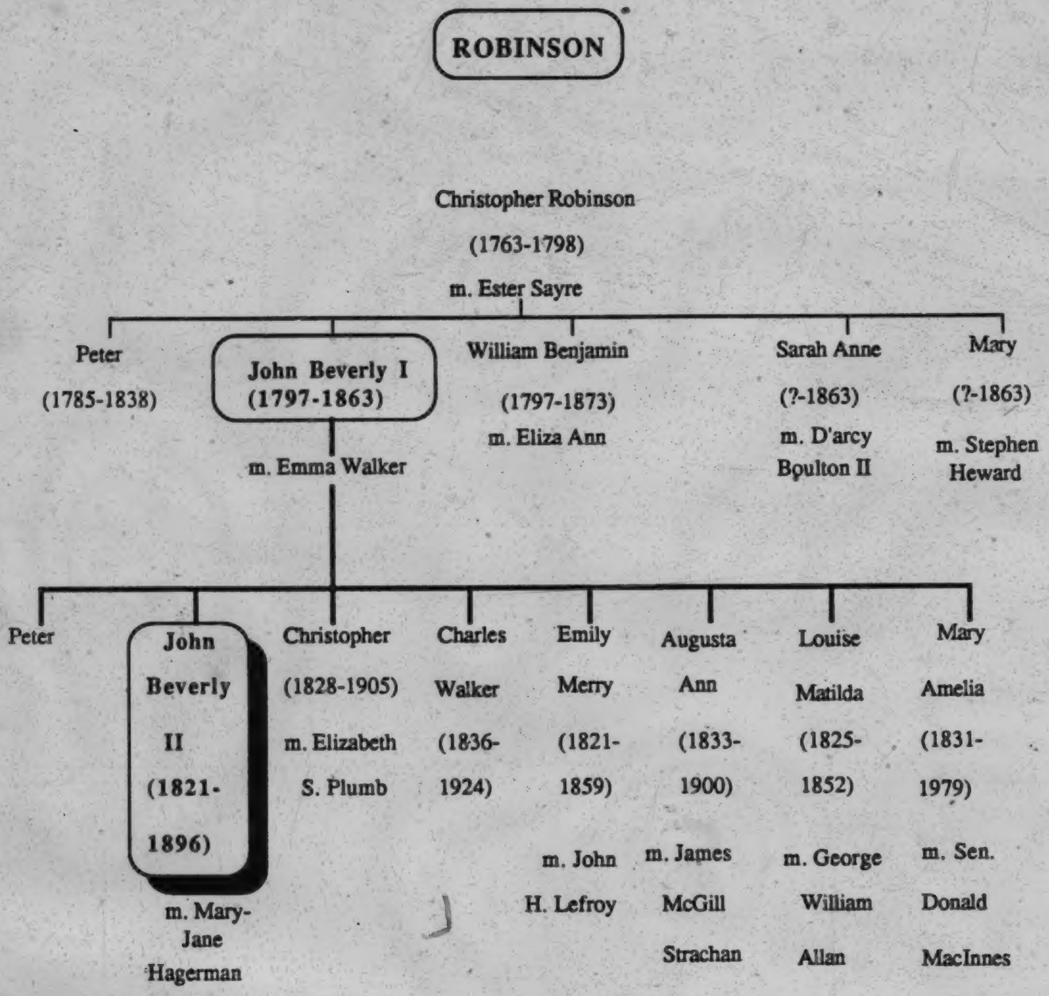
ROBINSON
Christopher Robinson
(1763-1798)
m. Ester Sayre
Peter
(1785-1838)
John Beverly I
(1797-1863)
m. Emma Walker
William Benjamin
(1797-1873)
m. Eliza Ann
Sarah Anne
(?-1863)
m. D'arcy
Boulton II
Mary
(?-1863)
m. Stephen
Heward
Peter
John
Beverly
II
(1821-
1896)
m. Mary-
Jane
Hagerman
Christopher
(1828-1905)
m. Elizabeth
S. Plumb
Charles
Walker
(1836-
1924)
Emily
Merry
(1821-
1859)
m. John
H. Lefroy
Augusta
Ann
(1833-
1900)
m. James
McGill
Strachan
Louise
Matilda
(1825-
1852)
m. George
William
Allan
Mary
Amelia
(1831-
1979)
m. Sen.
Donald
MacInnes

FIGURE VI : Genealogical Sketch of the Robinson Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

Toronto, were considered to be the 'cream' of the colonial community. In fact, so revered was their perceived position in Toronto's initial society, that social historians have come to call their group, "God's Chosen People".[3] The families reinforced their social positioning through patronage from Governor Simcoe; through legal training which put them at the door of government office and social mobility; through the expousal of proper social and political views; and through the almost necessary prerequisite of suitable marriage partners, vis-a-vis, marriage into the family of a high government official.[4] Only by covetting these mobility factors did a member of Toronto's original elite group have a chance to rise to 'the pinnacle' of acceptance. A case in point, was that of John Beverly Robinson II's grandfather and father, who both strove to covet the requisites of acceptance.

John Beverly II's grandfather, Christopher Robinson (1763-1798), at the age of seventeen, left Virginia where he was being educated, and obtained a commission as ensign in Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's Regiment of Queen's Rangers, part of Sir Henry Clinton's army.[5] He served in the corps until the peace of the Revolutionary War of 1783, when, on the regiment being reduced, he emigrated with many other Loyalists to New Brunswick. From New Brunswick he went to Lower Canada in 1788, and as a result of Colonel Simcoe who had subsequently become Major-General Simcoe assuming the Government of Upper Canada in 1792, he was induced to move to Kingston, Upper Canada, a place where he resided for several years.[6] Taking up the study of law, Christopher was called to the bar in 1797, and was elected a member of Parliament for the counties of Lennox and Addington in 1798.[7]

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[4] See R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, *passim*. Also, see Alison Ewart and Julia Jarvis, "The Personnel of the *Family Compact*, 1791-1841", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 1926), pp. 209-221; Robert E. Saunders, "What was the *Family Compact*?" Ontario History, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Autumn 1957), pp. 165-180; and S.F. Wise, "God's Peculiar People", in W.L. Morton (ed.), The Shield of Achilles. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 36-61.

[5] Julia Jarvis, Three Centuries of Robinson's: The Story of A Family. (Don Mills, Ont.: T.H. Best Printing, 1967), p. 77.

[6] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 10 (1871-1880), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 668.

[7] Frederick H. Armstrong, Handbook of Upper Canadian Chronology. (London:

Immediately after his election, he removed his family to York but died unexpectedly after a short illness in November, 1798.[8] Ironically, he had secured a foothold on acceptability into York and Upper Canadian society but did not live long enough to establish himself firmly in his political career or class niche, a task he left to his sons.

Of his three sons, Peter, John Beverly I and William Benjamin[9]; Peter and John Beverly I succeeded most effectively in penetrating the 'inner circle' of Simcoe's quasi-aristocratic society. Peter became an M.L.A. in 1816 for the seats of Durham, Simcoe and the east riding of York[10]; a seat which veritably became a family possession during the first five decades of the nineteenth century. He had fought loyally during the War of 1812 and had secured the patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor for his services. Peter was initially responsible for the settlement of Irish immigrants about Peterborough, a town named in his honor.[11] And, three years later in 1827, he was appointed commissioner of crown lands in Upper Canada, probably in recognition of his abilities as an immigration agent. He died, unmarried, at Toronto on July 8, 1838 at fifty three years of age.[12]

John Beverly I, John Beverly Robinson II's father, was a man of shrewd legal ability and of great integrity. Unlike his older brother Peter, John Beverly I opted to be educated by John Strachan at Kingston and Cornwall,[13] these establishments being traditional elite educational enclaves for the children of the elite. In 1807, at the age of sixteen, he was articled to D'arcy Boulton, then Solicitor-General, but his legal education was interrupted by the War of 1812. As a militia lieutenant, he distinguished himself at the capture of Detroit

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[7](cont'd) University of Western Ontario, 1967), p. 93.

[8] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 324.

[9] C.W. Robinson, Life of Sir John Beverly Robinson. (Toronto: Morang, 1904), pp. 448-449.

[10] Armstrong, Handbook..., p. 91.

[11] W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963), p. 639.

[12] *Ibid.*, Also see United Empire Loyalist, December 25, 1828.

[13] *Ibid.*, (1926 edition), p. 343. For an excellent description of John Beverly I's life and that of his family, see Patrick Brode, Sir John Beverly Robinson: Bone and Sinew of the Family Compact. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), *passim*.

and the battle of Queenston Heights under the direction of Isaac Brock.[14] In 1817, John Beverly I had been appointed acting Attorney-General by Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, only to be given the full appointment in February, 1818.[15] He held this post for close to a decade while he also served as a member of the legislative assembly for York, first being elected in 1821. John Beverly I was an assemblyman for eight years when, in 1829, he was appointed Chief Justice of Upper Canada.[16] The latter appointment was largely due to his previous protege arrangement with influential *Compact* lawyer and former Chief Justice, William Dummer Powell.[17] Of interest, it was Powell who later donated a segment of his park lot in Toronto to the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club and the Toronto Cricket Club.[18] More will be mentioned on this point later. John Beverly Robinson I was appointed Chairman of the Legislative Council in 1825 out of respect for his legislative and oratory ability.[19] A fellow legislator, William Lyon MacKenzie, came close to complementing him when he editorialized,

> Mr. Robinson has risen in my estimation ... As a gentleman, as a lawyer, and as a law officer, he stands as high in the estimation of the country as any man in it ....[20]

Rev. Henry Scadding, a Compact loyalist, more appreciatively stated:

> Mr. Robinson's handsome winning presence, fine personal qualities, and pre-eminent gifts of intellect and eloquence caused him to be beloved and reverenced by friends and supporters, as well as sincerely respected by the rest of the community (i.e., MacKenzie) who did not accept his views of State

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[14] H.J. Morgan, Sketches of Celebrated Canadians. (Quebec: Hunter-Rose, 1867), p. 283.
[15] Armstrong, Handbook..., p. 17.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[17] Morgan, Sketches..., p. 283.
[18] T.A. Reed, "Memoranda Re. the Crown Grants of Park Lots in the City of Toronto". Based on the Records in the Registry Office. Manuscript compiled in 1926. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Also, see British Colonist, October 7, 1840 and the Toronto Star Weekly, June 19, 1915.
[19] Upper Canada Gazette, August 4, 1825.
[20] Robert E. Saunders, "John Beverly Robinson: His Political Career, 1812-1840", M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1960, p. 184. He referred to an editorial in MacKenzie's paper, Colonial Advocate, March 7, 1825.

affairs.[21]

Concisely, Robinson was viewed as the *premier apologist* for the leading elite of Upper Canada and Toronto. His outspoken non-democratic views of societal classes raised large objectional responses from the Reformers, but all who knew him respected him for his outstanding personal characteristics, something his son, John Beverly Robinson II, later feared in building his own public career. John Beverly Robinson I was knighted (C.B.) in 1850, created a baronet of the United Kingdom in 1854,[22] and made the first President of the Court of Error and Appeal in 1862.[23] Moreover, he was one of the original founders of the Bank of Upper Canada, along with William Allan in 1822;[24] and he was an originator of the Welland Canal Company in 1826,[25] the Desjardin Canal Company in 1830,[26] the Toronto Cricket Club in 1827,[27] the Law Society of Upper Canada,[28] the University of King's College in 1843,[29] and Trinity College in 1853.[30] As well, he and George W. Allan* were the instigators for the creation of the Canadian Institute, a society devoted to knowledge of Canada's great natural and mineral resources in 1849.[31] Perhaps the best summary of Sir John Beverly Robinson I, Bart., was extended by Stewart Wallace:

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[21] Henry Scadding, Toronto: Past and Present. (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1884), p. 101.

[22] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 324.

[23] The Globe, June 20, 1862. An event attended by many of the leading judicial, educational and business figures of the time, including John Beverly II, William Botsford Jarvis* and George W. Allan*.

[24] Upper Canada Gazette, June ~~16~~, 1825. Also, see Edwin Guillet, "Pioneer Banking in Ontario: The Bank of Upper Canada", The Canadian Banker, Vol. 55, No. 1 (1948), pp. 114-132.

[25] *Ibid.*, April 13, 1826. Also, see Hugh Aitken. The Welland Canal Company: A Study in Canadian Enterprise. (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1954) and *idem*, "The Welland Canal Company and the *Family Compact*", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 18 (1952), pp. 63-76.

[26] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1830. Allan Napier McNab was the original President of the Desjardin Canal Company.

[27] List of founders of the Toronto Cricket Club, Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto. Also see Stanley Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game, (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1977), p. 13.

[28] William R. Riddell, The Legal Profession in Upper Canada in its Early Periods. (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1916), *passim*.

[29] Jarvis, Three Centuries of Robinson's..., p. 155.

[30] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto: 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 87.

[31] The Royal Canadian Institute Centennial Volume, 1849-1949. (Toronto: Privately Published, 1949), p. 201.

> He was a man of great ability and scrupulous integrity. During the period of his political career (1821-1841), he was one of the guiding spirits of what came to be known as the "*Family Compact*"; and no more striking refutation could be found of the traditional view of the "*Family Compact*" than his connection with it. As a judge he has had few equals in the history of Canadian judicature.[32]

Testament to his popularity and the respect which the people of Upper Canada and Toronto had for him was evidenced upon his death on January 31, 1863.[33] On the day of his funeral, all shops and businesses in Toronto were closed and the cortege was the "longest" and "most well attended" of any in Upper Canada.[34]

To have been raised in a family where the father was such a heralded figure must have been a tremendous burden to bear for young John Beverly Robinson II. The normal pressures to succeed and ascend upwardly into the realms of the *Family Compact* were surely great. Especially in consideration of the fact that a prerequisite for admission and patronage of higher officialdom was a legal education. Such an education would probably be under the close scrutiny of John Beverly II's father, a fact which would later deter him from what could have been an otherwise prosperous and distinguished legal career. Anyway, John Beverly II, was privately tutored for the first few years of his educational life, as were many of the early elite boys, but when the Minor College was established in York in 1829,[35] he was one of the first to enrol. One year later, the College was renamed Upper Canada College, and it was here that young Robinson received the basis of his formal education.[36] His early collegiate days, and indeed, the days of his boyhood generally, "... were marked by his robustness of constitution, and an excessive fondness for *athletics* - characteristics which may be said to have accompanied him through life".[37] In fact, when the Upper Canada College Cricket Club was organized in 1836, John Beverly II and his brother James Lukin, were among its members.[38]

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[32] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., (1978), p. 714.
[33] The Globe, February 2, 1863. His obituary stated that he died of a case of gout at age seventy-two.
[34] *Ibid.* See funeral arrangements and descriptions in February 3 and 5, 1863, editions.
[35] Upper Canada Gazette, November 19, 1829.
[36] A.H. Young, The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College, 1830-1916. (Kingston: Hanson, Crozier and Edgar, 1917), p. 167.
[37] J.C. Dent., The Canadian Portrait Gallery. Vol. 3 (Toronto: John S. Magurn, 1881), p. 231.

The introduction of the game to the College was credited to George Barber, a writing master at the school. George Barber was born in Hitchin, Hertfordshire, England in 1802.[39] He attended Oxford University, where presumably, he had learned the mechanics of cricket, and prior to immigrating to Canada, had assisted Rev. T.D. Phillips at a private school in Whitchurch, Herefordshire.[40] His skill in cricket was probably enhanced through the coaching of Rev. Phillips, himself a "scratch player".[41] Both gentlemen immigrated to Canada in 1826, Barber once again assisting Principal Phillips at the Home District Grammar School of York,[42] an educational establishment of Toronto's early elite. When Upper Canada College was formed in 1829, both Phillips and Barber joined as staff, Phillips as Vice-Principal and Barber as the writing, arithmetic and English master.[43] Barber was a popular teacher and was described by college records as "a great character with much charm of manner but also a little pomposity".[44] George was also the collector for the college finances, a position which got him into severe trouble with Colonel Joseph Wells in 1839. Evidently, the ledgers of both Upper Canada College and King's College, two colleges interconnected at the time, showed a deficit amount of $1,500, an amount Wells accused Barber of stealing.[45] Though it was never proven that Barber had stolen the money, he voluntarily paid up the account and resigned his position at the College. Faced with the embarassment of quiting his job and the lack of employment, Barber started, what was to be, a multi-vocational career. To tide him over until he could find a permanent position, George began his own auditing business.[46] Whether he felt the repercussions of his dismissal as collector for the colleges is uncertain, but his reputation could not have been too badly tarnished. In 1840, he was hired as the auditor for the City of Toronto,[47] and maintained this position quite capably until 1874 when he died.[48] Barber was also hired in 1841 as editor of the Toronto Commercial Herald.[49] This employment opportunity materialized as a result of a group of anti-Sydenham lobbyists, pro-*Family Compact* toryists, who wishing to propagandize their feelings in the post-Durham period through their own newspaper. Because of George's early elite connections at the College with *Compact* families, and because of his literary and writing skills, it would appear that he was a prime candidate for the position. His proprietorship and editorial duties lasted until the paper ceased publication on June 30, 1844.[50]

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[38] The Globe and Mail, September 1, 1982. Also, see Minutes of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club, 1836 to 1881. Partially held in the University of Toronto Archives, Robarts Library, Toronto and partially held in the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club Archives. Toronto. Also, see W.G. Gooderham, Upper Canada College: Old Boys' Association. (Toronto: Southam Press, 1929), p.x. and G. Dickson and G. Adams, "College Cricket", A History of Upper Canada College. (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1893), p. 264.

[39] The Dictionary of Canadian Biography., p. 34.

[40] *Ibid*.

[41] Dickson and Adams, A History of Upper Canada College., p. 267. Also see J.E. Hall and R.O. McCulloch, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket. (Toronto: Bryant Publishing, 1895), p. 372.

[42] The Dictionary of Canadian Biography., p. 34.

[43] George J. Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910. (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1910), p.. 189.

[44] Principal's Report on Teaching Masters for the Year 1838. Archives of Upper Canada College, Toronto.

[45] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., p. 35.

Due to George Barber's loyal service to City Council and Tory interests, he began his third vocation in the summer of 18[illegible]. Barber was appointed the Superintendent of Common (Public) Schools of Toronto.[51] When a board of education was organized for the whole city in 1847, George was retained as both Superintendent and as Secretary of the Board.[52] Two trustees with whom Barber interacted during this period, and who were influential in the development of sport in Toronto themselves, were William Gooderham and William McMaster*.[53] Barber's tenure as Superintendent lasted until 1858 when he resigned due to what he believed was an illogical circumstance, the combination of compulsory assessment with voluntary attendance. He felt that the cost of providing free schools on this basis was not justified by the low attendance.[54] Although George remained as Secretary of the Board until his death, his major interest in business had returned to auditing. To supplement the lost income from his superintendency, he signed on as auditor for the Canada Life Assurance Company in 1865.[55] Apparently his service and satisfaction to the company was such that in 1870, he was elected as Director,[56] along with John Hillyard Cameron and T.C. Street, both of whom were his friends and associates in the Toronto Turf and Hunt Clubs. More will be mentioned about Street in a later chapter.

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[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Toronto City Council Papers, dated February 13, 1840, Ontario Public Archives.
[48] The Globe, October 22, 1874. Barber died on October 20, 1874.
[49] British Colonist, February 6, 1844.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] See Report of Committee on Application for the Office of Superintendent of Education for the City of Toronto recommending George A. Barber, dated February 24, 1844. Ontario Public Arcives. Also see British Colonist, July 2, 1844.
[52] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1849.
[53] The Globe, October 5, 1854.

George Anthony Barber was titled the "Father of Cricket in Canada" by Rev. T.D. Phillips for good reason.[57] Not only was he the first to introduce the game to Upper Canada College in the early 1830s but he was also "... the first citizen to promote zealously the introduction of the game ..." to anyone interested in learning.[58] While all evidence does seem to indicate that Barber contributed significantly to the growth of cricket in Upper Canada, perhaps he was not the first to demonstrate its *manly* qualities. John Beverly Robinson II, in fact, in an article he wrote for Athletic Life in 1895, seemed to indicate that it was Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland who introduced cricket to the region and not Barber. In recounting a special trip he took with his father and Sir Peregrine, John Beverly II reflected in the following manner:

> It was a great treat for my brother (James Lukin) and myself to accompany our father to Stanford and be there for a time during our holidays and it was here that the Governor having made a good pitching ground, I first saw the game played, which for years afterwards I keenly followed-namely-that of cricket.[59]

Robinson went on to describe the Governor's ability in the game and his influence on the sport.

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[54] The Dictionary of Canadian Biography., p. 35.
[55] The Globe, November 3, 1865.
[56] Monetary Times, August 5, 1870.
[57] Hall and McCulloch, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket., p. 372.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Hon. John Beverly Robinson (II), "Reminiscences of Early Governors", Athletic Life, Vol. 1 (1895), p. 54.

> The Governor was an ardent cricketer and an excellent bat, and I remember well his making us boys run after his balls, and sending us to his A.D.C.'s rooms to to tell them to come out and bowl to him. He was so partial to this manly game that he had a good ground made for him also in the then town of York (Toronto), immediately east of the Garrison Creek at the Queen's wharf, where the officers and soldiers quartered in the Fort, as I have often heard a subaltern of the 68th Regiment say, would be repeatedly asked to go out and join the Governor's party in bowling and batting. This might therefore be fairly termed the first cricket ground in Canada.[60]

Thus, it would appear that George Barber was cricket's second most enthusiastic cricketer, after the man who had led his British Guards on their great and final charge against Napoleon's Imperial troops on the battlefield of Waterloo.

Although his influence on Toronto cricket was second to that of Maitland's, George Barber was a guiding force behind the larger development of the sport. He was one of the founders of the Toronto Cricket Club in 1827, along with Sir John Beverly Robinson I, William Henry Draper (an individual to be discussed later), William Warren Baldwin, D'arcy Boulton, W.G. Spragge, Henry Rowsell, William Botsford Jarvis* and William Henry Boulton.[61] Because of the *Family Compact* nature of the original membership, it was not hard to understand why fellow *Compact* member William Dummer Powell, donated part of his Caer-Howell property to the Club in 1834.[62] A part of William Henry Boulton's (another person to be mentioned later) property, adjacent to Caer-Howell, was also donated to the Cricket Club and as a result, this was where most of the cricket games in Toronto were played during the nineteenth century.[63] Even when the College grounds no longer suited the tastes of a more refined game, the Toronto cricket grounds were made available to the student athletes.[64] This symbiotic relationship between Upper Canada College and the Toronto Cricket

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[60] *Ibid.*

[61] List of Founders, 1827. Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[62] See historical accounts of the Caer-Howell property, British Colonist, October 7, 1840 and Toronto Star Weekly, June 19, 1915.

[63] The property donated by William Henry Boulton was directly alongside of Caer-Howell, thus adding significantly to the size of the Toronto Cricket Club's grounds. See Map of Boulton's property on page 113 in John Lownsbrough's The Privileged Few: The Grange and Its People in Nineteenth Century Toronto. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1980).

[64] Minutes of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club, dated October 10, 1865. The College Club paid a nominal fee of $5 for use of the Toronto Cricket Club

Club was fostered and maintained after 1836, upon the formation of a College eleven, due to the fact that many of the sons of Toronto Cricket Club members were players on the school side and, upon graduation, would move on to membership in the parent organization. This was particularly so for James Lukin and John Beverly Robinson II. Both were later very active in Toronto Cricket Club affairs. Barber was a member of both clubs until the mid 1850s when he directed all of his attention to the running of the Toronto Cricket Club. He was President of the Club in 1854; on the committee of management in the years 1845 through 1853; and he was Secretary of the organization in the periods 1827 to 1853 and 1855 through to 1874.[65] His role in the Toronto Cricket Club was best described by Fillmore in a centennial history:

> Barber was, in truth, far more than just the father of cricket in Canada. He was midwife, patron saint, lucky charm, team founder, captain, instructor, promoter - he was a one-man cricket committee of enormous vitality, inexhaustible enthusiasm, and bottomless optimism. It is not idle speculation to suggest that had George A. Barber not existed, the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club would be today a very different organization than it finds itself. Certainly it was Barber's determined presence that saw the club over its first few shaky years; it was Barber who provided the necessary incentive and continuity to cement the loose, informal group together.[66]

While the above description may have been overstated somewhat, there was no doubting that Barber had a profound influence on the promotion of cricket in Upper Canada. The record books of both Upper Canada College and the Toronto Cricket Club are dotted with references to George A. Barber either playing, arranging or umpiring games.[67] When he was unavailable to play or umpire he usually arranged for a substitute, an arrangement which the Hon. John Beverly Robinson II often honored.[68] Barber also arranged to have what was believed to be

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[64](cont'd) grounds. University of Toronto Archives, Toronto.

[65] Lists of directors, 1827-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[66] Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game., p. 66.

[67] On one occasion, both the Toronto Cricket Club and the Upper Canada College teams travelled to Hamilton to play a double set of matches with that city's cricket club. Barber umpired both matches to the satisfaction of all concerned. See Minutes of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club, dated June 15, 1867. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[68] ***Ibid.***, June 4, 1864 and September 22, 1864. Also, The Globe, September 16, 1856.

the first professional coach for the Upper Canada College team in 1869. No longer seeing himself as the prime architect of the boys' abilities, he assisted in securing the services of Corporal Crosthwaite of the 29th Regiment.[69] The Corporal agreed to coach the boys but "that his terms for instruction would be $3 per week", a fee which the Principal and the Senate of the College found most agreeable.[70]

George A. Barber was most likely the architect of John Beverly Robinson II's cricket abilities. Both maintained a close relationship as the 1800s unfolded. Besides initially being related in a student-teacher fashion, both in the classroom and on the cricket pitch, Barber and Robinson were closely aligned later on in the Toronto Cricket Club, John Beverly II serving as Barber's Vice-President in 1854 and as a fellow committee member on the Club's executive during the 1860s and 1870s.[71] They also acted together in the St. George's Society of Toronto, where Barber served as Secretary from 1836, the year of formation, to 1851,[72] whereupon he was elected Vice-President for the years 1851, 1852, and 1853,[73] and where Robinson, a long-standing member, was President in 1858 and 1859.[74] As well, both were devotees of the turf and of the 'chase', Barber being a member in the 1840s of both the Toronto Turf Club and the Toronto Hunt Club, serving as Secretary of the former club in 1843[75] and Robinson being a member of the Toronto Turf Club in the late 1850s and 1860s, serving as Vice-President in 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1865.[76] It was in the Toronto Turf Club that Barber and Robinson befriended William Botsford Jarvis*, and Casimir S. Gzowski*, both avid horsemen.[77] Barber highlighted his active involvement in Toronto's sport scene by being an organizer of several sporting events apart from cricket. For instance, he was a steward of the Toronto Regatta Association in 1842,[78] along with William Botsford Jarvis*, John Henry Dunn, William Henry Boulton, Hon. John Elmsley and Captain Morgan Baldwin, all *Compact* members. Barber duplicated this responsibility in 1848, plus he also acted as Secretary of the event.[79]

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[69] *Ibid.*, May 4 and May 11, 1869.
[70] *Ibid.*, May 13, 1869.
[71] List of directors, 1827-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.
[72] See The Upper Canada Gazette, December 19, 1835: British Colonist, February 12, 1840; February 10, 1841; February 23, 1842; February 1, 1843; and January 21, 1848.
[73] See The Globe, February 19, 1853.
[74] *Ibid.*, January 18, 1858 and January 22, 1859.
[75] List of Officers, 1828-1880. Toronto Turf Club Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Woodbine, Ontario. Also see British Colonist, May 10, 1843.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] British Colonist, May 10, 1843. William Botsford Jarvis* was President of the Toronto Turf Club in this year and his Vice-President was fellow *Compact member*,

George A. Barber was an energetic, tireless promoter of sport in Toronto during the nineteenth century. His efforts paid dividends to several sport causes, particularly cricket. He taught many schoolboys and lay people alike, to play "at the bat" and he was most likely responsible for the cricket training of young Robinson, while at Upper Canada College and as a member of the Toronto Cricket Club. The friendly relationship which evolved between these two men probably carried on for much of the 1800s and was most likely representative of the type of relationship which Barber had with many of his elite cricket proteges. Needless to say, Robinson and Barber galvanized their admiration for one another through municipal politics and from their deep interest in the educational affairs of Toronto. Being a man with elite *interlocking* connections and a pompous, easy-going character, Barber was easily able to penetrate and function within the 'inner circle' of Toronto's charter families. But, it is of interest to note, that he maintained his subservience to the Compact by serving in less than powerful positions and by never being fully accepted into the commercial, or extensively fraternal and philanthropic realm of the elite. In essence, Barber was a 'fringe' elite or a functional subordinate to the upper class. ***Further analysis of this this critical recruitment phenomenon will be discussed in chapter XIII.***

Although George Barber ably contributed to the *manly character* of John Beverly Robinson II, by making him "a tiptop bowler and dashing bat",[80] much of the talent and motivation for athletic success must have rested with the young schoolboy. For as early as 1841, Robinson was winning his own laurels as an all-round athlete. At the Toronto Athletic

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[77] (cont'd) Henry Sherwood.
[78] *Ibid.*, August 17, 1842.
[79] *Ibid.*, August 22, 1848.
[80] Dickson and Adams, A History of Upper Canada College..., pp. 264-265.

Games in this year, John Beverly II won both the running hop, step and jump, plus the standing hop, step and jump,[11] events, which require true athletic co-ordination and strength. Moreover, he won several college prizes for his boxing and fencing abilities,[12] sports that called upon physical skills which are at opposite ends of the continuum. Boxing, a sport which requires great power and endurance, tests one's reservoir of courage and coolness, whereas fencing demands fine motor coordination and disciplined concentration. All these personal characteristics must have contributed to the perception that Robinson was the *epitomy of a manly man.*[13] In Victorian terms "manliness" was the ultimate masculine quality. Not only were physical vitality and courage paramount in the definition of manliness but so were decisiveness, clear-headedness, loyalty, determination, discipline, a sense of charity, and moral strength.[14] The latter quality ensured that courage would be implemented in the service of God and of 'Right'. By all indications, John Beverly II was manly, a phenomenon of his days at Upper Canada College where steadiness of habit and discipline were inculcated into his life's outlook. As one biographer pointed out:

> During his college days, he was noted as much for his proficiency in the cricket field as in the classes. He was a robust youth, the envy of many a student who could not compare with him in muscular strength and activity. He was successful in carrying off college prizes, and was a general favourite of the masters and boys for his *manliness of character*. There are not many of his contemporaries now living, but those who are can testify to his good qualities, both of body and mind.[15]

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[11] British Colonist, October 13, 1841.

[12] Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College From 1829 to 1900. (Toronto: Warwick and Rutter, 1901), p. 518.

[13] Borrowed from Morris Mott's concept of what *manly* character stood for in the Victorian era. See his work, "Manly Sports and Manitobans, Settlement Days to World War One", Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1983.

[14] On this point, see David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal. (London: John Murray, 1961), pp. 207-211 and Norman Vance, "The Ideal of Manliness", in Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (eds.), The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution. (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1975), pp. 115-117. Also, see Morris Mott, "One Solution to Urban Crises: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914, Urban History Review, Vol. 12, No. 2 (October, 1983), pp. 57-58.

[15] D.B. Read, "John Beverly Robinson", in The Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada and Ontario: 1792-1899. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 223.

And it was his soundness of body and mind[86] which probably attracted the notice of Sir Francis Bond Head in 1837, who appointed him at the age of seventeen as his aide-de-camp during the Rebellion years in Upper and Lower Canada.[87] He rode beside the Governor, on December 7, 1837, when the militia, headed by Sir Francis, marched up Yonge Street, met the rebels at Montgomery's tavern and quelled the uprising.[88] He also witnessed the burning of Gibson's dwelling-house which was a rebel refuge and, in the service of the Governor, he rode on a dangerous mission to Washington, to deliver important dispatches to the British representative resident there. After remaining in the American capital several weeks, John Beverly II, returned to Upper Canada and joined, at Sandwich, Colonel Hill's regiment, in which he was posted as a lieutenant. He served in the regiment for about a year but after the Rebellion was over in 1838, returned to his education and the study of the elite vocation, law. Initially, Robinson entered the law offices of Christopher A. Hagerman, a confidant of his father and prominent lawyer himself.[89] Hagerman, Attorney-General of Upper Canada at the time[90] and later a judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, gave young Robinson his initial lessons in jurisprudence, and would later become the father-in-law of the aspiring attorney. Hagerman had long been associated with the *Family Compact* and as such had significant sympathies to Tory idealism. Therefore, when John Beverly Robinson II married his second daughter, Mary Jane, on June 30, 1847,[91] it was no surprise that another link in the Compact chain of social exclusiveness had been added. Marriage between *Compact* members, as has been previously discussed, was an effective device in guarding against the infiltration of individuals who otherwised lacked the proper education, political ideals and social attributes which were the cornerstone of the 'inner circle' elite.[92] In essence, marriage was a major filtering mechanism by which the elite could select or reject potential members.

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[86] For the inculcation process, see the description by W.A. Neilson, "Upper Canada College", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 6 (August 1894), p. 459.

[87] The Globe, June 20, 1896.

[88] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 231.

[89] See S.F. Wise, "The Rise of Christopher Hagerman", Historic Kingston, Vol. 14 (January 1966), pp. 12-23.

[90] ArmstrongThe Handbook...., p. 17.

[91] Robinson, Life of Sir John Beverly Robinson, p. 450.

[92] *Ibid.*, Also, Frederick H. Armstrong, "Ethnicity in the Formation of the *Family*

After studying in Christopher A. Hagerman's office for two years John Beverly Robinson II transferred his articles to the office of Strachan and Cameron. The firm, composed of Captain James McGill Strachan, a fellow cricket player at Upper Canada College [93] and a staunch supporter of the Toronto Turf Club[94]; and John Hillyard Cameron, a prominent Compact lawyer and politician, was where John Beverly II stayed until his articles expired in 1844. He was called to the bar of Upper Canada in the Easter term of 1844,[95] and later practiced law with his brothers, James Lukin (later Sir James Lukin by virtue of his title of Baronet, succeeding his father) and Christopher,[96] both distinguished lawyers. Christopher (1828-1905), particularly, was very prominent in the social history of Canada. He was responsible for the conviction of Whelan in the 1868 assassination of the Hon. D'arcy McGee; in 1884 he argued before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the case for the Dominion government in the arbitration with the Province of Manitoba, respecting the boundaries of that province; and in 1885 he was leading counsel for the Crown in the prosecution of Louis Riel, at Regina, for high treason. Moreover, he was counsel for the Dominion government in the arbitration with the Canadian Pacific Railway, arising out of the construction of that road, plus, he represented the Dominion of Canada at the Behring Sea Arbitration in Paris in 1893 and at the Alaska Boundary Tribunal in London in 1903.

John Beverly Robinson II's interest in law wavered somewhat toward 1850. He apparently was not interested in arguing cases in the courts of law in front of his father, Sir John Beverly Robinson I, or his father-in-law, Christopher A. Hagerman.[97] The pressure

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[92] (cont'd) *Compact*: Case Study in the Growth of the Canadian Establishment" in J. Dahlie and T. Fernando (eds.), Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada. (New York: Methuen, 1979), p. 30.

[93] Minutes of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club, dated June 10, 1837. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[94] Upper Canada Gazette, December 28, 1837. James McGill Strachan was appointed Military Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor on this date.

[95] Read, The Lieutenant-Governors..., p. 224.

[96] H.J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), pp. 872-873. Christopher Robinson was knighted in 1893.

[97] See Victor Russell, Mayors of Toronto: 1834-1899. (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1982), p. 57.

associated with such incidents and the embarassment of losing a case before the very men he admired so much, was just incomprehensable to the young lawyer. As much as his schooling had taught him to be brave and courageous before the enemy, whether on the playing field, the battle field or the court room, facing his father in the Supreme Court was an unbearable task. Thus, John Beverly II opted to pursue a career in public life.

John Beverly Robinson II had earlier been interested in the expansion of railways in Canada West,[98] especially the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway, due to what he saw as an expanding agrarian economy in that part of the Province. He also foresaw the need to somehow transport the agricultural, and later, manufactured commodities of the region not only to Toronto for domestic consumption but also to the lucrative markets of the American states, particularly the Chicago territory, to tap the wealth of the rapidly expanding American west. John Beverly II had indirectly inherited his interest in the project from other *Compact* members, who, in 1836, had tried to establish a rail line to Lake Huron for the same reasons which were now moving interested persons to examine the feasibility of such a project.[99] Although the original project of 1836, headed by William Allan, William Botsford Jarvis*, Henry Sherwood, Clarke Gamble and George Percival Ridout, never got off the ground due to financing and surveying difficulties, it did plant the seed for future attempts at building a railway to the north.[100] The project was resurrected in 1845[101] but again met with a similar fate due to difficulties in raising the necessary capital. This era of rapid railroad expansion gave many entepreneurs special reasons to worry about competitors for rail business. This was especially true in the region surrounding Toronto. With the Great Western Railroad formation in 1846,[102] Toronto merchants and politicians became increasingly anxious to build a railway of their own which would service the needs of the hinterland to the north of the city and open up the American markets to the west, and thus reduce the competitive challenge from such railways as the Great Western. In an open letter to the citizens of Toronto in 1848, Frederick C. Capreol, proposed the idea once more but again this had no profound effect on the establishment of a valid rail project.[103] It was not until 1850, upon the insistence of a group of prominent citizens, namely John Beverly Robinson II, George W. Allan*, William Botsford Jarvis*, Robert Baldwin, William B. Robinson, James Hillyard Cameron and William Proudfoot, that the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway achieved any impetus.[104] A capital stock of $100,000 was subscribed in the ensuing year and construction on the railway officially began on October 15, 1851.[105] At the sod-turning ceremony were the Governor-General of the Province of Canada, Lord Elgin and his wife, the Countess of Elgin. The construction, under the Guarantee Act of 1849, began briskly in 1851 but slowed towards its completion in June, 1855 due to financial constraints which would later burden the line.[106]

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[98] The proposal which John Beverly Robinson II had become interested in was the one suggested by F.C. Capreol, in an open letter to the citizens of Toronto, in 1848. See the British Colonist, December 8, 1848.
[99] Incorporation Act of City of Toronto and Lake Huron Rail Road Company, 6 Wm. IV Cap. 5, April 20, 1836, Statutes of Upper Canada.
[100] See Frederick H. Armstrong, "Toronto's First Railway Venture, 1834-1838", Ontario History, Vol. 58, No. 1 (March 1966), pp. 21-41.
[101] British Colonist, August 8, 1845.
[102] *Ibid.*, February 13, 1846.

As a consequence of his support and promotion of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railroad, John Beverly Robinson II was unaminously elected in 1851 as an alderman of the St. Patrick's Ward for the City of Toronto.[107] He was subsequently elected to the same position in 1853, 1854, 1856 and 1857. In addition to being President of the City Council on three of these occasions, he was also Mayor of Toronto in 1856.[108] During his tenure as both an alderman and Mayor, John Beverly II worked assiduously for the railway interests. He led the pro-railway forces on Council and helped frame legislation under which the city invested heavily in railways.[109] In his Presidency of Council in 1854, brought about by the illness of John G. Bowes, Robinson was appointed as the City's representative on the Board of Directors of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway.[110] It was a directorship which blossomed and lasted almost twenty-five years.[111] When the Northern Railway was renamed in 1858, Robinson served as its President from 1863 through to 1873.[112] He left in 1875, unable to agree with the directorship over how the railway should be run in light of recent takeover bids by other railway concerns.

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[103] *Ibid.*, December 8, 1848. Capreol subsequently secured a charter in 1849 but still lacked overall support for his scheme. See Incorporation Act of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railroad Union Company, 12 Vic. Cap. 199, December 18, 1849, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[104] *Ibid.*, May 21, 1850. For a more complete chronological listing of the railway's events see Russel D. Smith, "The Northern Railway: Its Origins and Construction, 1834-1885", Ontario History, Vol. 48, No. 1 (March, 1956), pp. 24-36.

[105] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1851.

[106] Armstrong, "Toronto's First Railway Venture ...", p. 41.

[107] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 231.

[108] Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., p. 57.

While serving as an alderman, a railroad director and as Mayor of Toronto, John Beverly Robinson II befriended many people. But the ones he grew closest to were the individuals with whom he had previous acquaintance (i.e., at Upper Canada College) and the ones whom he had dealth with constantly in commercial, fraternal, political and philanthropic activities. For instance, his school friend, George W. Allan*, was a constant companion. Their friendly relationship over the years epitomizing the close, *interlocking* nature of the city's elite. Not only did they go through Upper Canada College together but they also interacted in several spheres. Both pushed the idea of the construction of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway project, along with friend William Botsford Jarvis*, and other Compact allies[113]; both were alderman at coincident periods[114]; both were Mayors of the City of Toronto, Allan in 1855 and Robinson in 1856[115]; both were directors of the Canada

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[109] See Eric J. Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto: Panic, Policy and Public Response", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979, p. 5.

[110] For an excellent account of railway interests in and about Toronto during the early 1850s, and for an interesting biography of J.G. Bowes, see P.A. Baskerville, "The Boardroom and Beyond: Aspects of the Upper Canadian Railroad Community", Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1974.

[111] Lists of directors, 1851-1881. Northern Railway Company Records, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.

[112] See The Globe, August 13, 1863; February 9, 1865; February 15, 1866; February 14, 1867; February 14, 1868; February 11, 1869; February 10, 1870; February 9, 1871; and March 10, 1873.

[113] British Colonist, June 4, 1850.

[114] See the appendices of Jesse Middleton's, The Municipality of Toronto: A History. 3 Vols. (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1923) for a listing of all mayors and alderman of Toronto from 1834 to 1900.

[115] Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., p. 53 and 57.

Landed Credit Company[116], along with Casimir S. Gzowski* and William McMaster*; both were investors and incorporators in the Toronto Union Passenger Station[117]; both served on the directorship of the Northern Railway[118]; both were on the board of directors of the Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society[119]; both served as founders and councilors of Trinity College,[120] along with Casimir S. Gzowski* and Sir John Beverly Robinson I; both served on committees to raise funds for the poor of Toronto[121]; both served on a board to gather funds to build a memorial to Bishop John Strachan[122]; both were backers of Casimir S. Gzowski's* scheme to build a transcontinental railway.[123], along with McMaster* and James Gooderham Worts*; both were promoters of an early scheme to construct a "national railway" [124]; both practiced law for the same firm of Robinson, Allan, Robinson and Robinson[125]; both served on the executive of the Canadian Institute[126]; both, at one time and another, served on the executive of the Upper Canada Bible Society,[127] along with William McMaster*; both were directors of the Toronto Horticultural Society,[128] along with Casimir S. Gzowski*; both helped plan the reception in 1860 for the Prince of Wales,[129] along with Casimir S. Gzowski*, Frederick W. Cumberland (a person who will be discussed later in this chapter) and W.P. Howland; both assisted in the organization of a ball for

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[116] Incorporation Act of the Canada Landed Credit Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 133, August 16, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[117] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Union Passenger Station and Dock Company, 34 Vic. Cap. 70, February 15, 1871, *ibid.*

[118] The Globe, February 14, 1867.

[119] List of Founders, dated February 23, 1850, Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society Papers, Public Archives of Ontario. Also, see Minutes, March 1, 1850, *ibid.*

[120] Incorporation Act of Trinity College School, 35 Vic. Cap 111, March 2, 1872, Statutes of Ontario.

[121] The Globe, February 1, 1876.

[122] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1868.

[123] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, 35 Vic. Cap. 72, June 14, 1872, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[124] The Globe, June 26, 1851.

[125] *Ibid.*, November 2, 1852.

[126] *Ibid.*, December 20, 1854.

[127] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1856.

[128] *Ibid.*, June 8, 1860.

[129] *Ibid.*, August 16 and September 11, 1860.

Governor General Monck and Lady Monck in 1862,[130] along with George A. Barber; and both were members of the Toronto Club.[131] To say the least, these two gentlemen were the closest of friends but more importantly, they symbolized the type of relationship which customarilly grew among the elite. By having several close associates in different aspects of society, elite members could exercise their ideological beliefs without being opposed by any specific sector of society. Friendly *interlocking* connections made for ease of movement and access to powerful people and powerful positions. Social homogeneity also served to regulate who had communication and access to the highest levels of business, politics, education, sport, religion, philanthropy and other social divisions of society. By no means was participation and membership in the elite circles of society based on meritocratic and democratic philosophies.

John Beverly Robinson II, in the sporting realm of society, specifically, and in other general facets of Toronto's life, was also good friends with Casimir S. Gzowski* and with Frederick W. Cumberland. Robinson and Gzowski first met in the mid-1850s when they were both involved in the tenuring of the Esplanade project for the Toronto harbour. John Beverly II, being an alderman during this period with very pro-railway feelings, encouraged, along with his friend, George W. Allan*, that the contract be given to engineer Gzowski, a man with considerable abilities.[132] This nepotistic act steeled their relationship from that point in time forward. Both were members of the Toronto Horticultural Society and both served on the same executive of the organization in 1860, Gzowski as President and Robinson as Vice-President.[133] As well, both were long-time members of the Toronto Turf Club. And again, each man chose to sit on this organization's executive with the other. In 1861, Casimir S. Gzowski* served as President of the Turf Club while Robinson coincidently backed him up as Vice-President.[134] This similarly happened in 1862 when the same executive was elected to represent the Club for another term.[135] Robinson and Gzowski also sat on the same board of directors for the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company,[136] a brainchild of the latter gentleman, plus they also collaborated on the establishment of the Canadian Volunteer Militia.[137] In each of these last two projects, both men were able to bring considerable finances to the schemes and were able to exhort enough interest from their business associates that each venture proved highly successful, albeit the transcontinental railway bid was lost to Hugh Allan and his syndicate from Montreal.[138] Like with George W. Allan*, Robinson found his friendship between Gzowski and himself to be one of pragmatism and admiration. Each man had something to gain by being associated with the other. In Robinson's case, Gzowski was granted business favours and building concessions, whereas in Gzowski's favor, Robinson gained the exclusive rights to serve in an executive capacity on several boards. The relationship was certainly one of mutual benefit and one which was *not* uncommon during this era between the members of the elite.

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[130] *Ibid.*, September 18, 1862.

[131] List of Members, 1843-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club, Toronto.

[132] Toronto City Council, Report of the Select Committee of the Corporation of the City of Toronto to Whom was referred the Contract for Esplanade and the Esplanade Bell before the Legislature, (Toronto: MacLear and Thomas, 1855), Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives.

[133] The Globe, June 8, 1860.

This could also be said of the relationship between John Beverly II and Frederick W. Cumberland. Frederick William Cumberland was born in London, England on April 10, 1820.[139] He was educated at King's College, London, where he studied architecture and engineering, and where he obtained employment, first as a railway engineer, and then in the engineering department of the Admiralty.[140] Cumberland came to Canada in 1847 and set up a partnership with W.G. Storm, and became an architect of considerable reknown. He was credited with building some of the finest edifices in Toronto: namely, St. James Cathedral, home to the rich and powerful of the *Family Compact*[141]; the Normal and Model schools; the

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[134] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1861.
[135] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1862.
[136] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway, *loc. cit.*
[137] Ludwig Kos-Rabeciwicz-Zubkowski and W.E. Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski. (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1858), p. 127.
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 83. More will be mentioned on the loss of the contract in chapter VIII.
[139] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., (1978), p. 187.
[140] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11 (1881-1890), p. 225.
[141] The Globe, May 3, 1849. It was rebuilt after it burnt down in this year.

York County Court House; the Toronto Mechanics' Institute; Osgoode Hall; and University College, now part of the University of Toronto.[142] Interestingly enough, Cumberland was also credited with having built the homes of Casimir S. Gzowski* ('The Hall') and Thomas Gibbs Ridout.[143] In order to add some vitality and credibility to the floundering Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway Company in 1855, the directors of the firm, who numbered among them John Beverly Robinson II, appointed Cumberland as Chief Engineer.[144] He held this post for two years prior to being promoted to Director in 1857[145] and Vice-President in 1858.[146] From 1859 until his death in August 5, 1881, Cumberland held the position of Managing Director of the Northern Railway.[147] In this capacity, he and Robinson, struck up a friendship which would last several decades. John Beverly II introduced Cumberland to the nuances of the game of cricket and sponsored him as a member of the Toronto Cricket Club in 1864.[148] It is questionable whether Frederick W. Cumberland ever became an extraordinary player of the wickets but it is quite certain that he became an excellent administrator of the sport. He served on the Toronto Cricket Club's management committee from 1869 to 1872; as Vice-President of the Club in 1873; and then as President from 1874 to 1879, whereupon he retired to the status of a social member.[149] Although in the twilight of his cricket career, Cumberland continued to show interest in a game taught to him by one of the finest bowlers and batsman of the period, John Beverly Robinson II. Upon the formation of the Ontario Cricket Association in 1881, Cumberland, who had worked diligently to organize such an association, was elected Vice-President,[150] testament to his skills as a cricket administrator and symbolic of his vision for the need of a regional regulatory body for the game. Frederick W.

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[142] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 287.
[143] *Ibid.*
[144] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, pp. 226-227.
[145] The Globe, February 18, 1857.
[146] *Ibid.*, December 21, 1858.
[147] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1881.
[148] *Ibid.*, June 4, 1864. Sponsorship was one of the prime prerequisites for membership application in an elite sport club.
[149] Lists of Directors, 1827 to 1881. Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club, Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.
[150] The Globe, April 5, 1881.

Cumberland was also an avid curler, being a member of the Toronto Curling Club from 1857 to 1881. He sat as Secretary of this organization in 1857, as well as having served on the management committee in 1859 and 1860.[151] Moreover, he was a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, having joined in 1862,[152] and was Vice-President of the Toronto Rifle Association in 1864,[153] along with George T. Denison and Lieutenant-Colonel William Durie. Casimir S. Gzowski* was President of the Toronto Rifle Association in this year. Cumberland was also active in the militia. He headed the Engineers' and Mechanics' Battalion in Toronto in 1862.[154] One of his captains of the Battalion was Sandford Fleming, who was later Chief Surveyor for the Canadian Pacific Railroad and a Father of Confederation. Cumberland was also the commanding officer of the 5th Military District Rifle Association which organized itself in 1862 as a result of the Fenian scares.[155] Moreover, he assisted in organizing the 10th Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles in 1862 of which he became its first Lieutenant-Colonel.[156] Robinson had further dealings with Frederick W. Cumberland in the St. George's Society, the Synod of the Church of England, and the reception committee for the Prince of Wales in 1860. Cumberland was elected a member of the Dominion Parliament in 1871 for the district of Algoma, a region which was a rich mining area but seldom visited by anyone. When he gave up this seat in 1872, he passed it on to John Beverly Robinson II.[157] Robinson continued to represent this constituency until 1874.[158] The relationship which these two men established as a result of their interests originally in the Northern Railway was not unusual. Cumberland had sought favours of Robinson early on in his career for building and architectural commissions and repaid these moral debts through doing favours for Robinson (i.e., giving up his Algoma seat in 1872 to Robinson). While

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[151] List of Officers, 1835 to 1881. Minutes of the Toronto Curling Club, Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[152] List of members, 1852 to 1881. Records of Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.

[153] The Globe, March 21, 1864.

[154] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1862.

[155] *Ibid.*, September 4, 1862.

[156] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1881.

[157] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol 11, p. 227.

[158] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., (1963), p. 639.

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Cumberland was not a member of the original elite he was able to garner the necessary qualifications for acceptance. By trade he was a professional which stood high on the list of acceptable priorities among the charter families, plus, he was an active member of the Church of England. Even in marriage, Cumberland made an attempt to connect himself to the *Compact* elite. He married Wilmot Bramley, whose sister was the wife of Thomas Gibbs Ridout.[159] It was Ridout, who he was initially in the architectual business with and who later, as cashier at the Bank of Upper Canada, assisted Cumberland in building St. James Cathedral.[160] The fact that Cumberland used his connections to elevate his status and acceptance into Toronto's nineteenth century society was indicative of the recruitment regimen which faced a person of non-elite birth. To overcome the selective prejudice of the upper classes, Cumberland, like many others, strove to involve himself in activities and organizations which would come under the scrutinizing review of the elite.[161] Thus, how John Beverly Robinson II assisted and promoted Cumerland's career was only a function of fraternal ties the two had and not of meritocratic capabilities.

While John Beverly Robinson II helped many of his contacts to achieve success and social standing, he like many others of the elite, used his connections to gather larger fortune and societal recognition for himself. As a civic politician, and one who was aware of the benefits which would accrue to the economy of Toronto through railway projects, Robinson, reciprocally assisted by the likes of Casimir S. Gzowski*, David L. MacPherson, Alexander T. Galt, Frederick W. Cumberland, George Laidlaw and James Gooderham Worts*, to promote, fund and pass legislation which would see more railways built in and around Toronto, not to mention the rest of the country. In fact, Robinson used all his connections, it appeared, to generally improve the status of transportation wherever it was needed. In addition to the Northern Railway, John Beverly II, assisted in the development of the Toronto and Guelph Railway, whose chief architect and engineer was Casimir S. Gzowski*.[162] Later absorbed by the Grand Trunk, the Toronto and Guelph Railway was supported by many friendly associates of Robinson's including: William Charles Gwynne, a friend also of Sir John Beverly Robinson I and a devout cricketer; Samuel Peters Jarvis, an ethusiastic horseman and a colleague of Robinson's in the Toronto Turf Club; and James McGill Strachan, an earlier associate of the law firm of Strachan and Cameron.[163] Robinson was also a promoter and financier of the Hamilton and Toronto Railway built in 1852 and later absorbed by the Great Western.[164] John Beverly II was also involved in the short-lived North-West Navigation and Railway Company of 1862,[165], plus the North Grey Railroad Company of 1871.[166] Despite Casimir S. Gzowski's failure to win the commission to construct the Inter-Oceanic Railway across the country in 1872, a project backed by John Beverly II and George W. Allan*, other projects offered new horizons. Robinson was incorporator and provisional director of the Lake Superior and Manitoba Railway Company in the same year of Gzowski's failure.[167] When the ephemeral Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company[168] was chartered in 1856 to provide Toronto with both a canal route to the north-west and a potential source of hydro, John Beverly Robinson II, along with Duncan Angus and Allan MacDonell, sons of ex-Sheriff Alexander MacDonell, were among the Company's incorporators. Moreover, Robinson reiterated his connection to friend and fellow politician, William McMaster* through this venture.[169] In fact, John Beverly II was one of the backers in McMaster's scheme to form the Toronto Gymnasium Company in 1871.[170] Robinson was well aware of the benefits passed on by regular exercise and fitness through gymnastics, fencing and boxing, having been one of the city's premier sportsman in the first half of the nineteenth century.[171] And in 1873, a company was established to improve land access to Toronto Island, an important recreational area for the citizens of the city. Heading the list of developers for the Toronto Island Bridge Company was John Beverly II and his old friend and colleague of the Turf Club, William Botsford Jarvis*.[172] As mentioned previously, Robinson and George W. Allan* were instrumental in funding and constructing the central terminal of Toronto's railway network in 1871.[173] Toronto Union Station, which still stands today, speaks well for the munificence and power wielded by such individuals as Robinson and Allan.

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[159] See Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 319.

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] Again, this major point of recruitment will be more fully discussed in chapter XIII.

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[162] Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Guelph Railway Company, 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 148, August 30, 1851, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[163] *Ibid.*

[164] Incorporation Act of the Hamilton and Toronto Railway, 16 Vic. Cap. 44, November 10, 1852, *ibid.*. In this project he was assisted by William Allan, George W. Allan's father and a stauch *Family Compact* member; William Benjamin Robinson (1797-1873), a brother to Sir John Beverly Robinson I; William Cayley, a protege of law to Sir John Beverly I and a loyal member of both the Toronto Hunt and Toronto Turf Clubs; and Thomas Gibbs Ridout, an architect and friend of Frederick W. Cumberland. Ridout, was also connected to Robinson in the establishment of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1852. See Incorporation Act of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, 16 Vic. Cap. 37, November 10, 1852, *ibid.* See also, The Globe, November 11, 1856. The first passage of the Grand Truck between Montreal and Toronto was made on October 27, 1856.

[165] Incorporation Act of the North-West Navigation and Railway Company, 25 Vic. Cap. 67, June 9, 1867, *ibid.*

[166] Incorporation Act of the North Grey Railway Company, 34 Vic. Cap. 36, February 15, 1871, Statutes of Ontario. As well, see The Globe, April 12, 1871.

[167] Incorporation Act of the Lake Superior and Manitoba Railway Company, 35 Vic. Cap. 76, June 14, 1872, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[168] Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company, 19 and 20 Vic. Cap. 118, July 1, 1856, Statutes of Province of Canada.

John Beverly Robinson II had other interests in business besides transportation. The Canada Landed Credit Company, established in 1858, had among its initiators and provisional directors; Robinson; William Henry Boulton, Mayor of Toronto in 1845-1847 and 1858 and a lover of the turf whose home, The Grange, hosted the St. Leger Race Course; Frederick William Jarvis, Sheriff and nephew of the former Sheriff, William Botsford Jarvis*, an avid fan of horse-racing and the instigator of the Toronto Turf Club in 1828; and William Charles Gwynne, an Irish doctor who had two decades earlier, married a granddaughter of the then chief justice, Anne Murray Powell.[174] Additionally, Robinson, along with George W. Allan*, formed a financial and administrative coalition which started the Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society in 1855.[175] It was certainly not unrealistic to expect that brother-in-laws, who were wealthy and well-connected, would eventually invest in common commercial projects.[176] At least, each of them was guaranteed the safety of knowing who they were dealing with in large financial undertakings, a luxury often exploited by *interlocking* businessmen or well-connected individuals during the nineteenth century. In the growth of the Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society, George W. Allan* served as its President and John Beverly II as its solicitor, in the period from 1855 to 1870.[177] Robinson also acted as a director of the Canadian board for the Edinburgh Life Assurance Company beginning in 1865.[178] With him on the board was his former law partner, John Hillyard Cameron. As well, when the Toronto Coal Company was initiated in 1853, Robinson was one of its subscribers.[179]

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[169] More will be said of McMaster in chapter VII.
[170] The Globe, April 29, 1871.
[171] Edmonton Bulletin, June 25, 1896.
[172] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Island Bridge Company, 20 Vic. Cap. 172, June 10, 1857, Statutes of Province of Canada.
[173] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Union Passenger Station and Dock Company, 34 Vic. Cap. 70, February 15, 1871, Statutes of Ontario.
[174] Incorporation Act of the Canada Landed Credit Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 133, August 16, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada.

In sport and philanthropic ventures, John Beverly Robinson II, like many of the elite of the Victorian era, sponsored and supported events and organizations which furthered the ideological cause of charity and self-help. But as well, he was part of an elite who attempted to reform and socially control the development of sport within the city and within the working class. In 1862, Robinson spear-headed a group which helped sponsor the "Toronto Garrison Games and Athletic Sports". The Globe, of Sepember 18, 1862, reported that:

> Through the kindness of the Toronto Cricket Club, the sports will take place on their ground, ... proceeds to the Canadian Military Asylum for Widows and Orphans of Soldiers.

Similarly, Robinson led a gathering of prominent individuals who sponsored the Upper Canada College Annual Games in 1868.[180] Included in the organization of the Games were his friends: W.P. Howland, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; Christopher Robinson, his brother and law partner; Colonel Richard L. Denison; William Henry Boulton; Angus Morrison; and Joseph C. Morrison, a judge and former associate of Sir John Beverly Robinson I. Also John Beverly II was instrumental in starting an interest in the sport of football in Toronto. As President of the St. George's Society in 1859, Robinson devised plans whereby a group of Society members would challenge any other eleven to a game of football.[111] In a match played between the University eleven and St. George's on September 7, 1859, John Beverly II acted as umpire. The Globe, of September 8, 1859 reported the commencement of the match in the following way:

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[175] The Globe, June 20, 1896.
[176] George W. Allan (1822-1901) married Louisa Maude, sister of John Beverly Robinson II.
[177] See C.E. Anderson, Toronto City Directory, 1868-9. (Toronto: Anderson, 1868), p. 12 and Might's Toronto City Directory for 1881. (Toronto: Might, 1881), p. 551.
[178] The Globe, March 16, 1865 and April 11, 1868.
[179] *Ibid.*, November 18, 1853.
[180] *Ibid.*, October 16, 1868.

> Mrs. J.B. Robinson then, amid much cheering, advanced to the centre between players, and pitched the ball into the air - starting the match.

It would appear that Mrs. J.B. Robinson II (nee Mary Jane Hagerman) was very involved in the activities of her husband and in other charitable causes. She and George A. Barber helped John Beverly II organize various functions at the Toronto Summer Fair in 1859,[112] along with George W. Allan* and William Botsford Jarvis*, plus, she and George A. Barber's wife, organized a group which made a banner and flag for the Toronto Cricket Club. The event, in 1849, was reported in a typically lucid fashion:

> On the 21st instant, we had the pleasure (George Brown of the Globe) of being present at the presentation, by the Ladies, of an exceedingly handsome and appropriate banner, the work of their own hands, to the Toronto Cricket Club. A match between two elevens of the Club was arranged and elegantly played for a considerable time, to the great amusement of all present. Owing to the kindness of Colonel Egerton, the very popular and elegant band of the Rifle Brigade was in attendance, and added a good deal to the pleasure of the day, and to the beauty of the scenery around Mrs. G.A. Barber, and Mrs. J.B. Robinson, as representatives of the Ladies proceeded to the center of the Cricket Ground where the members of the Club, with hats off, were assembled; and after presenting the banner, Mrs. Barber, on behalf of the ladies, read an address to which Mr. Philpotts (President), on the part of the Cricket Club, replied, immediately after which, the flag was unfurled, and as it floated in the air, above the stand, loud and hearty cheers were given. The band at the same time playing the National Anthem. Three cheers were given for the ladies; and three cheers, loud and long, for our beloved and gracious

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[111] See *ibid.*, August 26, 1859 and August 27, 1859.
[112] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1859.

Queen Victoria and also three more for the Toronto Cricket Club.[113]

In purely philanthropic activities, Mrs. Robinson, as was characteristic of many elite females of the period,[114] lent her support and benevolence to several projects. In 1851, for instance, Mary Jane Robinson was listed as an incorporator and a director of the Orphans' Home and Female Aid Society. [115] She shared her directorship with many wives of the elite of the city and in so doing, showed how *networking* among elite families was not necessarily restricted to the men. Several of the women associated with her in the Orphans' Home were: Emma Robinson, her mother-in-law and wife of Sir John Beverly Robinson I; Augusta Draper, wife of Justice William Henry Draper; Caroline Jarvis, wife of Frederick Starr Jarvis; and Mary G. Sherwood, wife of Hon. Henry Sherwood. Mrs. J.B. Robinson II also helped raise monies for the Home for the Incurables in the early 1880s.[116] She had reportedly performed several concerts for charities throughout her lifetime and was attributed as being "the best singer in Toronto".[117] D.B. Read remembered her as an unselfish individual:

> Mrs. Robinson will long be remembered in Toronto as an accomplished vocalist; her sweet musical voice was so frequently in requisition for concerts given for the benefit of charity and the poor. She was ever ready to respond to calls made on her, giving her best talent to promote the cultivation of music in Toronto and helping those who were under her in station. She had a heart full of kindness and nothing gratified her more than ministering to the wants of the needy.[118]

John Beverly Robinson II was probably very proud of his wife's accomplishments, but he too had much to give in terms of philanthropy. In addition to his St. George's Society work, which was originally set up to cater to the needs of the poor,[119] Robinson was a Trustee of the Toronto General Hospital,[190] a board member of Trinity College,[191] and a stalwart member of the Upper Canada Bible Society.[192] He was, by mid-century, also a Director of the Young Men's Christian Association.[193]

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[113] British Colonist, June 26, 1849.

[114] See for example, T.R. Morrison, "Their Proper Sphere: Feminism, The Family and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900", Ontario History, Vol. 68, No. 2 (1976), pp. 45-63 and Carol Bacchi, "Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918", Social History, Vol. 10, No. 20 (November 1977), pp. 433-438.

[115] Incorporation Act of the Orphans' Home and Female Aid Society, 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 34, August 2, 1851, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[116] Might's Toronto City Directory, 1881, p. 545.

[117] The Globe, June 20, 1896.

[118] Read, The Lieutenant-Governors..., p. 224.

[119] Upper Canada Gazette, December 19, 1835.

John Beverly Robinson II was a public man. Although he did practice law, he did so not so much in front of judges in courtrooms, which he detested from to start, but rather as a private solicitor for business concerns. He was solicitor to George W. Allan's* Western Canada Building and Loan Association, from 1855 to 1870 and he was also solicitor to the Corporation of the City of Toronto from 1864 until his death in 1891.[194] John Beverly II was also a politician of considerable ability. After his tenure as an alderman in the early 1850s, and his election as Mayor of Toronto in 1857, Robinson was elected a M.L.A. for Toronto West along with George Brown, editor of The Globe.[195] He held this position until 1863 when the Cartier-MacDonald ministry fell, and his position of President of the Council disappeared. Robinson, in taking over Frederick W. Cumberland's seat in 1872, was elected to the House of Commons of Canada for the Algoma district.[196] John Beverly II held this constituency until 1878 when he was elected a Member of Parliament from Toronto West. He held this seat until 1880 whereupon he was appointed the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.[197] This latter position he held until 1887, after which time he led a more retiring life. In following the Hon. Donald MacDonald to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario, John Beverly Robinson II opened his heart and doors to the people of the Province. Though from the upper class of society, Robinson's benevolent spirit evidently ran very deep in his soul. He was charitable to the utmost and always represented Ontario with the full backing of its people. As one author stated:

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[190] W.R. Brown, Brown's Toronto General Directory. (Toronto:: W.R. Brown, 1856), p. 46.

[191] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 87.

[192] *Ibid.*

[193] Brown's Toronto General Directory., p. 46.

[194] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 232.

[195] Adams, Prominent Men of Canada., p. 425.

[196] Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography., (1845), p. 566.

[197] Read, The Lieutenant Governors..., p. 226.

> While he occupied Government House, the doors were always open to rich and poor alike. The sympathetic nature of Mrs. Robinson, and his personality, attracted to Government House the *classes and masses* alike.[198]

Robinson was characterized as an easy-going, gregarious man, who, like his father, Sir John Beverly Robinson I, exercised energy, clear-thinking and integrity to all projects. Apparently, he lacked some of the legal cunning and sharp wit which his father used while serving as Chief Justice, but this, if anything, made him more likable as a person and as a politician. In his last duty of life, and one which speaks of the character of the man most strongly, was his single-handed effort to establish in Toronto an athletic club. In 1890, John Beverly Robinson II contributed several acres of his land at 'Sleepy Hollow' to the foundation of the Toronto Athletic Club.[199] He served as its President until his death and was assisted in managing by friends, Dr. Larratt W. Smith, Sir Adam Wilson, Professor Goldwin Smith and John Massey.[200] His eulogy in 1896 stated:

> He was prominently connected with Toronto Athletic Club. ... The erect figure and alert bearing that the ex-Lieutenant-Governor preserved to an age when most men show in marked manner the passage of the years was a testimony to his lifelong love of active, *manly sports*. As a boy at Upper Canada College, he had no superior at boxing, wrestling, running or jumping, and it was at the last Athletic Club dinner that he declared with pardonable pride his ability to give any man in Canada twenty years and a besting at the broad jump. He was a player in the first inter-national [*sic*] cricket match with the United States over fifty years ago and always attended these fixtures when younger men had taken his place on the team. No project, for the advancement of athletic sports, failed of his valuable advices and active assistance. Although identified so closely with amateur athletics, he always encouraged the straight forward professionals and was a warm admirer and adherent of the late William O'Connor and of Edward Hanlan, Toronto's famous oarsman. He held that there was a *duty* imposed on public men to direct the pastimes of the community into the most useful and beneficial channels, and that *duty* be never shirked. His last and most conspicuous work for advancement of athletic sports was the foundation of the Toronto Athletic Club, and the magnificent building on College Street stands as a monument to the memory of a type of sportsman who was an honor to his community.[201]

John Beverly Robinson II died on June 19, 1896 attending a political rally for his friend,

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[198] *Ibid.*

[199] Prospectus to the formation of the Toronto Athletic Club, dated 1890. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Also see Rules, Regulations, By-Laws and Constitution of the Toronto Athletic Club Limited, (Toronto: Brough and Caswell, 1891).

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] The Globe, June 20 1896.

Charles Tupper. He passed away on the podium as Tupper spoke. His good friend, George W. Allan* was at his side.

Chapter VII

THE BANKER OF TORONTO SPORT: WILLIAM MCMASTER

In dealing with the prominent persons who were influential in the organizational and administrative development of sport in Toronto during the major portion of the nineteenth century, few were more innovative, diligent and successful than William McMaster. His is not a story of blue-blooded privilege and wealth, but rather a tale of hard work, acquired shrewdness and conservative decision-making. The tenacity which McMaster showed in sport and business affairs allowed him to gain respect among the elite members of Toronto's society and move comfortably into the realm of complete social acceptance by the 'inner circle'.[1] Although his lack of appropriate religious, ethnic and educative prerequisites limited the ease with which he was able to move in elite circles, his munificence and his steady, nonsensical attitude to life and administrative problems, attracted the confidence of many of Toronto's prominent individuals. William McMaster's organizational success in sport was unique in the very fact he had many social factors going against him yet he was able to overcome them and garner support for his projects due to his recruitment to the elite ranks of society and the subsequent interlocking relationships which developed as a result of this acceptance.

William McMaster was born on December 24, 1811 in County Tyrone, North Ireland.[2] He was the son of William McMaster Sr., a linen-draper. McMaster's early education was a carefully planned one, he having attended a private school, the best in the parish, presided over by Mr. Halcro, "one of the most eminent teachers in the north of Ireland".[3] It was during his early schooling when he was about the age of ten that the young McMaster was converted and joined the Baptist church in Omagh.[4] After apparently gaining some experience as a clerk in an Irish mercantile house, he came to North America and,

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[1] A term borrowed from C. Wright Mill's, The Power Elite. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1954).

[2] See obituary of William McMaster in The Globe, September 23, 1887.

[3] George M. Rose, A Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography: Being Chiefly Men of the Time. (Toronto: Rose Publishing, 1888), p. 286.

[4] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 11 (1881-1890), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 574.

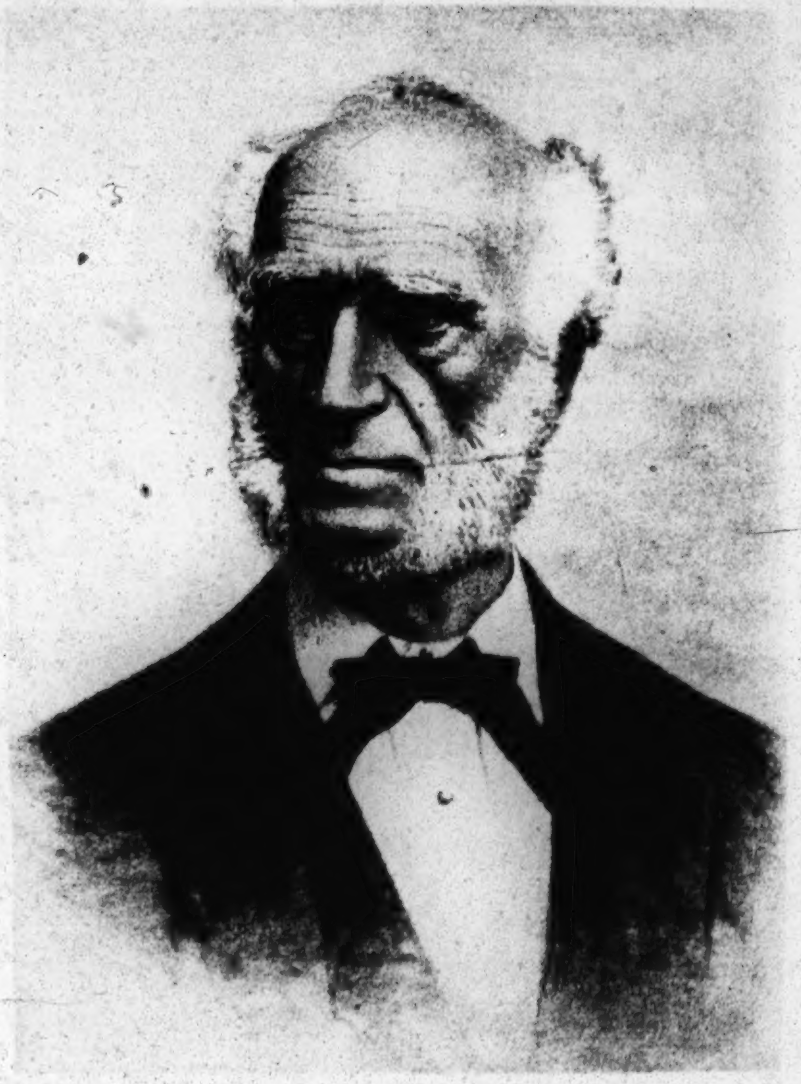

Figure VII: Picture of William McMaster, 1811-1887.

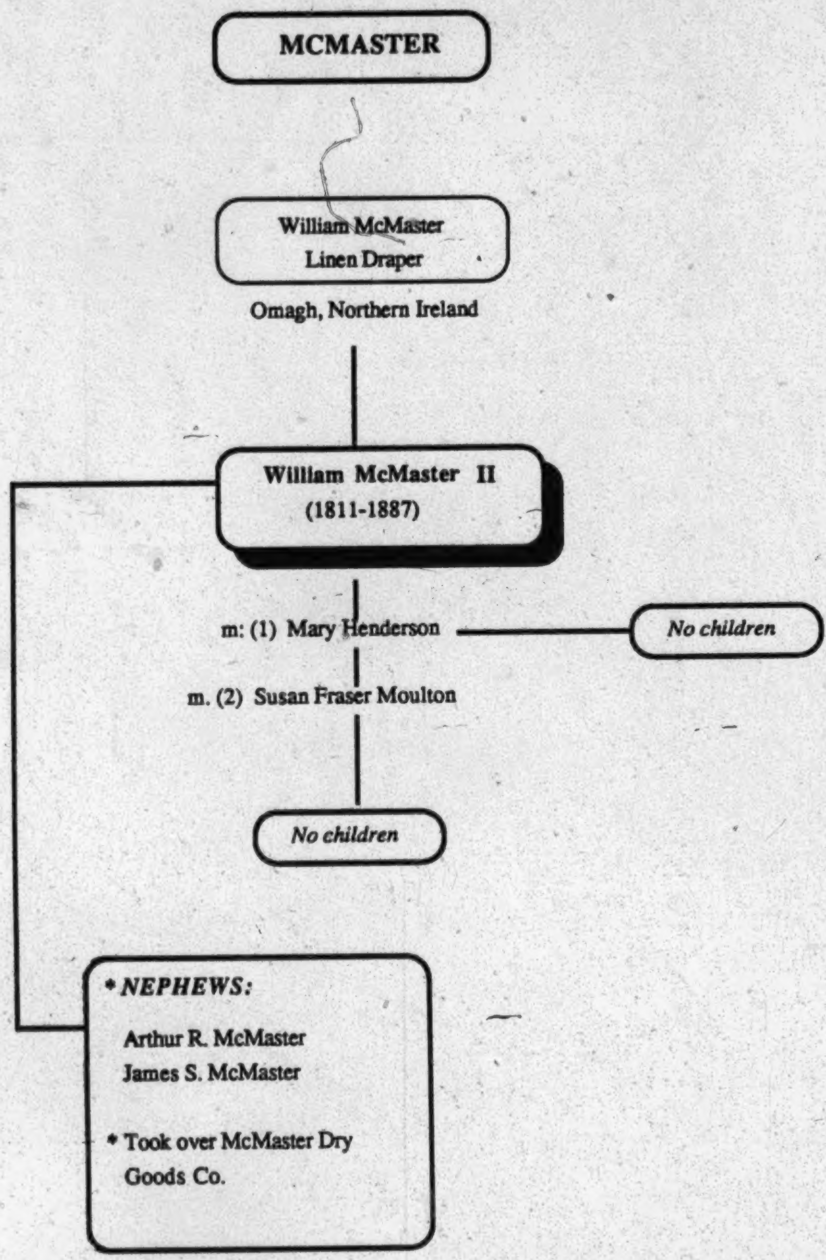
MCMASTER
William McMaster
Linen Draper
Omagh, Northern Ireland
William McMaster II
(1811-1887)
m: (1) Mary Henderson
No children
m. (2) Susan Fraser Moulton
No children
* NEPHEWS:
Arthur R. McMaster
James S. McMaster
* Took over McMaster Dry Goods Co.

FIGURE VIII: Genealogical Sketch of the McMaster Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

following a brief stay in New York City, moved to York (Toronto), Upper Canada, in August, 1833.[5] As a new immigrant his only capital was "brains, energy and steady habits" as he seemingly lacked any type of accumulated assets.[6] At the age of twenty-two, McMaster, without friends or money, found employment as a clerk in Robert Cathcart's wholesale and retail dry goods business.[7] His 'rags-to-riches' story unfolded from this point forward. Within two years, McMaster had made himself such a valuable asset to Cathcart, that in order to avoid losing him, the latter gentlemen offered him a partnership in the firm.[8] The dry goods business of Cathcart and McMaster flourished for the next decade and served as an excellent training ground for future commercial interests and demonstrated McMaster's propensity for administrative work, something he later used to establish and organize several sport ventures. In July, 1844, Cathcart retired, turning over the entire franchise to William McMaster.[9]

McMaster's further success owed much to his skill in recognizing opportunities and to his ability to move in time with important commercial trends. The decisions he made in 1844, to concentrate on wholesale dry goods and to move his company to Yonge Street, were shrewd ones. The dry goods trade, located at the southern end of Yonge Street (near the water and docks), would prove to be one of Toronto's most profitable lines of business. An enterprise such as McMaster's fulfilled the requirements of a population clamouring for imported goods. An English visitor, in describing Toronto in 1857, stated that this burgeoning metropolis was the "chief exporter of produce of the district that lies betwixt Ontario and Lake Simcoe and the importer of the necessities and luxuries that the settlers require".[10] In 1850, the business cleared $10,000, but had, as yet, to rank among the largest general wholesalers of Toronto.

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[5] W.S. Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1945), p. 424.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 26.
[8] The Globe, September 23, 1887.
[9] D.C. Masters, "Canadian Bankers of the Last Century: William McMaster", Canadian Banker, Vol. 49, No. 4 (July 1942), p. 390.
[10] *Ibid.*

The agents of R.G. Dun and Company reported McMaster's wealth to be in the $300,000-$400,000 range in 1853 and in the $600,000-$800,000 range in 1859.[11] These figures stood as substantial sums in the mid-nineteenth century and demonstrated McMaster's propensity to turn profitable business ventures into more lucrative and rewarding enterprises. During this period, McMaster resisted the temptation to expand beyond his financial resources and his caution enabled him to emerge from the recession of 1857 with his business intact. The Globe, in eulogizing the man in 1887, said that there was "nothing niggardly" about his management capabilities and that when he deemed the commercial circumstances favourable for the use of his capital he used it freely. This personal ideology pushed McMaster to the forefront of business interests in Toronto and the surrounding region and made him, as one creditor stated, "probably the safest man in business in Toronto".[12] The same creditor pronounced McMaster as being "the largest Dry Goods Concern in Western Canada" in 1860. These qualities later functioned to assist him in his sport club organizing tendencies of the 1860s and 1870s. More will be mentioned on this point later in the chapter.

McMaster was first married in 1851 to Mary Henderson of New York. She died in 1868 and it was not until 1871 that he married Susan Moulton, widow of James Fraser, of Newburgh, New York.[13] Interestingly, there were no certificates of issue for either marriage.[14] Through both marriages, McMaster remained childless. Whether this was a consequence of his untiring interest in business affairs or his barren physiology, no expert is sure, but it seemingly did not alter his intent of being a successful dry goods dealer in Toronto. His lack of progeny made him take two of his nephews from Ireland, Arthur Robinson McMaster and James Short McMaster, into the business as bookkeeper and English buyer respectively. They became his partners in the firm of William McMaster and Nephews on March 1, 1859, and James Short McMaster took up residence in Manchester to oversee the English interests of the company, a circumstance not wholly uncommon in British North American trade at this time.[15] Both men would later become prominent citizens themselves in Toronto's social and business circles but for the most part, each lived in their uncle's shadow for the majority of their careers. Contemporaries described the family a "close people, their affairs known only to themselves".[16]

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[11] R.G. Dun & Co. credit ledgers, Canada, Vol. 26: pp. 24, 183, 218, 237, 276 and Vol. 27: pp. 215 and 294. Baker Library, McMaster University, Hamilton.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963), p. 480.
[14] The author searched the marriage deeds of the Ontario Public Archives but found no trace of McMaster's marriage certificates.

By the middle 1860s the firm of William McMaster and Nephews, initially an active, pushing business, had come to be regarded as an old firm dealing with an established clientele, many of whom became compatriots of McMaster not only on a commercial level but also on a social and sport plane. This maturing of McMaster's business signalled a beginning to a new phase in this successful entrepreneur's life. McMaster, who had spoken of retirement as early as 1859, relinquished his hold on the management of the company in 1863, though retaining a large financial interest, reputedly $400,000.[17] The firm now became known as A.R. McMaster and Brother. While involved in the building up of his business, William McMaster had contributed substantially to Toronto's metropolitan development and to its attempts to wrest control of the central Canadian economy from Montreal. He was a founding and active member of the Toronto Board of Trade, having served on its committee of management sixteen times up until 1863 and later, serving an additional seven years on the committee plus one year as Vice-President (1875) and another year as President (1876).[18] During the late 1850s and through the 1860s-1870s, McMaster was a director of numerous commercial, fraternal, educational, military and philanthropic organizations. This not only showed his social acceptance by his commercial peers but also demonstrated his attractiveness to the elite who allowed him to infiltrate the socially fortified bastions of class privilege (i.e., exclusive clubs). Many of the people he associated with in these ventures and organizations later became close friends of his and confidants in Toronto's higher social circles.

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[15] For an excellent description of the buyer and seller relationship of a British North American firm, see Douglas McCalla's, The Upper Canadian Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

[16] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 11, p. 575.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, 1840-1881. Toronto Public Library. Also see the Globe, January 6, 1846; January 6, 1847; January 8, 1848; January 17, 1849; January 26, 1850; January 18, 1851; January 27, 1852; March 1, 1853; February 3, 1855; February 2, 1858; January 17, 1859; January 25, 1860; January 30, 1862; January 29, 1867; January 25, 1868; January 30, 1869; January 25, 1870; January 18, 1871; January 23, 1972; January 29, 1873; February 27, 1874; January 31, 1877; and the British Colonist, January 19, 1849; January 22, 1850; January 14, 1851; and January 30, 1852.

To begin, McMaster was a director of the the Ontario Bank,[19] where he became interested in banking and where he saw too much control of the banking system in Montreal. He later took this problem to heart and attempted to wrest control away from this port city in the mid-1860's.[20] McMaster was also a director of the the Consumer's Gas Company,[21] where he made intimate business and social contacts with James Austin, James Michie, E.F. Whittemore, James Gooderham Worts*, George Gooderham*, William Gooderham, Larratt W. Smith, T.D. Harris, Robert Cassels, George W. Allan*, William Cawthra, J.H. Mead and George Duggan. As well, McMaster was a founding director of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute[22] and the Upper Canada Bible Society,[23] an organization he was director of eight times between 1855 and 1885 and Vice-President of twice in 1867 and 1869. He was also a founding director of the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company,[24] a venture which demonstrated his ability, and that of merchants of Toronto, to be far-sighted in terms of forecasting the potential business and commercial advantages to the west via a direct link through Toronto to Lakes Huron and Superior. This far-sighted characteristic of McMaster was also put to good use when he foresaw the need for a perpetual rowing club and a gymnasium association in the later 1870s. Moreover, McMaster was a director of the Canada Landed Credit Company,[25] where he established good friendships and excellent business ties with Lewis Moffatt, William Botsford Jarvis*, Richard L. Denison, John Beverly Robinson II*, William Henry Boulton, Stephen M. Jarvis and William C. Gwynne. All, with the exception of Moffatt, were members of the original *Family Compact* and all interacted with McMaster at some time on a sport level. He also held directorships in the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company,[26] a commercial project which was fostered by the inadequacies and financial problems of the Northern Railway in supplying the northwest region of what is now Ontario,[27] and by the initial surveys of the United States on the Oregon coast for their transcontinental and Pacific railway.[28] McMaster was also a dedicated trustee and director of the Common Schools of the City of Toronto[29] plus, he acted as an advisor and director of the Consols Life Insurance Association.[30] McMaster foresaw an entrepreneurial goldmine in the insurance business. Increased immigration had brought literally thousands of potential customers to British North America who needed some sort of financial protection for their only assets. This McMaster saw as a potential responsibility of an insurance company and a potential avenue to large profits for the entrepreneur. McMaster also helped organize the Merchant's Rifle Corps under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Casimir S. Gzowski*,[31] and was one of the original officers and the

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[19] The Globe, April 4, 1864. In his Ontario Bank directorship, McMaster made a life long friend in W.P. Howland*. Both would associate closely in banking matters in later years and both would also fraternize closely in social and sporting relationships.

[20] For a good discussion on this point, see Michael Bliss's, Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), pp. 260-261. A discussion of this fact will follow in a later part of the biography.

[21] *Ibid.*, October 29, 1856. The Consumer's Gas Company was founded on this date and McMaster was one of the original subscribers and directors. Also see *ibid.*, October 29, 1856; November 2, 1859; October 29, 1867; October 27, 1868; October 26, 1869, November 1, 1870; and October 30, 1873.

[22] Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.

[23] Minutes of the Upper Canada Bible Society, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. McMaster used his expert organizing acumen to draw up the Incorporation Act of the Upper Canada Bible Society, 18 Vic. Cap. 229, May 19, 1855, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[24] Again, McMaster utilized his superior organizing talents to draw up the Incorporation Act for the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company 19 and 20 Vic. Cap. 118, July 1, 1856, Statutes of Province of Canada.

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[25] See The Globe, September 20, 1858; January 14, 1863, January 8, 1864; February 2, 1865; February 8, 1866; January 25, 1867; February 8, 1868; and February 12, 1869.
[26] *Ibid.*, October 15, 1858.
[27] The Globe, April 8, 1858.
[28] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1858.
[29] *Ibid.*, January 13, 1858. In addition to being a director, William McMaster exercised his business sense in being the Chairman of the Finance Board.
[30] *Ibid.*, August 2, 1860. This is one instance where McMaster and close associate W.P. Howland teamed up to secure a significant corner on a financial venture. More will be mentioned on Howland in chapter 11.
[31] *Ibid.*, August 14, 1861. "Mr. W. McMaster moved, after a few introductory

Corp's first Vice-President. Again, his involvement in the militia and his subsequent good friendship with Gzowski will be mentioned later. McMaster also included among his directorships the European Assurance Company,[32] where his banking interests were stimulated by his business partner in the European Assurance Company, Angus Morrison. Morrison, besides having been Mayor of Toronto, was also the President of the Bank of Toronto, a William Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts* enterprise. This institution will be described in more detail in a later chapter when the respective Gooderham and Worts families are described. The important thing to point out here is the *interlocking* connection between McMaster and the other financial elite of Toronto. Angus Morrison later became President of the Toronto Rowing Club, a club McMaster initiated, and also became a director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, a later McMaster empire. McMaster and Morrison were inseparable friends and each heavily supported the careers of the other, particularly as they related to finance and sport. Morrison, as a lawyer and related *Compact* elite, capably assisted the Irish merchant in the legalities of establishing several commercial enterprises plus, he functioned to keep McMaster umbilically tied to the elite of the city.[33] Further among McMaster's directorships were: the Great Western Railway[34]; the Rossin House Hotel,[35] of which he was part owner along with his life-long friends, Casimir S. Gzowski*, David L. MacPherson*, George Brown and John Sandfield MacDonald, and James Gooderham Worts*; the Industrial Exhibition Company,[36] being a founding member and shareholder along with

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[31](cont'd) remarks, that this meeting is of opinion [*sic*] that a Rifle Corps composed of merchants and clerks of the city should be organized". For the earlier suggestion of the organization of such a group see *ibid*., June 21, 1861.

[32] *Ibid*., April 4, 1864.

[33] The significance of this point will be brought out in chapter 11.

[34] *Ibid*., December 15, 1863.

[35] *Ibid*., October 11, 1864. Also see the Incorporation Act for the Rossin House Hotel drawn up by McMaster and friends. 29 and 30 Vic. Cap. 124, August 15, 1866, Statutes of Province of Canada. It would appear their motivation for constructing such a hotel was that Toronto was in dire need of a first class hostelry where one could dine and entertain.

[36] Incorporation Act of the Industrial Exhibition Company, 40 Vic. Cap. 68, March 7, 1877, Statutes of Canada. This enterprise was the original forerunner to the Industrial Exhibition Association, 42 Vic. Cap. 81, March 11, 1879, Statutes of Canada and later the Canadian National Exhibition Association.

business associates and friends W.P. Howland, David L. MacPherson, Charles Tupper, James Michie, William H. Howland and William Arthurs; the Toronto Rifle Association,[37] where he served as Vice-President under friend and business associate, Casimir S. Gzowski* in 1864; the Intercolonial Steamship Company,[38] where again, in order to exploit the commercial riches of the north-west, he teamed up friends and business partners, James Gooderham Worts* and W.P. Howland; the Toronto General Hospital, where he rekindled his friendship and dealings with William Gooderham[39]; and the Upper Canada Tract Society.[40], where McMaster made acquaintance with two important railway builders of the era in George Laidlaw and John Shedden.[41] McMaster had dealings with Laidlaw in not only the Credit Valley Railway but also in the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, the Toronto and Nipissing Railroad and the Toronto Curling Club. Similarly, he would later associate with Shedden in the Toronto House Building Society, the Toronto Board of Trade, and the Toronto Curling Club. In fact, in 1849, both McMaster and Shedden were members of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club but it is questionable whether they struck up a mutual friendship at this time due to the fact little contact apparently took place between them until the late 1860s and early 1870s.[42] McMaster furthered his directorships in the Toronto House Building Society[43] and the Dominion Telegraph Company, each exploitive and original ventures at the time.[44] The House Building Society was aimed at extending credit to individuals or families who needed it to build a home. In certain circumstances subsidies were directly given to the poor, thus making the Society a quasi-benevolent association.[45] It was in the formation of this latter company that McMaster perpetuated his deep friendship and business arrangements with William Cayley. Cayley had been a long-time promoter of *Family Compact* interests and, just like Angus Morrison, functioned to be an *elite connection* for McMaster. It was Cayley who sold McMaster the charter of the Bank of Canada in 1866 so as to allow the establishment of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1867. Cayley and McMaster were long and close associates in both the Toronto Curling Club and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, each acknowledging the benefits accrued by being members of elite sport clubs. The concept of benefits meant the important *interlocking* networks that could be established within the social enviroment of a club and the multiple business connections which could develop as a result of this networking. As well, McMaster was an instigator and officer of the Confederation Life Association of Canada,[46] an association which Cayley was once a director. In addition to the business collaboration with W.P. Howland, later Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Francis Hincks, Finance Minister of the Canadian Parliament, McMaster enveloped Mathew C. Cameron, Ontario Provincial Secretary, and William Elliot, President of the Bank of Toronto, in the Confederation Life scheme. Cameron had been a long-time commercial friend of McMaster in the Dominion Telegraph Company, the Toronto and Nipissing Railway and the National Club of Toronto, and Elliot had been an acquaintance through the Toronto Bank's directorate, which included the very influential William Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts*. McMaster was Vice-President of Confederation Life on three occasions in 1871, 1877, and 1879, a fact supported by his financial foresight and conservative decision-making abilities. Politically, McMaster was a director of the Toronto Reform Association[47] and philanthropically, he was the chief benefactor of the Mount Pleasant Cemetary.[48] In the latter venture, he contributed $12,000 toward the the purchase of land north of Rosedale and east of Yonge Street for the non-sectarian burial ground for the citizens of Toronto. It was a gift which not only showed McMaster's compassionate and philanthropic side but it also was an expression of his willingness to assist all individuals in Toronto who were without means or access to privileged quarters, whether they be in mortal life or life after death. The humanitarianism of McMaster, even though he had been accepted into the higher stratas of society, was something which always characterized the man. His interest in the welfare of all Toronto's citizens was something that spilled over into sport. This fact will be highlighted in later sections.

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[37] The Globe, August 8, 1864.

[38] See *ibid.*, December 7, 1866.

[39] *Ibid.*, January 4 and January 5, 1866. McMaster, along with friends and business associates, William Gooderham, Casimir S. Gzowski*, George Brown and nephew, A.R. McMaster, formed the nucleus of the original trusteeship of the Toronto General Hospital and each set a public example by opening the subscription books with a $100 donation.

[40] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1869.

[41] These two individuals will be profiled in chapter 9 in the context of their employment with the Gooderham and Worts' distilling business.

[42] In an article in *ibid.*, April 16, 1869, it stated that Mr. Shedden had opened the subscription books for the Toronto and Nipissing Railway with a sum of $5,000. This must have appeared attractive as an investment because many investors quickly bought out the remaining stock in the narrow gauge railway.

[43] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1870.

[44] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1871.

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[45] For a good discussion on the mechanics of a house building society, see Lorna F. Hurl, "The Toronto Housing Company: The Pitfalls of Painless Philanthropy", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 65, No.1 (March 1984), pp. 28-54.
[46] *Ibid.*, September 18, 1871.
[47] *Ibid.*, November 24, 1877.
[48] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1876.

Although McMaster had solidly established himself as a pillar of Toronto's commercial and social community by the early 1860s, his greatest business success was not to unfold until the later 1860s and 1870s. Having left his wholesale dry goods firm to his nephews, McMaster redirected his energies to overcoming the great commercial rivalry between Toronto and Montreal. This turnabout in his career is what he was perhaps best remembered for as it signified his sense of justice, or in other words, it showed his willingness to fight for what he thought was best for all people. As mentioned above, the general welfare of Toronto and the public were always factors which influenced his decision-making throughout his career. Whether this public spiritedness was a consequence of a benevolent Victorian tradition among the upper classes or a true and unique characteristic of the McMaster himself, is not certain. But it would appear he exercised a public spiritedness which went beyond the customary reform and social control doctine of Victorian philanthropy. During his wholesaling days and his tenure as an Ontario Bank director, William McMaster saw great inadequacies and unfair banking practices being exercised by the Bank of Montreal within Upper Canada. The Bank of Montreal, established in 1807, was Canada's first banking institution. It regulated the majority of the colony's financial business and attempted to regulate the economic develop of any rival region, a fact which greatly disturbed McMaster, considering he saw great commercial potential for Upper Canada and for the outlying western districts. Specifically, McMaster did not like how Edwin H. King, manager of the Bank of Montreal, restricted the amount of credit available to merchants in Canada West by withdrawing capital to accommodate a constantly increasing business with the provincial government, a situation which in January, 1864, saw the government transfer all of its accounts to the Bank of Montreal from the Bank of Upper Canada.[49] The precarious position of banking in Canada West, thanks to the protectionist, capital hungry Bank of Montreal, was dealt a further damaging blow in 1866. The passing of the Provincial Note Act which allowed banks to surrender their notes in favour of those issued by the government caused considerable pain to Upper Canadian financial institutions. The plan by the government was to relieve themselves of some of the heavy credit debt which they were carrying with the Bank of Upper Canada and the Bank of Montreal. As it turned out, the Bank of Montreal was the only banking institution who surrendered its notes and as a consequence, it was awarded the exclusive agency to issue government notes. The Montreal, as the sole government banking agency in the Canadas, was now in a position to regulate financial growth in Canada's western province. By essentially strangling the credit economy of Canada West's banking institutions and subsequently damaging the commercial prospects of Toronto merchants, the Bank of Montreal had achieved what it had set out to do, this being, to regulate the commercial growth of Toronto in favour of that of Montreal.[50] In the uncertain days which preceded the failure of the Bank of Upper Canada in 1866,[51] the Commercial Bank of Canada in 1867,[52] Brown's Bank in 1869,[53] the Royal Canadian Bank in

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[49] Victor Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Vol. 2, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 16.

[50] Joseph Schull, 100 Years of Banking in Canada: A History of the Toronto Dominion Bank. (Toronto: Copp-Clark Publishing, 1958), p. 34. Schull quoted an editorial in The Globe for the period which stated, "The fear is that the Bank of Montreal has the Government in its power and is disposed to play the tyrant". This statement apparently echoed the feelings of merchants and traders in Canada West who relied heavily on banking credit to run their businesses. In fact, business ran on an exclusive debtor economy until 1871 with the passing of the Bank Note Act and the realization of standard currency. For a follow-up to the commercial rivalry which existed between Toronto and Montreal, see D.C. Masters, "Toronto vs. Montreal" (struggle for financial hegemony), in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 22 (June 1941), pp. 133-146.

[51] The Globe, September 19, 1866.

[52] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1867.

[53] *Ibid.*, March 8, 1869.

1869,[54] and the Gore Bank in 1869,[55] McMaster and the Toronto business community moved to arrest the growing control of the Bank of Montreal in Canada West. After remonstrating in vain with the Bank of Montreal against these policies of credit restriction, McMaster moved to establish a banking institution which would exclusively serve the needs of Canada West businessmen. As mentioned early, the charter of the Bank of Canada, which had been inactive since 1858, was purchased by McMaster from William Cayley, a close personal friend and business acquaintance.[56] Fortunately, amendments to this charter were secured quickly in August, 1866, to allow the entity to change its name to the Canadian Bank of Commerce and also to revise its required capital stock from $3,000,000 to a more realistic $1,000,000.[57] Unlike many of the banks proposed during the period, the Canadian Bank of Commerce had little difficulty in filling its initial subscription of capital shares. McMaster had brought to the new bank both the support of the Toronto business community and his own reputation as a shrewd businessman with private dealings on the New York and London money markets. As well, investors showed great confidence in the scheme because they knew William McMaster was financially solvent and well prepared to settle matters in the event of a bank failure.[58]

On April 18, 1867, the shareholders of the Bank of Commerce held their first general meeting. McMaster, who had subscribed 500 shares valued at $25,000 was acclaimed President and a close associate and experienced banker, Henry Stark Howland, brother of his friend

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[54] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1869.

[55] *Ibid.*, August 26, 1869. The Gore Bank was actually purposefully closed by the Commerce so that they could amalgamate and raise the latter's capital stock from $2,000,000 to $4,000.000.

[56] R.M. Breckenridge, "The Canadian Banking System: Banking Under the Confederation, 1867-1873", Journal of the Canadian Banking Association, Vol. 2, No. 4 (June 1895), p. 433.

[57] Ross, Canadian Bank of Commerce..., p. 18. Ross stated, "This Act provided that the capital stock should be reduced from $3,000,000 to $1,000,000 and authorized the subscribers to commence business as soon as $400,000 had been subscribed, and $100,000 had been paid into one of the existing charter banks."

[58] William McMaster was one of the most trusted and respected citizens of Toronto during the nineteenth century. For epitaths to his outstanding character, see D.E. Thomson, "William McMaster," McMaster University Monthly, (Toronto), Vol. 1 (1891-1892), pp. 97-103 and R.L. Kellock, "The Hon. William McMaster, Canadian Baptist, Vol. 90, No. 8 (1944), pp. 1 and 4.

W.P. Howland, was first elected Vice-President.[59] George Brown, a personal friend and shareholder in McMaster's bank, said this of the new business venture in the Globe, on March 5, 1867:

> "The marked favour with which this new Bank has been received is, doubtless, owing in large degree to the wealth and business capacity of the men who have interested themselves in its establishment, and the character for prudence and sagacity of those who are likely to manage its affairs." ..., "The Hon. Wm. McMaster, M.L.C., it is understood, will be President - a gentleman who, by his business energy and shrewdness, had built up a colossal fortune as a merchant in Toronto."

The first directors of the Bank were all experienced and capable businessmen and each was a friend and previous business associate of McMaster.[60] Most of these individuals were associated with McMaster in sport at one time or another during the nineteenth century. Because of their sport involvement with McMaster during the 1800s, short, cursory biographies have been included so as to put in context the business-sport relationships which were a fact of life through this era. The directors elected at the first meeting were McMaster, Howland, William Alexander, John MacDonald, William Elliot, John Taylor, James Austin and T.S. Stayner.[61]

Henry Stark Howland (1824-1902), of Pilgrim Father and Quaker ancestry, was born at Paulings, N.Y. and came to Canada in 1840. A brother of W.P. Howland, an intimate friend of William McMaster, H.S. Howland, initially engaged in the milling business in Toronto only to change in later years into the wholesale business of H.S. Howland, Sons and Company, Toronto. In public life he served as a Warden of York County. He was active in promotion of several railway ventures and was for some time, President of several railway companies whose lines centered in Toronto. Due to McMaster's influence on his banking career, Howland led the process to found the Imperial Bank of Canada (1875) and became its first President, holding office until his death in 1902.

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[59] The Globe, March 5, 1867.

[60] Ross, Canadian Bank of Commerce..., pp. 20-21. Also see Masters, The Rise of Toronto, p. 115.

[61] The Globe, April 19, 1867.

William Alexander (1826-1910) was a native of Montrose, Scotland, and was educated at Montrose Academy. He came to Canada in 1857 and the following year entered into partnership with J.L. Blaikie in the very prominent stock-broking firm of Blaikie and Alexander. In 1864, Alexander was elected President of the Toronto Stock Exchange after having served as Vice-President for three consecutive years, 1861-1863.

The Hon. John MacDonald (1824-90) was born in Perth, Scotland. In 1849, he established the firm of John MacDonald and Company. Beginning with a retail dry goods business on Yonge Street, Toronto, he sold out after a few years and entered the wholesale trade. The firm rose to be one of the largest wholesale houses of dry goods in Canada. MacDonald was elected to Parliament in 1861 as a member for West Toronto and again by acclamation in 1875 for Toronto Centre, replacing Robert Wilkes. In 1887, he was called to the Canadian Senate, a position he held along with McMaster until his death in 1890.

William Elliot (1812-1893) came to Canada to take up farming but entered the wholesale business and later established chemical mills in Toronto. He shared several directorships of companies with McMaster; Confederation Life Assurance, Toronto Board of Trade, Toronto and Nipissing Railway and the Toronto Rowing Club.

John Taylor (1809-1871) came with his parents from England to Canada in 1821 and settled in York County. He and his two brothers, Thomas and George (1813-1894), erected in 1840 one of the first paper mills in Toronto and officially opened its retail doors in 1845. They later established saw and flour mills. George Taylor succeeded his brother, John, as a director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and was also a director of the Ontario Loan and Investment Company.

James Austin (1813-1897) was born in County Armagh, Ireland and was a boyhood friend of William McMaster before immigrating with his parents to Canada in 1829. Originally apprenticed as a printer, Austin later founded a wholesale and retail grocery partnership with P. Foy. When this partnership dissolved, Austin retired from this line of business and interested himself in a number of financial institutions in Toronto. He was one of the originators of the Consumer's Gas Company and was a member, along with McMaster, in the National Club and the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Like H.S. Howland, Austin took what McMaster had taught him about banking to found the Dominion Bank of Canada in 1871, becoming its first President.

T. Sutherland Stayner (1824-1904), son of Thomas Allen Stayner, Postmaster General of British North America, was connected as director with several financial institutions, including the Imperial Bank of Canada, a H.S. Howland enterprise. Besides being a director of the Ontario Loan and Investment Company, Stayner, like all the other original directors of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was also a director of McMaster's Freehold Loan and Savings Company established in the mid-1860s.[62]

The need for an indigenous banking institution in Canada West was long overdue and it was McMaster who was ardent and shrewd enough to see the initiation of the project through. The frustration of the City of Toronto was clearly evident as indicated in this editorial from the Globe in the spring of 1867.

> The time for commencing the enterprise is a very favourable one. There is a large amount of money now seeking investment and the conduct of the Bank of Montreal towards the business men [*sic*] of Upper Canada has created an intense desire in every quarter that the trade of the West should be rendered independent of the harsh and hasty proceedings of that institution.[63]

Some of the largest subscribers to the Canadian Bank of Commerce were close associates of McMaster. For instance, both W.P. Howland and H.S. Howland subscribed $20,000 a piece, T.A. Stayner, father of T.S. Stayner, subscribed $25,000, plus, Casimir S. Gzowski* and Edward Blake both subscribed $10,000.[64] Within two years the capital stock of the Bank rose to $2,000,000 and within another year it climbed to $4,000,000. The success of the Canadian

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[62] The Freehold was a financial institution which, like many other savings and loans companies of the period, attempted to capitalize on the investment being made in the west and the need of immigrant settlers for readily available capital.

[63] The Globe, March 5, 1867.

[64] *Ibid.*, These sums were incredible amounts for any subscribed stock in Toronto during the nineteenth century. It indicated how much faith others had in William McMaster's entrepreneurial skills.

Bank of Commerce in such a short space of time was unprecedented. It ranked as the second largest bank in Canada, only to equal the $6,000,000 authorized stock of the Bank of Montreal and the Merchant's Bank of Canada in 1871.[65] In recognition of this phenomenal growth and success, the Monetary Times on July 15, 1869, ran a letter of appreciation from all those concerned with the Canadian Bank of Commerce to William McMaster:

> "It (the Bank) gives the firmest assurance that the high anticipations formed of its success were well grounded. For the results achieved, the shareholders are largely indebted to Hon. William McMaster, the President, who we know has made the welfare of the Bank a subject of constant solicitude, and has not spared vigorous and persistent efforts, indoors and out, to extend the Bank's connections and prosperity."

By 1872, the Canadian Bank of Commerce had established a "large healthy business" and had built up a reserve fund of $1,000,000, all testaments to McMaster's administrative expertise. In addition, it had absorbed the initial costs of opening new branches; nineteen in Ontario, one in Montreal, and one in New York to facilitate "transactions in exchange". When the recession hit Canada in 1874, the growth of the Commerce slackened a bit but generally fared well when compared to other banking institutions. The Bank's integrity, during this rough period, was attributable to McMaster's conservative policy of aiming temporarily for "safety rather than large profits".[66] Contrarily, the Bank fared worse in the recession of 1882 because its management was growing old and they were becoming less vigilant in assessing accounts. As a result, in the mid-1880s the liquidation of several large estates, apparently overvalued, cut seriously into the assets of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. The period from 1884-1887 was possibly the Bank's most difficult era.[67] Nevertheless, the foundation of sound business principles which McMaster had incorporated in the Commerce, saw it through these tough times. These sound principles later allowed many of McMaster's sport projects to endure during difficult periods and to survive catastrophies which were the downfall of many other sport associations during the nineteenth century.

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[65] Ross, Canadian Bank of Commerce..., p. 62.

[66] This was another indication of McMaster's shrewd business sense and why many of his contemporaries felt he had an entrepreneurial 'Midas' touch.

[67] Ross, Canadian Bank of Commerce..., p. 95. The assets of the Bank fell from $26,044,518 in 1883 to $23,030,396 in 1884; to $22,109,206 in 1885 and to $19,574,094 in 1887, over six million dollars in four years.

In July, 1886, McMaster stepped down as President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce at its annual meeting, citing as reasons his poor health and the need for new blood and talented young men.[68] As stubborn a man as William McMaster was in business practices, he also recognized the need for future growth and was never averse to new ideas or novel business strategies, which included inserting new administrative blood into the directorship of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. McMaster remained an emeritus director of the Bank but hand picked his successor to the Presidency. Henry W. Darling became the President of the Commerce in 1886 and as McMaster pointed out, he was "a man of high character and financial ability, having a large and varied experience in commercial matters, who would render good service to the bank." It did not hurt Darling that he had known the McMaster family on a personal level for several years and that in 1885 he had amalgamated his dry goods business with A.R. McMaster and Brother to form the firm of McMaster, Darling and Company, thus completing a *hegemonic connection* so characteristic of the nineteenth century business and social enviroments.[69]

William McMaster's success in business and finance not only attracted numerous directorships in fledgling companies but also motivated him to organize and administrate several aspects of Toronto's sport community. Although there is no indication of whether McMaster was an athlete as a child, there is evidence to suggest that he saw the benefits accrued to young people from participation in athletic sports. Perhaps being a *moral reformer* in his own right, William McMaster, sought to establish and perpetuate sport clubs in Toronto which would serve as a vehicle to better health not only for club members but also for the general populace at large. McMaster's earliest involvement in sport in Toronto was in the years 1846-1848 when he was a member of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club.[70] McMaster presumably used the sociability of the club to establish early business connections, as many of the original *Family Compact* families were members of Caer-Howell. In knowing many of the early elite families of Toronto, McMaster most likely did much to further his cause for elite acceptance. By establishing *interlocking* social and commercial relationships with the elite, he was probably able to interest many in his business potential and in his flegling dry goods business. Although there is no permanent record, McMaster in all probability enjoyed the commercial patronage of the elite well into the nineteenth century. His specific sport involvement apparently waned for several years in consequence of his business efforts and interests which were rapidly expanding between the years 1850 and 1864. Although McMaster was a member of the directorship of the Toronto Curling Club in 1858, he really did not exercise his organizing energies in sport until 1861 when he help found and organize the Merchant's Rifle Corps in Toronto.[71] Prominent merchants such as George Percival Ridout, Rice Lewis, William Ince and army officer William Arthurs, assisted McMaster in establishing the Merchant's Rifle Corps. His interest in the rifle movement, largely a result of Fenianism in Toronto during the early 1860s and a wish to set an example for volunteerism among the citizens of the city, led McMaster to organizing positions not only in the Toronto Rifle Association in 1864,[72] along with friends Casimir S. Gzowski* and James Gooderham Worts*, but also in the Toronto Naval Brigade in 1863.[73]

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[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 97. William McMaster also was acquainted with Henry W. Darling through the Toronto Board of Trade (of which Darling was President from 1883 to 1886) and the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Darling later moved to the United States, where he was for many years Treasurer of the General Electric Company, in Schenectady, N.Y.

Apparently, McMaster had a penchant for activities on boats and in the water because as the mid-1860s approached his naval-military organizing capabilities were spilling over into sport. McMaster used his understanding of the importance of rowing dingys efficiently to the larger ships for military purposes as the catalyst to establishing an organization which would not only serve practical training needs for a naval brigade but would also add competition and interest to the sporting public. The organization was named the Toronto Rowing Club, formed in 1865.[74] Although many attempts at forming a perpetual rowing organization in the city had failed in the past, it appeared that the public, due to McMaster's organizing role, felt that the Toronto Rowing Club would be an instant success and a long-standing organization. The societal attitude was not unlike the one which businessmen held for the administrative prowess of McMaster. In a report of the initial meeting of the Toronto Rowing Club, the editor of the Globe on August 24, 1865 reported:

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[70] List of members, 1837-1851. Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, Ontario Public Archives.
[71] The Globe, August 14, 1861.
[72] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1864. McMaster was Vice-President of the Toronto Rifle Association in this year. His close friend and business associate, Casimir S. Gzowski* was the President.
[73] *Ibid.*, January 26, 1863. It was interesting to notice how the press treated references of persons associated with the militia during this period. For instance, they referred to Captain William McMaster and Lieutenant-Colonel Casimir S. Gzowski*.

> Last evening a large number of gentlemen met in the hall of the Naval Brigade, for the purpose of organizing a Rowing Club. The want of an institution of this sort had long been felt in this city. Our fine harbour offers great facilities for rowing, and we are glad to see that these are to be taken advantage of. The examples of other adjacent places has often suggested the formation of a club such as this but for reasons unknown, similar attempts have always hitherto fallen through. The names of the gentlemen who have taken the matter in hand, will be a sufficient guarantee of the success of the perfect understanding. About 60 members are already enrolled."

McMaster won the original Club Presidency by acclamation from the membership but quickly moved to put himself where he felt he could be of most use, within the committee of management looking after financial matters. He was well aware of the necessity to establish firm financial practices and club rules in order to have an organization, such as the Toronto Rowing Club, succeed in its efforts to further its founding principles. Less than two weeks after his acclamation, McMaster handed over his control of the President's seat to a very competent friend, businessman, lawyer and politician, Angus Morrison, M.P.P..[75] Angus Morrison had been a long-time friend of McMaster. They had been associated with the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club back in the 1840s, the Toronto Curling Club in the 1850s, plus the Toronto and Georgia Canal Company, the European Assurance Company, the Toronto Union Passenger Station and Dock Company, the National Club, the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club in the 1870s, the Industrial Exhibition Association, and of course in federal politics. Angus Morrison, Q.C. (1824-1882), was a native of Edinburgh but came to Canada with his parents at age eight.[76] Morrison was educated in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Upper Canada College and the University of Toronto (Osgoode Hall). He studied law and was called to the bar in 1846. In 1854, he was elected to the House of Commons and sat as a representative for various constituencies in the House for twenty years. From 1876 to 1878, he served as Mayor of the City of Toronto and he was made a Queen's Counsel in 1867. Morrison himself was a former champion rower having won the championship belt of Toronto Harbour in the early 1840s. After Morrison's ascendence to the Presidency of the Toronto Rowing Club, McMaster took his seat on the management committee and served the Club well until failing health forced him to retire from active directorship in 1878. Under McMaster's guiding hand, sponsored regattas had become annual events in Toronto[77] and the Club had the benefit of securing permanent quarters on the Esplanade in a building owned by McMaster's friends, Casimir S. Gzowski* and David L. MacPherson.[78] McMaster himself subscribed close to $10,000 for the construction of the Toronto Rowing Club's clubhouse and made sure that the facility was a year-round resort with the most contemporary sporting features. For example, the club boasted a billiard table, a gymnasium with foils, clubs and boxing gloves, plus club rooms which were "heated and furnished so as to make it a pleasant resort in the winter evenings".[79] All the features of the new Toronto Rowing Club's headquarters were aspects of club life long customary in England. Elaborate club quarters were not an unusual fact in both sport and gentlemen's clubs of the period. It would appear that McMaster's interest in water sports continued during the 1870s as he was Captain of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1872 and then Commodore in the following year.[80] He continued to be a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club until 1878 when poor health and business interests pre-empted his fellowship.

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[74] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1865. Upon formation of the Toronto Rowing Club, McMaster was elected President with Thomas Birchall, a prominent Toronto merchant, as Vice-President and William M. Davidson as Secretary Treasurer. McMaster's first committee of management included John Maughan, C.O. Helliwell, Remy Elmsley, William Weston and C.S. Givins.

[75] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1865.

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[76] See Victor Russell, Mills Press, 1982), p. 23.

[77] See The Globe, October 11, 1865; August 23, 1866; August 12, 1867; August 8, 1868; August 9 and 10, 1869; August 8, 1870; August 7, 1871; September 6 and 9, 1873; September 16, 1876; August 14, 1877; and August 10, 1878.

[78] *Ibid.*, September 29, 1871.

In light of William McMaster's concern for the overall health and physical well-being of Toronto youth, efforts were made to supply a facility where young men could go and exercise. Following on the example set by Egerton Ryerson in establishing daily gymnastic exercise in the common schools of Toronto, McMaster drew together many of his colleagues to establish the Toronto Gymnasium Association in 1871.[81] The editor of The Globe, on April 26, 1871 stated:

> "A meeting of the Toronto Gymnasium Association was held last night in the Mechanic's Institute, the President, William McMaster in the chair, and about fifty other gentlemen were present. After the meeting had been opened, the chairman stated that the association had obtained a charter and that half of the stock had been subscribed. It is expected that the balance of the stock will be taken up in the course of a couple of weeks, and that the building will then commence.

Once again, McMaster had contributed almost one third of the subscription total of $10,000 and supplied the necessary footings (via way of a charter) upon which the enterprise could be successful. By the mere fact that he associated his name with such a venture, led others to quickly enlist in the subscription campaign. They knew that either a profit or a secure investment was an expected outcome and that William McMaster only put his energies into something which he felt would be of a social and economic benefit to the community at large. Although McMaster felt more comfortable in an organizing capacity, he also saw the need to

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[79] *Ibid*.

[80] Minutes of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, dated August 12, 1872. The Minutes are contained within the Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.

[81] The Globe, April 26, 1871.

recreate and regenerate himself. In the twilight years of his life, he actively participated in the Toronto Golf Club[82] ("The Banker's Club"), the Toronto Granite Club[83] and the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club.[84] Within these later clubs, McMaster, just as he had for the Caer-Howell and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, *mixed* with the social elite of Toronto and perpetuated his *interlocking* ties to other important segments of the community.

The triumphs McMaster engineered in business, sport and finance were augmented by the work he undertook on behalf of the educational and religious needs of the Baptist constituency in Canada West. The greatest achievement of the Baptists was the completion of the Jarvis Street Church in 1875.[85] The greatest backer of the church was William McMaster. In 1874, he gave $60,000 toward the total cost of $100,000 for the Jarvis Street Baptist Church's construction and furnishing.[86] Moreover, it was through his generosity that the foundation of McMaster University was made possible. Unquestionably, McMaster placed a high premium on education. The Senator (first appointed to Canada's Senate in 1867 and remained a member for the rest of his life) generously aided not only the Toronto Mechanics' Institute[87] but he also served on the Senate of the University of Toronto from 1873 onwards and represented Baptist interests on the Council for Public Instruction from 1865 to 1875; roles which earned him commendations from Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education.[88] But it was perhaps the professional and ministerial training of Baptists that McMaster was most actively involved in. When the pioneering Canada Baptist College in Montreal had been forced to close in 1849, there is evidence that McMaster had agreed to fund a successor, the proposed Maclay College. When this project failed, he assisted the Rev. Robert Alexander Fyfe of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church in establishing a more substantial successor in Woodstock, Ontario.[89] The Canadian Literary Institute (renamed Woodstock College in 1883), which opened in 1860, was designed as a co-educational facility offering instruction in arts and theology. When an opportunity presented itself in the late 1870s to move the institute's theological department to Toronto, McMaster seized it eagerly. The move officially took place in 1879 and within a year, McMaster had not only provided a site for it on Bloor Street but had donated $90,000 to build the Institute's Toronto headquarters.[90] McMaster paid the University of Toronto $100,000 for the site and promised to give the Institute $14,000 annually to pay faculty salaries and other incurred expenses.[91] Although he was apparently reluctant to have his name associated with the building, his wishes were overruled in the naming of McMaster Hall. He insisted, however, on the school being known as a college rather than by the American term seminary. His British background and the hope that some arts subjects might ultimately augment the theological curriculum may account for his insistence in this matter and explain why the school took the name Toronto Baptist College before it opened its doors to the students in the fall of 1881.[92] In 1887, a Bill was presented to the Ontario legislature to form a union of Woodstock College and Toronto Baptist College under the name of McMaster University. The senator even appeared before the legislature on its behalf. But before the Bill passed on April 23rd, McMaster had made out a will on April 7th, leaving the bulk of his estate, approximately $900,000, as an endowment for the new university.[93] Barely five months later, on September 22, 1887, at a meeting about the university, McMaster took ill and subsequently died later the same day.[94] After his death, his wife Susan Moulton McMaster, donated the family's Bloor Street Mansion to the university which later became known as Moulton College, a school for girls.

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[82] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club. Toronto. McMaster restricted himself to casual play and did not actively participate in the management of the Club.

[83] List of members, 1877-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Granite Club. Archives of the Toronto Granite Club, Toronto.

[84] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, Toronto.

[85] Masters, The Rise of Toronto...., p. 132.

[86] Masters, "Canadian Bankers of the Last Century:...", p. 395. Also refer to the Toronto Star, January 6, 1979.

[87] Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, dated May 4, 1854, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. McMaster donated several classic literary works to the library of the Institute.

[88] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 576.

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[89] *Toronto Star*, August 24, 1974. Also see, E.P. Wells, "McMaster University", *Canadian Magazine*. Vol. 3, No. 4 (August 1894), pp. 309-316.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] See Robert Hamilton, "The Founding of McMaster University", B.D. thesis, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 1938, p. 86.
[92] The building still stands today and remains named McMaster Hall. It is home to the Royal Conservatory of Music.
[93] Hamilton, "The Founding of McMaster University", p. 19.
[94] *Toronto Daily Mail*, September 23, and 26, 1887.

McMaster University moved from Toronto to Hamilton in 1930. Its subsequent growth into an important Canadian educational institution gives a special significance to the integrity, good will and philanthropy of a man who had a profound effect not only on the commercial and financial aspects of Toronto and Canada but also on the social, religious, educational and sporting life of many thousands of persons. Throughout his life, McMaster exhibited an ability to work hard and to be tenacious in the projects which he undertook. As committed as he was to his business and financial affairs, he never lost sight of the common man and the plight of the lower classes to maintain a subsistent standard of living. His efforts to organize building societies, assurance companies and public burial grounds, stood as a example of his public spiritedness. McMaster was indeed a '*self-made*' man but one who never forgot his beginnings. His practicality and his conservatism were hallmarks of his humble beginnings and they served to be the most important ingredients in his formula for success. While other wealthier men lost considerable fortunes in the mid-1800s due to less conservative thinking, William McMaster was amassing a wealth and a respected reputation which would make him known as one of the true patriarchs of Toronto. His contribution to the development of sport in Toronto was significant. The City benefitted from his public spiritedness, his wealth, and from his organizing talents in the formation of the Merchant's Rifle Corps, the Toronto Rowing Club and the Toronto Gymnasium Association. While he was definitely not a 'blue-blooded' aristocrat, William McMaster was able to garner the friendship and support from a large portion of the elite community. The 'inner circle' easily recognized the abilities of the linen draper's son and quickly moved to accept him socially so as to further their own efforts to protect their financial and commercial superiority. William McMaster, to say the least, was a sterling example of how the elite of this era recruited individuals who exhibited extraordinary abilities and who could service the social, financial, and commercial needs of a particular segment of society. As much as McMaster was a man onto himself, he was still an integral recruit of the elite who attempted to further their cause in hopes of securing assistance for his own. His membership in many elite clubs and organizations was testament to this fact.

Chapter VIII

THE NOBLEMAN OF SPORT: CASIMIR STANISLAUS GZOWSKI

During the nineteenth century, sport in Toronto was not always characterized by a homogeneous, ethnocentric culture. Sport, though largerly dominated by the English, Anglican segment of the population, also boasted anomalies in its human mosaic. William McMaster*, a strong developer of sport in Toronto during this era, was a native Irishman. W.P. Howland, Ontario's Lieutenant-Governor from 1868 to 1873, and a prime mover, along with McMaster, in many sport and business ventures, was an American. And Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, the focus of this sketch, was a Pole. The purpose of presenting the biographical sketch of Gzowski is to point out that while sport was largely controlled by the charter elite of Toronto, others, including Gzowski, were able to infiltrate the ranks of "God's Chosen People"[1] and have a significant impact on the direction and development of sport. By no means was Gzowski the only exception to the rule but he did represent an exceptional example, therefore his life's sketch follows. In essence, Gzowski stands as an example to the thesis of elite recruitment in an otherwise Anglo-British society.

Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski was born in St. Petersburg, Russia on March 5, 1813.[2] He was the son of Stanislaw Gzowski, Count of Hrabia, nobleman and an officer in the Imperial Russian Guard and Helena Pacewicz, a Polish noblewoman.[3] It was a "family which, although not a member of the high Polish aristocracy, had played an important role in the country during the past few centuries".[4] Young Gzowski spent his childhood like most other Polish children of his station in life - this being, in preparation for a military career.

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[1] This phrase was borrowed from S.F. Wise and R. Burn's description of Toronto's charter group, namely the Family Compact. See S.F. Wise's parody, "God's Peculiar People" in W.L. Morton's (ed.), The Sheild of Achilles. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 31-61 and R. Burns, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1973), pp. 213-228.

[2] G.M. Adam, Prominent Men of Canada. (Toronto: Canadian Biographical Publications, 1892), pp. 438-440. The person of this sketch will hereafter be referred to as Casimir S. Gzowski for brevity and uniformity reasons.

[3] J.C. Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery, Vol. 3 (Toronto: John B. Maguire, 1881), p. 92

[4] Ludwig Kos-Rabecewicz-Zubkowski and William E. Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski. (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1958), p. 1.

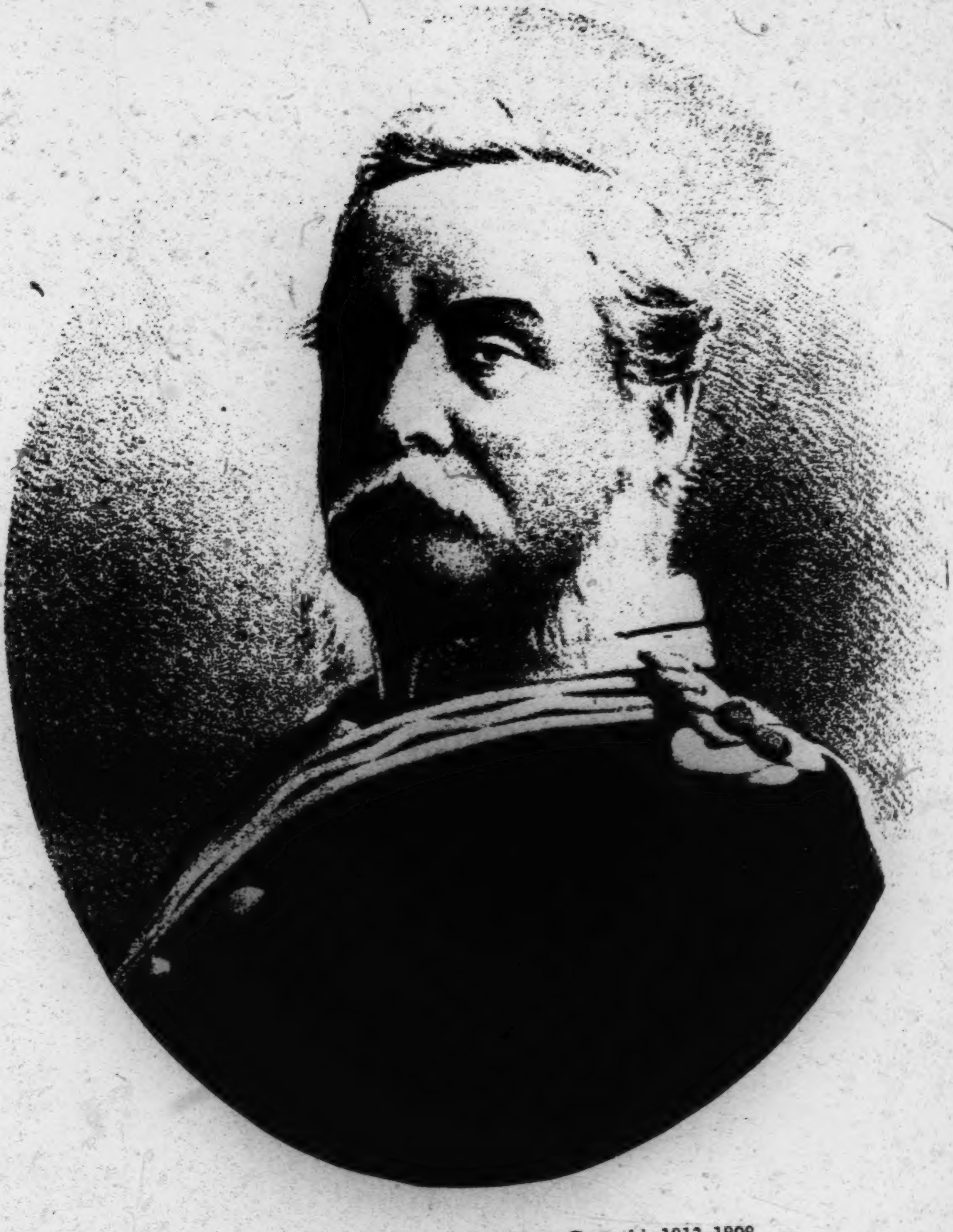

Figure IX: Picture of Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, 1813-1898.

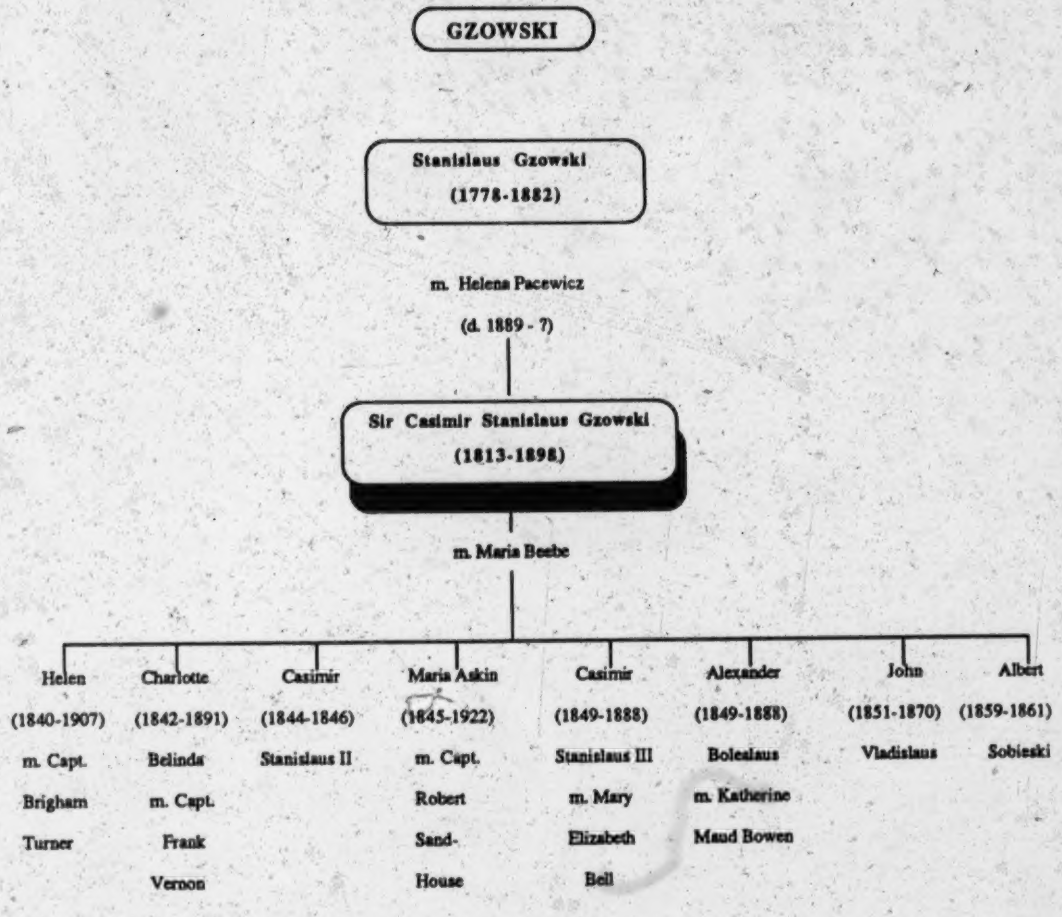
GZOWSKI
Stanislaus Gzowski
(1778-1882)
m. Helena Pacewicz
(d. 1889 - ?)
Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski
(1813-1898)
m. Maria Beebe
Helen
(1840-1907)
m. Capt.
Brigham
Turner
Charlotte
(1842-1891)
Belinda
m. Capt.
Frank
Vernon
Casimir
(1844-1846)
Stanislaus II
Maria Askin
(1845-1922)
m. Capt.
Robert
Sand-
House
Casimir
(1849-1888)
Stanislaus III
m. Mary
Elizabeth
Bell
Alexander
(1849-1888)
Boleslaus
m. Katherine
Maud Bowen
John
(1851-1870)
Vladislaus
Albert
(1859-1861)
Sobieski

FIGURE X: Genealogical Sketch of the Gzowski Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

At nine years of age, Casimir S. Gzowski entered the Kremieniec Military Engineering School in the Volhynia, Russia.[5] He remained in the Kremieniec School from 1822 to 1830, where, upon his seventeenth birthday and his graduation from school, he joined the loyal forces of Poland in a upheaval against the autocratic rule of the Russian Czar, Nicholas the First, who had "absolutely no sympathy for the Poles".[6] Nicholas the First had taken over the throne of Russia from his brother, Alexander, in 1825, and had, as a result of his elder brother Constantine's entrustment of the Polish monarchy to him in 1822, gave evidence of his aggressive and despotic rule of Polish Sovereignty. It was his manner of ruling which landed Nicholas the First in the Crimean War nearly thirty years later.[7] Casimir S. Gzowski, upon graduating from the Lyceum at Kremieniec, showed that he was already a young man of great promise. He had received high marks in surveying, mathematics, science and the languages and as Zubkowski and Greening related,

> ... he had developed into a very handsome and fine looking young man, tall with broad shoulders and an aristocratic and military bearing. Already he was showing signs of that strong will, that fixity of purpose and aim, combined with a winning, sympathetic, and attractive personality, which were to stand him in such good stead during the many trials and adventures of the next few years.[8]

The next few years were indeed trying times for young Gzowski. He had joined the forces of the insurrection serving as an officer in the corps under General Devernicki, a famous Polish soldier who had won fame fighting Napoleon. In early 1831, Gzowski was wounded in the battle of Grochow at the gates of Warsaw.[9] He and his compatriots had been inspired in their efforts against Russian rule by the success of the concurrent revolution in France and the forced abdication of Charles the X.[10] The Polish liberation of Warsaw and the temporary installment of Prince Czartoryski in residence there was short-lived. Both Prussia and Austria lent Russia assistance in quelling the loyalists and towards the close of 1831, Warsaw was recaptured by the allied forces under Count Paskevitch, who was later to be named as Viceroy of Poland.[11] Gzowski had fought the final battle of the insurrection under General Dwernicki at Boremel only to surrender and be sent to Austria to be incarcerated for the next two years. At the age of nineteen, Gzowski had been cut off from any type of communication from his family and friends. Due to the uneasiness of Austrian authorities with the mounting interest in another coup attempt by Polish patriots, they decided to do one of two things with Gzowski and the other Polish officers, either send them to Russia and Siberian camps or allow them to emigrate to the United States.[12] To avoid certain death in Russia the Polish captives elected to go to the United States not knowing anything about the country nor carrying any assets whatsoever which could assist them in their settlement. In November 1833, Gzowski and his military associates were loaded onto two ships, the "Hebe" and "Guerriera", and set sail for New York where they arrived, much worse for wear, in March 1834.[13] Penniless, starving and not able to understand a word of English, Gzowski was in dire need of a friend. He found one in the prominent lawyer, S. Parker Hall, who on the advice of a Polish New York friend, took young Gzowski under his wing and moved him to Pittsfield, Massachussets, where he started articling for Hall's firm.[14] Gzowski's potential legal success was evident to Hall from the very start as "... his aristocratic bearing, his charm and his courtly manners..." made a great impression on the people with whom he came in contact.[15]

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[5] Viktor Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski. (Toronto & Drukiem: Polish Alliance Press, 1957), p. 28. The Lyceum at Kremieniec, as it was alternatively called, was a reputedly famous Polish institution of learning where many aristocratic children got their education.

[6] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 92.

[7] A segment of the social history of Russia was included in the biography written by Gzowski's son, Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski II (1876-1940), on "Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski" (1813-1898) which is contained with the Gzowski Papers at the Ontario Public Archives.

[8] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., pp. 9-10.

[9] C.S. Gzowski II, "Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski", The Engineering Journal, (October 1929), p. 538.

The next few years of Casimir S. Gzowski's life were spent studying law and paying for his schooling by giving language lessons in Italian, French, German, Polish and Latin to local residents.[16] Gzowski's indomitable spirit showed very early in his life, as was related in the following statement by one of his biographers: "It is striking proof of his intellectual brilliance, his persistence and refusal to admit defeat, that he was able to gain both a first rate command of the English language and a grasp of the principles of Anglo-American law within a comparatively short time".[17] Gzowski passed his legal exams in February of 1837 and was admitted to the Massachussett's bar in January of 1838.[18] His rapid enculturation into North American society was also evidenced in the fact that he became an American citizen in November of 1837,[19] less than three years after entering the United States. After having been licensed in the legal profession and having had some time in the practice of law, Gzowski realized that his true love of occupation was engineering, a profession for which he had originally been trained in his native Poland. As a consequence, with the development of the west in the coal regions of Pennsylvania attracting a good deal of interest at the time, Casimir foresaw the need for bridges, canals and railways, projects that would test his engineering capabilities. In 1837 he took a chance and moved via Pittsburgh, to Beaver, Pennsylvania, where he initially set up a law office but where he soon found employment in the engineering field.[20] In this era of construction there were many opportunities for a young engineer with energy and ability and these qualities in Gzowski were quickly recognized by a prominent American engineer, William Milner Roberts (1810-1881).[21] Gzowski assisted Roberts in several different projects all of which greatly enhanced his wide variety of engineering abilities. He helped in the construction of the Beaver and Erie Canals plus, he assisted in the building of the Erie Railroad which one authority said was, "...one of the most important rail projects of the time" .[22] While living in Pennsylvania in 1839, Gzowski met and married his wife, Charlotte Neiler Beebe.[23] She was several years younger than Gzowski and was the daughter of a distinguished doctor of Geneva, New York.[24]

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[10] H.J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 416.
[11] Turek, Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski., p. 30.
[12] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 14.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[14] U.J. Kaye, "Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski; A Great Canadian (1813-1898)", Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1955), p. 459.
[15] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 17.

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[16] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women...., p. 417.

[17] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 20.

[18] Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski., p. 41. Also see Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography. Vol. 7 (New York: Scribner's, 1900), p. 123 and Oxford Encyclopedia of Canadian History. (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 254.

[19] L.R. Thompson, "Sir Casimir Gzowski (1813-1898)", Polish Engineering Review, Vol. 1 (January 1944), pp. 6-7.

[20] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 94.

[21] A.L. Tunnel (ed.), A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Vol. 2 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1938), p. 129. Also, see The Encyclopedia Americana. Vol. 13, (New York: Metheun, 1945), p. 590.

In 1841 Casimir S. Gzowski was sent by Roberts to St. Catherines to consult on a proposal to widen the Welland Canal. Although Gzowski had corresponded with William Hamilton Merritt I, the managing director of the Canal, about his visit, Merritt was not to be found on the day of his arrival. Gzowski passed it off as an oversight and continued on to Kingston, the seat of Parliament, to talk to someone about the canal project. While in Kingston, Gzowski received a notice from Sir Charles Bagot, the Governor-General of Canada, that he wished to talk to him .[25] Evidently Bagot's father had known the Gzowski family when he was stationed in St. Petersburg on foreign service in 1821. Gzowski impressed the Governor-General "with his personality, ability and background" and it was resolved by Bagot that he would find employment in Canada for a man of such outstanding abilities .[26] Zubkowski and Greening related the situation in the following manner:

> He (Bagot) indicated to Gzowski that the prospects in the Canadian colonies were very good for a man of his training and capabilities and promised to obtain for him some form of employment which would be well paid and which would be worthy of his talents. As Governor (General), it did not take Bagot long to find a responsible position in the engineering field for Gzowski.[27]

Later in 1841, Casimir S. Gzowski moved to Canada residing in London, Canada West, where he had been appointed to the position of Superintendent of Roads and Waterways for the southwest region.[28] It is of interest to note that Gzowski conveniently changed his faith of worship from Catholic to Anglican shortly after his arrival in London. In "surveying" the social atmosphere of London and Canada West, Gzowski resolved that it was through the Anglican church that he could have the easiest access to the upper classes and to future job opportunities. In fact, upon beginning his job he had the good fortune of working with the "Father of Engineering in Canada", H. Hamilton Killaly.[29] Killaly was the Chairman of the Board of Public Works and was the man who had masterminded the construction of the Welland Canal for the *Family Compact* syndicate in the 1830's.[30] It was Killaly's numerous *social contacts and political connections* which must have been of great help to Gzowski in thoroughy establishing himself in his new Canadian milieu. It was Gzowski and Killaly who were jointly responsible for the planning and construction of many sections of the highway system of Upper Canada during the 1840s plus, they built many of the bridges, lighthouses and harbours which still exist along the shores of Lakes Erie and Huron.[31] Gzowski rose quickly in his responsibilities with the Public Works Board. In 1843, less than two years after arriving to Canada, he had risen to the position of Chief Superintendent of Roads for the Province at a salary of L500.[32] This remunerative sum put Gzowski in the upper ranks of engineering officials of the Government of the Province of Canada, a fact for which he was thankful to Sir Charles Bagot. In the next four years Gzowski busied himself in several important projects related to the Province's roads, one of which was the inaugural attempt at macadamizing the roads of Upper Canada, [33] especially Yonge Street, from north of Toronto to Lake Simcoe. Gzowski was also directly responsible for constructing the original highway between Collingwood and Toronto.[34] This roadway, plus the Yonge Street connection to Toronto, were the most important roads of Canada West during this period and each exploited the wares and products of the hinterland and allowed Toronto to compete with Montreal as a major exporter of flour and timber.

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[22] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 23.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 23-24. Also see W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1978), p. 322 and Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 417. Both cited his wife's name as Maria Beebe.

[24] Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski., p. 43. Also see The Encyclopedia of Canada. Vol. 3 (Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948), p. 93.

[25] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 27.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 94 and C.S. Gzowski II, "Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski", p. 435-40. Gzowski largely contributed to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Canada West in 1845-46.

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[29] C.S. Gzowski, "Address by Colonel Gzowski ... President of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers, for the year 1889". Gzowski Papers, Ontario Provincial Archives.
[30] Hugh Aitken, "The *Family Compact* and the Welland Canal Company", Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, Vol. 18 (1952), pp. 63-76. Also see Robert L. Fraser, "Like Eden in Her Summer Dress: Gentry, Economy and Society: Upper Canada, 1812-1840". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979, p. 38. Killaly also politically represented the London district in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada from 1841-44.
[31] C.S. Gzowski, "Address by Colonel Gzowski...", n.p.
[32] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 33.
[33] C.S. Gzowski, "Address by Colonel Gzowski...", n.p. The process of macadamizing roads was named after Scottish engineer James Macadam. Essentially, the process involved covering the roadways with gravel and allowing the passing traffic to compound the stone into a hard, durable surface.

As a result of his numerous projects as Chief Superintendent and the realization that he could be making a lot more money in a consulting capacity, Gzowski resigned his job as Chief Superintendent in 1847.[35] Casimir S. Gzowski formed his own engineering consulting firm, Gzowski and Co:, later on in 1847, and as a first matter of priority hired his initial staff. His first engineering and surveying partner was a young, burly Scot, named, Sandford Fleming.[36] It was Fleming who later went on to survey the route for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway,[37] the first intercontinental rail line across Canada. The first contract which Gzowski and Fleming secured was one to report on the condition and the feasibility of the mines of the Upper Canada Mining Company on Lake Huron.[38] This done, Gzowski's mind turned to the challenge of railway construction. He had now also taken on another partner in his firm, David L. MacPherson (1818-1896).[39] MacPherson, a administrator by profession, would prove valuable to Gzowski's company as he would be the prime architect and petitioner of legislation for project concessions and railway contracts. Born in Castle Leathers, Scotland on September 12, 1818, MacPherson was educated at the Royal Academy of Inverness, and came to Canada 1835.[40] He initially worked as a forwarding agent for his elder brother's firm in Montreal but soon after left to search for an opportunity in Toronto. Hired on by Gzowski, both men worked very hard to complete several important projects in the 1850s and 1860s and to initiate several business ventures together. MacPherson was elected as a Conversative to the Legislative Council in 1864 and in 1867 was called to the Senate of Canada, along with his friend and business associate, William McMaster*.[41] In 1880 he was speaker of the Senate and a minister without portfolio in the MacDonald government. Between 1883 and 1885 he was the Minister of the Interior, being the moving force behind many of the settlement plans in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the North-West Territories (which included Alberta at the time).[42] His failing health and charges of incapacity arising from the North-West Rebellion in 1885 brought about his retirement from Cabinet and his removal from public affairs for the remainder of his life. He died on August 16, 1896 on an Atlantic crossing and was reported to have left an estate of approximately $640,613.[43] While developing their twenty year working relationship and friendship, Gzowski and MacPherson participated in several sport, social and fraternal organizations. Gzowski interested MacPherson in the Toronto Turf Club,[44] where Casimir originally befriended William Botsford Jarvis*; the Toronto Cricket Club,[45] where both Gzowski an MacPherson made acquaintenances with the like of Hon. Edward Blake, Hon. William Cayley (long-time President of the Cricket Club), Hon. Frederick W. Cumberland (long-time managing director of the Northern Railway and who along with Gzowski, drew up the architectural plans for the Toronto Music Hall in 1875)[46] and the Hon. John Beverly Robinson II*, Mayor of Toronto in 1856 and Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario from 1880 to 1887; the Toronto Hunt Club,[47] where both gentlemen befriended fellow horse ethusiasts and future business associates, George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts*; the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club,[48], where they perpetuated their friendship with William McMaster*; plus, both men had joint memberships in the Toronto Club[49] and the National Club,[50] homes to many elite of Toronto and surrounding region.

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*, Also see W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 322 and C.S. Gzowski II, "Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski", p. 542.

[36] See L. Burpee, Sandford Fleming, Empire Builder. (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), *passim*.

[37] Pierre Berton, The Last Spike: The Great Railway, 1881-1885. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 167.

[38] C.S. Gzowski, Report of C.S. Gzowski..., appointed to examine and report upon the mines of the Upper Canada Mining Company on Lake Huron dated 1848. Contained in the Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives.

[39] See Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 547.

[40] *Ibid.*

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[41] Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski., p. 57.

[42] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 23.

[43] Edmonton Bulletin, October 29, 1896. As a result of being the Interior Minister from 1893 to 1895, the news of MacPherson's death was reported in many western newspapers including the Edmonton Bulletin.

[44] List of members, 1835-1865, Minutes of the Toronto Turf Club, Denison Papers, Ontario Public Archives and Records of the Ontario Jockey Club. Woodbine.

[45] List of members, 1836-1881, Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.

[46] The Globe, April 27, 1875. Casimir S. Gzowski was also Chairman of the Music Hall and prominent pianomaker, Samuel Nordheimer, was Vice-Chairman.

[47] List of members, 1865-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Hunt Club. Partially in the possession of Clifford Sifton III, Caledon, Ontario, and partly in the possession of the Toronto Hunt Club, Newcastle, Ontario.

Gzowski made his first inroads into the public affairs of Toronto when he was one of the founding directors of the Upper Canada Building Society in 1846.[51] It was within the Building Society's directorship that he met George W. Allan*, son of William Allan, a member of the original *Family Compact* and former President of the Bank of Upper Canada.[52] Gzowski and George W. Allan* were life-long friends and mutually belonged to many common organizations and businesses. For instance, when the Rideau Club of Ottawa was incorporated in 1865, both Gzowski and Allan were listed as directors.[53] Similarly both belonged to the Toronto Horticultural Society, an organization of which Gzowski was President in 1860,[54] and Allan was President in 1855, 1859, 1863-66, 1869-71.[55] The latter gentlemen also acted as Secretary-Treasurer in 1853.[56] Although Gzowski was not an incorporator of the Toronto Horticultural Society in 1857,[57] along with Allan, they both were incorporators of the Montreal Club in 1866.[58] This point substantiates the fact that *multi-club*

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[48] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, Toronto.

[49] List of members, 1845-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club, Archives of the Toronto Club, Toronto.

[50] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the National Club, Archives of the National Club, Toronto.

[51] British Colonist, May 23, 1848.

[52] See Burns, "God's Chosen People...", *passim*, for a description of William Allan's personal character. Also see R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, pp. 257-259.

[53] Incorporation Act for the Rideau Club of the City of Ottawa, 29 Vic. Cap. 98, September 18, 1865, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[54] The Globe, June 8, 1860.

[55] See *ibid.*, January 29, 1855; January 21, 1859; January 29, 1963; February 5, 1864; February 16, 1865; February 17, 1869; February 9, 1870; and February 10, 1871.

[56] British Colonist, March 29, 1853.

[57] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Horticultural Society, 20 Vic. Cap. 181, June 10, 1857, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[58] Incorporation Act of the Montreal Club, 29 and 30 Vic. Cap. 145, August 15, 1866. *ibid.* Gzowski was even listed professionally as a civil engineer in the roll of the club.

membership among the elite has not been a twentieth century phenomenon. Many businessmen, like Gzowski and Allan, used the club network as a means of meeting, interacting and socializing with other leading figures in the commercial, political and philanthropic world in the 1800's.

The phenomenon of *multi-club membership* was not thought of as being a unique feature in the life of the elite during this era. In most cases it was a natural outgrowth of their business relationships. An example of this was when George W. Allan* and Casimir S. Gzowski were both on the directorship of the Canada Landed Credit Company in 1869.[59] In fact, William McMaster*, a Rideau, a Toronto and a National Club member, also sat on the same board of directors. And, when the Rossin House Hotel Company was established in Toronto in 1866, it was not surprising to find Gzowski, McMaster and Gzowski's partner, David L. MacPherson, all on the directoral board.[60] Neither was it surprising to find David L. MacPherson on the directorship of one of George W. Allan's* enterprises, the Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Company.[61] And, further, it was not surprising to observe Gzowski and McMaster's *interlocking* commercial, sport and philanthropic connections, through their trusteeship of the Toronto General Hospital[62]; their joint directorship of the Toronto Rifle Association[63]; or their mutual subscription contributions to the Canadian Bank of Commerce.[64] It would be negligent not point out David L. MacPherson's directorship of the Commerce in 1869 and his subsequent election as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Commerce in 1869, upon McMaster's* fervent recommendation.[65] Thus, not only was Gzowski closely tied to the business and social organizations of George W. Allan* and William McMaster*, but so was his business partner, David L. MacPherson. In essence, *what the club represented to these men was an institution, outside of the daily business world, where they could socialize and discuss mutually interesting topics of concern, plus, a place where further mutual business and social relationships could be initiated through informal introductions and conversations*. By no means was the club a democratic thermometer of society as a whole. It always was, and it continued to be, during the nineteenth century, a bastion of the business and social elite of Canada.

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[59] The Globe, February 12, 1869. Gzowski was not only a director of the Company in this year but he was also Vice-President.
[60] Incorporation Act of the Rossin House Hotel Company of Toronto, 29 and 30 Vic. Cap. 121, August 15, 1866, Statutes of Province of Canada.
[61] The Globe, February 2, 1871.
[62] *Ibid.*, January 4 and 5, 1866.
[63] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1864. Lt. Col. Casimir S. Gzowski was President of the Toronto Rifle Association in 1864 and William McMaster was Vice-President.
[64] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1867. Gzowski contributed $10,000 to McMaster's* banking venture. This was an indication of the confidence and trust each man had for the other.
[65] See Victor Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 31.

Casimir S. Gzowski continued his interest in the commercial development of Canada through his engineering abilities. Because of his "versatility as an engineer" and a man "familiar with all branches"[66] of his profession, he was asked by the City of Montreal to consult on the improvement and expansion of their harbour facilities in the period 1850 to 1853.[67] Concurrently, he was also asked to advise on the widening and deepening of the ship channels between Quebec City and Montreal.[68] It was during this time in Montreal that Gzowski met Alexander Tilloch Galt. Galt, the son of John Galt, a famous novelist, was the Commissioner of the British American Land Company which settled the eastern townships, from 1844 to 1856.[69] In addition to being one of the signatories of the Annexation Manifesto in 1849,[70] Galt also represented the town of Sherbrooke in the Parliament of the United Provinces from 1853 to 1867.[71] After the fall of the Brown-Dorian Administration and the Act of Confederation in 1867, the Governor-General of Canada, Sir Edmund Bond Head, asked Alexander T. Galt to form a new government, a request which he refused. Instead, he accepted the appointment as Finance Minister under Sir John A. MacDonald's first administration of the Dominion.[72] In 1880, Galt was appointed High Commissioner for

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[66] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., pp. 44 and 46.

[67] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 417.

[68] Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski., pp. 50-51.

[69] J. Douglas Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal. (Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1892), p. 213.

[70] George M. Rose, A Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: Rose Publishing, 1886), pp. 75-76.

[71] Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer..., p. 148.

[72] William Notman, Portraits of British Americans with Biographical Sketches, Vol. 2 (Montreal: William Notman Publishing, 1865), p. 226.

Canada at the Court of St. James in London, a position he held until retiring in 1883.[73] He was also a member of the Montreal Curling and Golf Clubs during the 1850-60s and 1870-80s, respectively.[74] Gzowski and Galt found each other of ***mutual benefit***. One biographer said this of their friendship:

> Through his connections with Galt, who was among the leading residents of the community (Montreal), Gzowski must have soon made many friends there with his usual facility and have come into contact with the influential people of that region of Lower Canada.[75]

With the help of Galt and several other influential friends, including John Young, Mayor of Montreal and Harbour Commissioner (1851-1876),[76] Gzowski was able to secure the position of Chief Consulting Engineer of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway linking Portland, Maine with Montreal in 1851.[77] Though not completed until July 17, 1853, the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway represented the first attempt to link the United State's commercial markets with those of Canada.[78] A derivative of this project was the fact that Gzowski was credited with having recommended to the Canadian Government that all railways built in the country should be of the standard gauge of five feet, six inches and not the four feet, eight inches which was so prevalent in the United States. Upon his recommendation, the Government of Canada adopted a policy whereby all future rail lines would be built of standard gauge.[79]

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[73] Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer..., p. 148.

[74] See R. Wayne Simpson's, "The Influences of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canada's, 1807-1857", M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980, pp. 163-164, for a description of Alexander T. Galt's role in these respective sport clubs.

[75] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 53.

[76] See Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer..., p. 112. Hon. John Young was also the President of the Canadian Branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club in the years 1866, 1867, 1868 and 1869. See The Canadian Branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club, Centennial Report 1852-1952. (Montreal: n.p., 1952), p. 8. As well, see Simpson, "Influences of the Montreal Curling Club...", pp. 170-171, for John Young's participation history in the "Auld Callants" curling team and the Montreal Curling Club.

[77] Stephen Leacock, Montreal; Seaport and City. (New York: Doubleday-Doran, 1942), p. 179.

[78] Michael Bliss, Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), p. 181.

[79] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 55.

After finishing the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad project, as far as the engineering aspects were concerned, Gzowski teamed up with MacPherson, Galt, and banker and friend, Luther H. Holton, to form a consortium which would petition for the right to build the Sarnia-Toronto section of the Grand Trunk Railroad.[10] By building such a railway, all these men believed that a rich profit could be realized as a result of this being the first railway to extend Canadian trade with the western U.S. markets. In describing the arrangement of the consortium, Skelton stated that,

> ... Holton (Luther H.), MacPherson (David L.), Gzowski and Galt (Alexander T.) had now united to form the contracting firm of Gzowski and Company. It was a well-balanced and well-rounded partnership. Galt was the negotiator and diplomat of the combination, Holton took care of the detailed financing, MacPherson supervised the general administration and Gzowski, the actual work of construction. The first important contract which they secured was to build the Toronto and Guelph Railway which later received power to extend to Sarnia. Construction was begun in the summer of 1852.[11]

Although not completed until 1857, the Grand Trunk did make all these men much wealthier. In addition to the expected return of trade with the United States, which immediately took hold of the advantages of this railway, Gzowski and Co. were able to secure smaller trunk railway construction contracts[12] plus, invest in commercial concerns directly related to their Grand Trunk project. Specifically, Casimir S. Gzowski and David L. MacPherson were the principles in initiating the Toronto Rolling Mills Company in 1857 which had a ten year contract with the Garnd Trunk to supply rails for the line.[13] He was the first to do so and also the first to initiate steel-making in Canada.[14] While Gzowski and Co. were working on the Sarnia section of the Grand Trunk, Casimir also surveyed and engineered the reconstruction of Toronto's waterfront and harbour.[15] The Esplanade, which Gzowski built, was completed in 1854 at an approximate cost of L150,000.[16] Though there were some grumblings of patronage and overspending made by the City of Toronto to Gzowski after the projects' completion, these rumors seemingly quickly subsided and no respect for the engineer's ability was lost.

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[10] *Ibid*, p. 62-63. Gzowski believed the Sarnia-Toronto section of the Grand Trunk Line could be built for approximately $1,376,000 as compared to the Montreal-Toronto line which was built for close to $3,000,000. Also see Incorporation Act of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, 16 Vic. Cap. 37, November 10, 1852, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[11] O.D. Skelton, Alexander Tillock Galt. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1920), p. 96. Also see the Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Guelph Railway Company, 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 148, August 30, 1851, Statutes of Province of Canada. This line was absorbed by the Grand Trunk system in 1853. See J.M.S. Careless, Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History. (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1984), p. 81.

[12] See for instance, the Incorporation Act of the Stratford and Huron Railway Company., 18 Vic. Cap. 184, May 15, 1855, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[13] The Globe, February 12, 1866 and December 17, 1859. Also see D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p.

As an innovator of enterprises, Gzowski attempted to introduce textile manufacturing into Toronto and Canada in 1861.[17] Gzowski and his partner, David L. MacPherson, a director of the Toronto Cotton Mills Company, felt that there was an obvious need for domestic textiles in Canada and they also felt that importation tariffs on raw cotton and finished textile goods from the U.S. were too high to justify their expensive consumption in the British colony.[18] Although this project was shortlived, closing in 1863, it did represent a shrewd effort at free enterprise and did signify to all, Gzowski's willingness to invest in any viable and practical commercial opportunity. This spirit was epitomized when he helped incorporate the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1878.[19] And similarly, he showed his willingness to bring practicality to his projects when he led some of Toronto's prominent citizens in the formation and development of the Toronto Philharmonic Society in 1876.[90] A year earlier he had been the architect and the major subscription contributor to the Toronto Music Hall.[91] Thus, it only seemed natural that Gzowski would lead a delegation to form the City's first philharmonic society, a fact to be pointed out later.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 91, and Careless, Toronto to 1918..., p. 83. In fact, Greening goes so far as to say that Gzowski developed what is commonly known now as the 'blast' furnace for steel-making. In Gzowski's patent of 1867, it stated that the steel would be made by using gas and heated air to melt the iron ore in a furnace. If this was so, then he was the originator of this manufacturing process and can claim title to a steel-making method which is in use world-wide today.

[15] The Globe, August 30, 1853. This was the date when contracts were originally tendered. Gzowski would later be charged by a few radical politicians as having received the contract through patronage connections. This he denied in The Globe, on April 17, 1855.

[16] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1855. Approximately $600,000 dollars in the Canadian currency of the period.

[17] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Cotton Mills Company, 24 Vic. Cap. 102, May 18, 1861, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[18] Minutes of Toronto City Council, 1861, Appendix 27; 1864, Appendix 105. City of Toronto Archives, Toronto City Hall.

[19] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Stock Exchange, 41 Vic. Cap. 65, March 7, 1878, Statutes of Canada. Gzowski was one of the original members of the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1875. Though a minor figure in the Exchange, Gzowski's tenure as a member lasted some fifteen years.

During the 1860s Gzowski was still actively seeking more railway contracts for his company. Gzowski had just completed the rail line between Port Huron, Michigan and Detroit when it struck him that the consortium of Holton, Galt, Gzowski and MacPherson should be the ones to build a transcontinental railway in Canada.[92] In a letter from Gzowski to Alexander T. Galt in 1867, the shrewd business side of the engineer was displayed plus his understanding of the political mechinations of such a proposal.

> With you as leader (Galt), keeping a sharp look out for the good things and doing the general and with MacPherson on the right side, labouring among the political elite and with your humble servant to do the grubbing and digging, Holton's principle of the division of labour would work admirably. Still, joking aside, the only big thing left on this confederated continent (the railway), can, I am sure, if properly managed, be made to fall into our hands.[93]

The consortium did eventually compete for the transcontinental railway project,[94], backed by the like of William McMaster*, George W. Allan*, John Beverly Robinson II*, James Gooderham Worts*, but they were turned down by the Canadian Government in favour of the eventual winner of the contract, Hugh Allan of Montreal.[95] Sir John A. MacDonald tried to form a coalition of both companies to build the railway but the rivalry between Toronto and Montreal was too intense to work out an amicable agreement, and MacPherson was too disappointed with his Conservative political party because of their nonsupportive nature during the competition to even consider this idea. As it turned out, Alexander T. Galt and Luther Holton left the umbrella of Gzowski and Co., after the shortfall of the proposal, and returned to their respective careers of politics and banking. The railroad disappointment, though, did not deter Gzowski from pursuing other engineering contracts.

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[90] The Globe, October 25, 1876.
[91] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1875. Gzowski's friend and business associate, W.P. Howland was also a director of the Music Hall.
[92] The idea of a transcontinental railway was not new. The prospectus of the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company was published in *ibid.*, October 15, 1858. Heading the project were William McMaster*, W.P. Howland, Allan Napier McNab and the Hon. John McMurrich.
[93] Skelton, Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt., p. 429.
[94] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, 35 Vic. Cap. 72, June 14, 1872, Statutes of Dominion of Canada. It was connected with the Grand Trunk.
[95] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 83. Allan's company was preferred by MacDonald due to its connection with the prominent American railroad financier, Jay Gould. Also see Berton, The Last Spike..., p. 34.

Gzowski and MacPherson had received a contract in 1871 to build a bridge across the Niagara River from Fort Erie to Buffalo, so that the Grand Trunk Railway could extend its railway contracts to the United States through the upstate New York port.[96] The project was immense and tested Gzowski's engineering abilities to the limits. Because of the fast moving water in the Niagara river, making the river bed unstable, it was planned to construct the bridge on floating piers, a "first in the world of engineering knowledge at the time".[97] Though there were several hardships to overcome and numerous engineering setbacks, the 3,651 foot bridge was completed on time on October 12, 1873.[98] On the occasion of the bridge's official opening in 1873, C.J. Brydges, President of the Grand Trunk Railway, paid this tribute to Gzowski:

> There is no other man in this country who could have carried on the work of this bridge or gone through the daily and hourly anxiety which it has entailed during the past four years save Colonel Gzowski.... it is a triumph of perseverance, skill and resourcefulness in the face of obstacles which would have completely defeated a man of lesser calibre .[99]

Gzowski did not leave the Niagara region without having grown attached to the natural beauty and resource potential of the region. As a consequence, he made elaborate attempts to draw-up development plans for the Niagara Parks Commission, an organization he became first Superintendent of in 1880, which would see the region preserve and enhance the beauty of its natural surroundings and which would see to it that the regulatory bodies purchase all available property for the purpose of an elaborate park system.[100] As well, he saw the potential for power generation from the Falls and became the founder of the Canadian Niagara Power Corporation in 1889, an organization which was the first of its kind in Canada.[101]

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[96] The Fort Erie Times. Golden Jubilee Supplement, July 18, 1946. Also see The Globe and Mail, August 24, 1938, plus The Toronto Star, May 24, 1975.

[97] C.S. Gzowski, Description of the International Bridge. (Toronto: Copp and Clark, 1873), *passim*. Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives.

[98] *Ibid.*, Gzowski, despite several setbacks brought the project in on budget at $1,000,000, a considerable sum for a project of this kind during this era.

[99] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 102.

Casimir S. Gzowski's abilities as an engineer were recognized not only nationally by the 1870s but were also lauded internationally.[102] Several international experts called his projects "extraordinary" and "difficult" and praised the original character of the man and his willingness to face the unknown and unique.[103] This wealth of ability was often called upon in a consulting capacity.[104] For instance, Sir John A. MacDonald appointed Gzowski to a "Commission to Survey all Inland Canals and Waterways in Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia".[105] In deciding to make Gzowski Chairman of this Commission in 1870, Sir John A. MacDonald said,

> I cannot talk confidently to anyone on this body but yourself. We want, of course, to get an impartial and confidential report on this situation, but, at the same time it can be so prepared as not to tread on the toes of anyone. You can be of importance in giving the report the right direction.[106]

Unequivocably, MacDonald had every confidence in Gzowski's engineering and tactual capacities. It was this mutual respect for each other which made them exceedingly good friends later on the 1870s and 1880s. In fact, Gzowski and George W. Allan* were trustees of a trust fund which they had set up to help Sir John A. MacDonald during his difficult years when the Prime Minister was drinking heavily and substantially in debt.[107]

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[100] Toronto Star, May 24, 1975. As well, see J.R. Bond, "Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park", Welland County Historical Society Papers, Vol. 3 (1927), pp. 9-16.

[101] C.S. Gzowski, "Address by Colonel Gzowski...", *passim*.

[102] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 417.

[103] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 96.

[104] During his career, Gzowski consulted on many projects, two of which were the Desjardins Canal Company, see "Report of C.S. Gzowski and the Board of Directors", Dundas, 1849, Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives; and the Toronto waterfront, "Report on the Accommodation for Railways on the Waterfront of the City of Toronto and on the location of the Canadian Pacific Railway freight yards", Toronto, 1889, Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives.

[105] MacDonald Papers, General Letters, Vol. 14, p. 455, Public Archives of Canada.

[106] Letter from John A. MacDonald to C.S. Gzowski, November 25, 1870, Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives. Moreover, Gzowski also foresaw the development of the Great Lakes Navigation System and the need to build canals at Sault Ste. Marie.

As a man of practicality and vision, Gzowski assisted in establishing perpetual institutions which would assist the engineering profession in Canada for future generations. In 1870, he originally proposed a School of Mining, for the study of engineering subjects directly related to ore extraction, for the University of Toronto.[108] Though the idea was slow in developing, the proposal finally reached friution when a department of mining technology, in collaboration with the engineering department, was set-up at McGill University in Montreal in the early 1880s. As well, Gzowski was the founder of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers, the first body of its kind in Canada in 1887.[109] To make sure the Society had a place to meet, Gzowski contributed $1,500 towards the rental of rooms for the first five years. He also set up a trust fund for a medal to be presented to any engineer in Canada who published a paper on an urgent engineering problem in the country each year.[110] Eventually, in 1918, the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers changed its name to the Engineering Institute of Canada, which sought to embody all the various disciplines of the engineering field. The Institute remains intact and functioning today, and serves as the national regulatory body for the engineering profession in Canada. Gzowski served as the President of the Society of Civil Engineers from 1887 to 1892.[111]

Gzowski's practicality and foresight also impinged on his sport involvement during the nineteenth century. He became involved in the Toronto Turf Club in the early 1860s mainly as a result of what he saw as the necessity of equestrianism among military men. Fearing Fenian attacks on Toronto as a result of the failure of the Treaty of Trent, Gzowski moved to have a cavalry assembled and prepared in the event of a conflict. To direct and implement his plan, he served as President of the Toronto Turf Club from 1861 to 1868.[112] During his

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[107] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 127.
[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.
[109] Incorporation Act of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers, 50 Vic. Cap. 154, June 23, 1887, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.
[110] C.S. Gzowski, "Address by Colonel Gzowski...", *passim*.
[111] C.S. Gzowski II, "Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski", p. 543.
[112] List of Officers, 1835-1881. Toronto Turf Club. Denison Papers and Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Woodbine, Ontario.

Presidential tenure the Toronto Turf Club grew both in size and status. The size factor was a direct result of the increasing interest in a calvary brigade for Toronto and the status factor was an outcome of Toronto's elite wishing to be associated with this loyal military enterprise. In fact, it was not coincidental to see the names of some of Toronto's original families as members on the Roll of the Turf Club. For instance, at the Toronto Turf Club races at the Carleton course, in 1862, at the first running of the Queen's Plate, the names of the Hon. John Beverly Robinson II*, William Botsford Jarvis*, Richard L. Denison and John Boulton appeared on the list of officers.[113] It was of interest to note that besides being the prime mover of establishing the Queen's Plate in Toronto, Gzowski was also the moving force behind the establishment of the Ontario Jockey Club in 1881, serving as its first President.[114] The organization was set up to regulate and enforce the rules of horse-racing and horse breeding in Ontario. It also served as the official sanctioning body for horse races held in the Province.[115] Gzowski also demonstrated his leadership and utilitarian character by establishing the Toronto Rifle Corps in 1864.[116] William McMaster*, Captain of the Naval Brigade, and Richard L. Denison, Brigade Major, assisted Gzowski in this venture. The idea behind the Rife Corps was to have a ready supply of trained marksmen in the event of an unfriendly incursion. Gzowski's previous military training and experience in Poland made him the most likely and most qualified person to lead such a movement. Again, this point was reinforced in the fact that Gzowski was also the founder and guiding spirit of the Canadian Volunteer Militia.[117] The document of enactment was signed interestingly enough by several of Gzowski's friends, including; James McGill Strachan, John Beverly Robinson II* and William Henry Draper.[118] Gzowski continued his interest in the rifle movement by founding the

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[113] The Globe, May 23, 1862. The race description included the following: "Queen's Plate: 50 Guineas: The gift of our Most Gracious Sovereign. Open to all horses bred in Canada that have never won match, purses or sweepstakes".

[114] *Ibid.*, April 30, 1881.

[115] More will be mentioned on the significance of the Ontario Jockey Club to elite control and domination of sport during the nineteenth century in chapter XII.

[116] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1864.

[117] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 132.

[118] *Ibid.*

Ontario Rifle Association in 1869.[119] He served as President of the Association from 1869 to 1873.[120] In this later year, Gzowski also pushed to form the Dominion Rifle Association,[121] a body which regulated all local and regional competitions and assembled a Canadian team to compete in the Wimbledon matches in London, England. Gzowski personally organized a team from the Province of Ontario to compete in the Wimbledon matches of 1870.[122] For many years thereafter, Gzowski, at his own expense, supported and accompanied the respective teams to Wimbledon. In honor of his indefatigable efforts on behalf of the Dominion Rifle Association and the Wimbledon matches, the National Rifle Association of England in 1881, presented Gzowski with a replica of the "Challenge Shield" which was emblematic of the shooting championship at Wimbledon. Thereafter, it was called the "Gzowski Shield".[123]

Gzowski's interest in the rifle movement had predated 1864 and the establishment of the Toronto Rifle Association. In an editorial in The Globe, dated June 4, 1862, the editor worried about the lack of interest, by Canadians, in the rifle movement. It stated:

> Rifle shooting has not attained that status in Canada, which it occupies in England. *There the people support it with enthusiasm, the wealthy, the learned, and the great, all lend their aid to forward the movement.* Rich prizes are lavished upon the successful competitor, and every honour is paid them by their fellow subjects. The reputation of being a good shot is a title to distinction.

Acting upon the idea that perhaps there was not enough incentive for Canadians to compete in rifle competitions, Casimir S. Gzowski presented the Upper Canada Rifle Association with the "Marston Rifle", to be competed for in a open competition by all comers.[124] This fact signified his willingness to assist, in any way, the development of the rifle movement in which he was to have such a great influence on in later years. Besides being a promoter of the rifle,

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[119] The Globe, June 28, 1869. Once again Richard L. Denison was his second in command.

[120] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1870; June 28, 1871; and September 4, 1873.

[121] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 96. Also see Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 146.

[122] Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski., p. 76.

[123] *Ibid.* See also Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 148.

[124] The Globe, June 6, 1862.

Gzowski was also an innovator as far as the construction of cannons were concerned in Canada.[125] It was plausable that his interest in iron smelting resulted from this desire to manufacture and refine cannons for the volunteer and professional military markets in Canada. Concomitant to Gzowski's interest in the rifle and volunteer movements was his committment to the welfare of those who fought in the protection of their country as volunteers. He, along with his friends, George W. Allan*, James Gooderham Worts*, Dr. John McCaul, William Cawthra, William Gooderham and Samuel B. Harman, formed the nucleus around which the Toronto Volunteer Relief Fund was organized in 1866.[126] All these gentlemen were men of significant financial means and all drew considerable respect from the community. As a result, the subscriptions for the Volunteer Relief Fund were large and generous and served to fill the needs of the injured or destitute families of the volunteers very capably.

Gzowski's other interests in sport were more of a participatory nature. He was a member of the Toronto Hunt Club from 1865 to 1870,[127] retiring from the Club due to his inability to ride as a result of age, plus his business interests in the construction of the International Bridge and his subsequent removal to Fort Erie in the period 1871 to 1873. Gzowski was also a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[128] Although a member until his death in 1898, his only interest in the Yacht Club had been on formal occasions. For instance, at the Grand Ball given by the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in honor of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales in 1860, Gzowski was listed as one of the Stewards.[129] Accompanying him as organizers of the event were many of his close associates and personal friends, for instance, Hon. George W. Allan*, Hon. George Brown, Hon. John Beverly Robinson II*, Sheriff Frederick W. Jarvis, Lt. Col. Richard L. Denison, Hon. W.P

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[125] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1862. Also see Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 134.

[126] *Ibid.*, June 9, 1866.

[127] List of members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Hunt Club, Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club and personal papers of Clifford Sifton III, Caledon, Ontario.

[128] Lists of members, 1852-1881. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.

[129] The Globe, August 16, 1860.

Howland, William H. Boulton, Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Frederick W. Cumberland, Hon. Joseph C. Morrison and Hon. William Cayley. The significance of Gzowski's attendance and organizational influence at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club's Ball attested to the ease with which he moved in the elite circles of Toronto's society and showed that a man with *character and connections* could easily infiltrate the leading envelope of society. Although there were probably exceptions to this rule, Gzowski stood out as a prime example of how elite recruitment realized itself. Gzowski's other two sports which were of recreational value to him were curling and lawn tennis. He was a member of the Toronto Curling Club in the years 1879, 1880 and 1881, and remained active as a "brither of the stane" until the early 1890s.[130] Gzowski also enjoyed the permutations of the game of tennis and remained a member of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club from its inception in 1876 until the mid 1880s.[131] While active in curling, lawn tennis, yachting and the "chase", it would appear that Casimir S. Gzowski's main thrust in sport was in horse-racing and rifle shooting. His military background was a strong influence in his administrative participation but it was his practical sensibility which guided his energies and his vision and which acted as a catalyst to motivate him to establish several important sport organizations.

Gzowski, apart from being one of the most respected engineers in his field, was also one of the wealthiest.[132] Although the engineer had never been formally trained in the nuances of corporate business, he apparently had a flair for making wise investments. And, *as was often the case among the elite, he had associates who would direct him toward the best money-making opportunities*. In describing Gzowski's proclivity for profitable projects and schemes, one biographer asserted that:

> He always had a shrewd eye for business opportunities and his many *valuable political and industrial contacts* enabled him to make successful investments.[133]

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[130] List of members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Curling Club, Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club. Toronto.
[131] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Toronto.
[132] Toronto Star, May 24, 1975.
[133] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 121.

Not surprisingly, Gzowski's wealthiest scheme was the Grand Trunk Railway which D.C. Masters proclaimed, "made the fortune of C.S. Gzowski".[134] But Gzowski was also diversified in other business interests. He was a founding partner in the Rossin House Hotel in Toronto in 1864[135]; he was Chairman of the Board for the Bank of Upper Canada in 1864[136]; he was a director of the Canada Landed Credit Company from 1866 to 1869, serving as Vice-President in 1869[137]; he was Vice-President of the Provincial Permanent Building Society in 1866 and 1867[138]; he was also a director of the Ontario Bank from 1873 to 1889, serving as Postmaster-General in 1875 and as Vice-President in 1879, 1880 and 1881[139]; he was Vice-President of the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company in 1876 and 1877[140]; plus, he was President of both the Toronto Music Hall[141] and the Toronto Philharmonic Society[142] in 1875 and 1876, respectively.

While there is no doubting the fact that Casimir S. Gzowski was a "builder of society", two areas of contribution which were often neglected by his essayists were the educational and philanthropic fields. Gzowski knew the value of a good education and he had learned a lot during his lifetime, being trained as both a lawyer and as an engineer. When the split between the high church and low church erupted in the Church of England during the late 1870s, moves were underway in Toronto to establish an evangelical school for the training of lower church Anglican clergy.[143] As a result of a series of lectures given in the St. James Cathedral in 1877, a school was established. The school was originally incorporated as the 'Protestant Episcopal Divinity School' but its name was later changed to Wycliffe College.[144]

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[134] Masters, The Rise of Toronto:..., p. 64.

[135] The Globe, October 11, 1864.

[136] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1864. Probably thanks to his friendly connection of George W. Allan*, who was President of the Bank.

[137] The Globe, April 11, 1866 ; January 25, 1867; and February 8, 1868.

[138] *Ibid.*, April 2, 1866 and February 8, 1867.

[139] Monetary Times, October 17, 1873; June 15, 1880; June 24, 1881; and The Globe, May 5, 1875 and June 18, 1879.

[140] *Ibid.*, October 12, 1877. Not surprisingly, Gzowski's good friend and associate, W.P. Howland was President.

[141] The Globe, April 27, 1875.

[142] *Ibid.*, October 25, 1876.

[143] Masters, The Rise of Toronto:..., p. 158.

[144] See R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto:...", p. 241. He discussed why the

The college was largely founded by the group of men known only as the Church Association. The group included many members of the older families of Toronto such as Robert Baldwin II, Edward Blake, Col. G.T. Denison II and Frederick W. Jarvis, plus, it included many of the rising businessmen and professionals of the city. Among the founders of Trinity College were Gzowski, W.H. Howland, William Mulock, George T. Denison, George W. Allan*, John Beverly Robinson II* and James McGill Strachan.[145] Gzowski was the first President of Trinity College and remained on the board of management until his death in 1898.[146] It was of interest to note that Gzowski had also given St. James Cathedral in Toronto $2,000 for the completion of its new construction in 1872.[147] He had been a long-time Warden of St. James, beginning his tenure in 1869.[148]

Gzowski definitely had a philanthropic nature to his character. Not only was he philanthropic in the giving of prizes for sport competitions, but he was also giving of his money and time in terms of the less fortunate, a fact not uncommon to wealthy Victorians. Gzowski was one of the founders of the Toronto Coffee House Association in 1881.[149] Joined by his friends and business associates, George W. Allan*, W.B. McMurrich and William Alexander, Gzowski was able to raise the necessary capitol of $50,000 needed by the Association for incorporation. The object of the Association, as it was for many workingmen's club at the time, was to "conduct coffee houses which would fulfil the two admirable purposes of keeping workingmen from strong drink and of paying a comfortable dividend to the shareholders".[150] Gzowski was the President of the Association in 1881 and remained a director until the early 1890s. Casimir S. Gzowski also assisted in raising money

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[144](cont'd) church split and the consequences upon the foundation of Wycliffe College.

[145] Incorporation Act of Trinity College School, 35 Vic. Cap. 111, March 2, 1872, Statutes of Ontario.

[146] Toronto Star, May 24, 1975.

[147] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 149.

[148] The Globe, March 31, 1869.

[149] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 184. He cited the Toronto Coffee House Association, Annual Reports from the Ontario Public Archives.

[150] *Ibid*. Shareholders drew an annual dividend of six percent.

for the Toronto Mechanics' Institute building fund in 1859.[151] He, along with F.C. Capreol, Edward Blake, Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, William Gooderham, William McMaster*, W.P. Howland and James Gooderham Worts*, were all major contributors to the fund.[152] Additionally, Lady C.S. Gzowski was the Vice-President of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Toronto in the early 1890s[153] and Casimir was a long-time Senator of the University of Toronto, beginning his elected tenure in 1874.[154]

As an ardent follower and supporter of the volunteer movement and the Dominion Rifle Association, Gzowski was given the title of Lieutenant-Colonel of the Central Division of Toronto Volunteers in 1872.[155] This was followed by the appointment to Colonel of the Canadian Active Militia in 1879[156] and finally, perhaps the highest honor he ever achieved, was the appointment of Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty Queen Victoria in 1879.[157] In 1890, in recognition of "valuable services rendered to the Dominion of Canada", Casimir S. Gzowski was knighted and created a K.C.M.G.[158] Gzowski ended his career as the Chief Administrator of the Government of Ontario, a position he was appointed to in 1886.[159]

Casimir S. Gzowski was one of the true builders of Canada. He initiated, planned and constructed many of the important engineering projects in the Dominion during the nineteenth century and attempted to foster among the people of the country and the engineering profession, a feeling of pride and nationalism in the all tasks undertaken by him. Gzowski was a man of large intellectual capacity but his vast theoretical knowledge was always tempered by his practicality. Many of his endeavors in sport, commerce, philanthropy, education, and transportation, showed great vision and insight into the needs of Canada. He was a man who enjoyed original challenges and an individual who always found

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[151] Annual Report, 1859, Toronto Mechanics' Institute, Ontario Public Archives.
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 122.
[154] The Globe, May 16, 1874.
[155] Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery., p. 96.
[156] Turek, Sir Casimir S. Gzowski., p. 74.
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] Toronto Star, May 24, 1975.
[159] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 417.

something to learn from his experiences. Gzowski was a man of his word and became universally trusted and respected by most segments of the Canadian population. A man of diligence, integrity and competitiveness, Gzowski acted as a model of the 'self-made man'. His tall military bearing and his gracious customs allowed him to move easily among people, and it goes without saying that he used this to his advantage in getting ahead in Canada. A philanthropic man, Gzowski had a sympathy for the common man which was a characteristic of the elite of the period. In a life, filled with adventure and success which would have killed most men, Casimir S. Gzowski worked until his final days. He was a much revered patriot of Canada and as Lord Dufferin said of him in 1874 "... he was one of the noblest and most successful engineers on the Continent."[160]

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[160] Zubkowski and Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski., p. 123.

Chapter IX

THE ENTREPRENEURS: JAMES GOODERHAM WORTS AND THE GOODERHAMS

In the analysis of elite participation in sport in Toronto during the nineteenth century, one has to consider the ramifications of recruitment into the upper or inner circles of society from occupations and professions which were not considered prerequisite niches for elite acceptance. Occupations which fell outside of the law profession, the military and professional politics were always under the close scrutiny of the elite for recruitment potential. Millers, bakers, jewellers, druggists, civil servants, bankers, engineers and dry goods merchants had to exercise shrewd social judgement and outstanding drive and integrity to warrant even a glimpse of hope of being surrounded by the confidence of the elite. Social and business contacts were important for acceptance as were increasingly more responsible positions in local and regional affairs, both politically and commercially. Three such individuals who aspired to commercial prominence and, indirectly, elite acceptance were William Gooderham, James Gooderham Worts, and George Gooderham. Although each man was related by family ties, each made commercial inroads in Toronto by fusing their talents and social connections. In doing so, both Worts and Gooderham families were able to share the wealth of their commercial ventures and establish a network of friendships which benefitted the causes of both families and set the basis for their acceptance into Toronto's elite circle. While sport and sport clubs were important in nurturing and fostering friendships, it will be shown that sport was also a crucial segment of the lives of the Gooderhams and James Gooderham Worts and that each man participated in sport as he had in business; - with energy, tenacity, skill and cunning, all prerequisites necessary for potential acceptance into the elite circles of society.

The story of the Worts and the Gooderham families is one of a *webbed nature*. The mention of one family usually brought to mind the other. The Worts and Gooderhams shared much between them. They were related through marriage, business enterprises, social activities, and clubs. Neither family, it seemed, made an important decision without

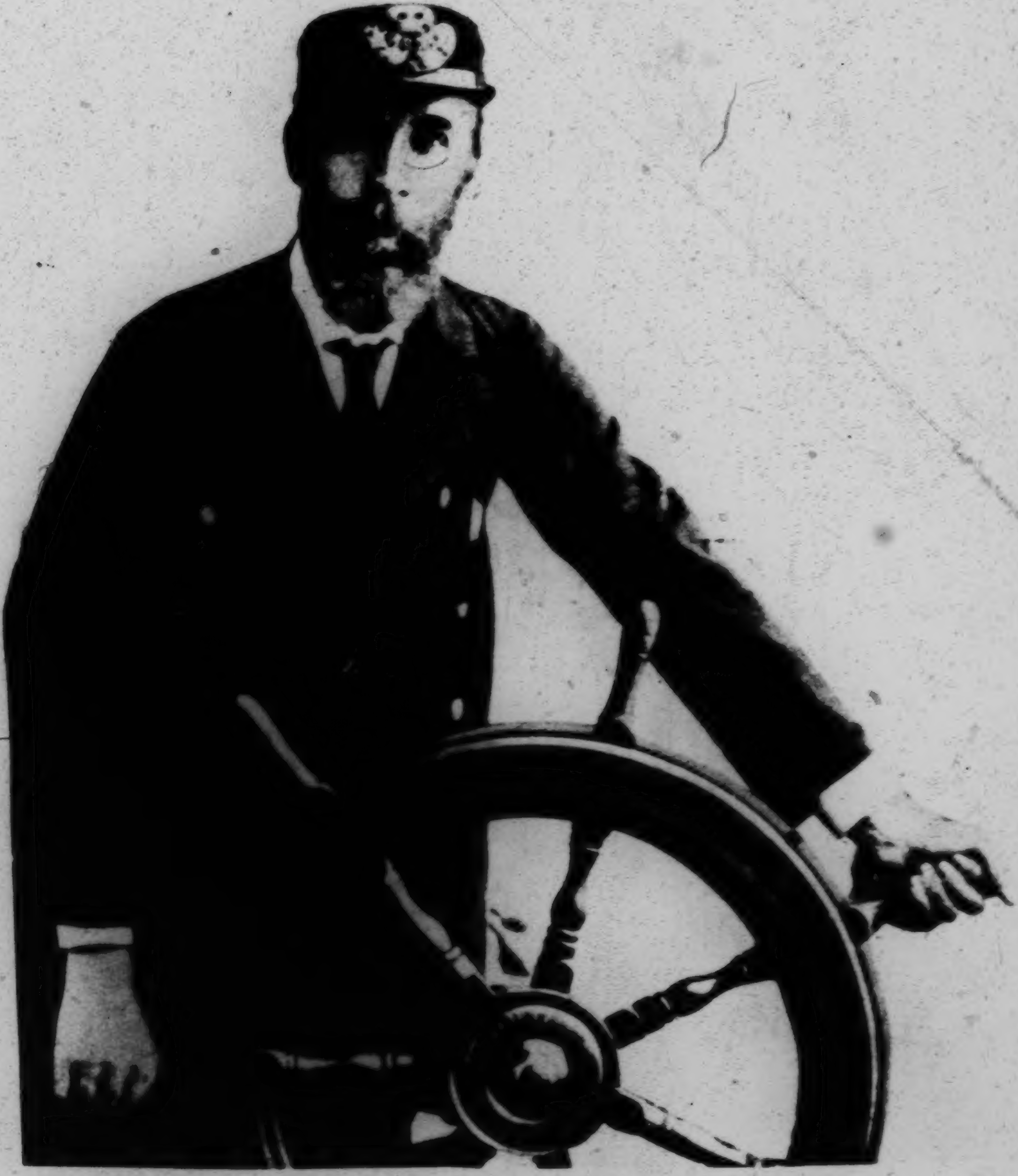

Figure XI: Picture of George Gooderham, 1830-1905.

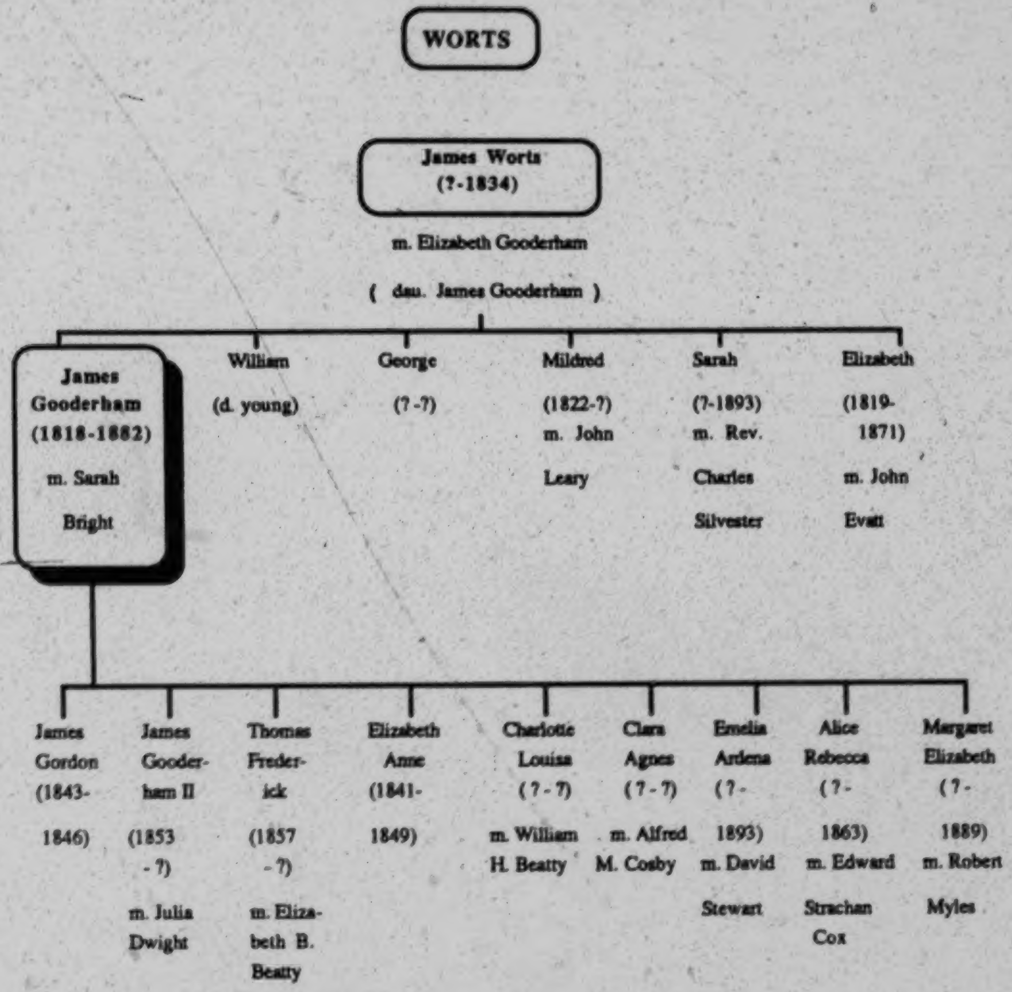
WORTS
James Worts
(?-1834)
m. Elizabeth Gooderham
(dau. James Gooderham)
James Gooderham (1818-1882) m. Sarah Bright
William (d. young)
George (?-?)
Mildred (1822-?) m. John Leary
Sarah (?-1893) m. Rev. Charles Silvester
Elizabeth (1819-1871) m. John Evatt
James Gordon (1843-1846)
James Gooderham II (1853-?) m. Julia Dwight
Thomas Frederick (1857-?) m. Elizabeth B. Beatty
Elizabeth Anne (1841-1849)
Charlotte Louisa (?-?) m. William H. Beatty
Clara Agnes (?-?) m. Alfred M. Cosby
Emelia Ardena (?-1893) m. David Stewart
Alice Rebecca (?-1863) m. Edward Strachan Cox
Margaret Elizabeth (?-1889) m. Robert Myles

Figure XII : Genealogical Sketch of the Worts Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

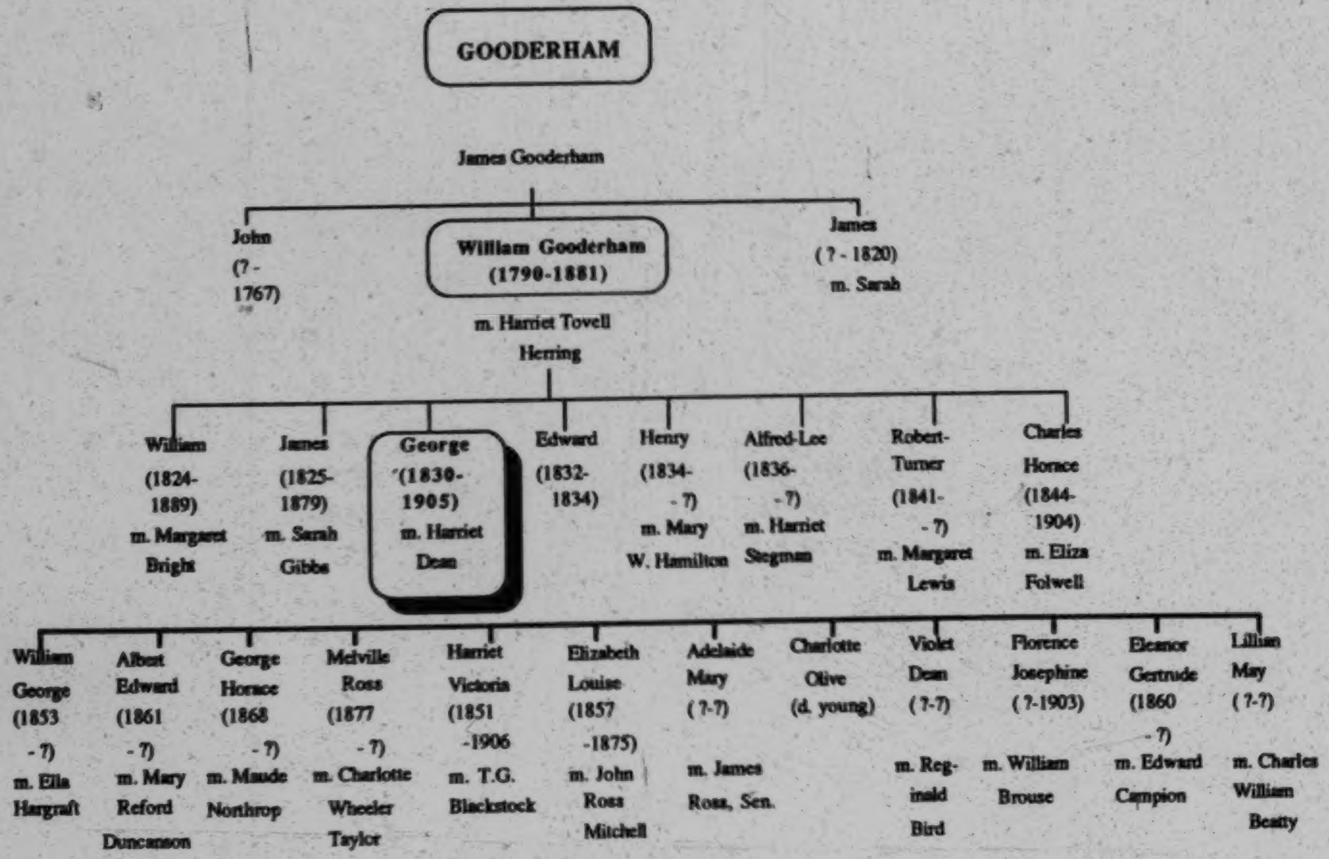
GOODERHAM
James Gooderham
John (? - 1767)
William Gooderham (1790-1881) m. Harriet Tovell Herring
James (? - 1820) m. Sarah
William (1824-1889) m. Margaret Bright
James (1825-1879) m. Sarah Gibbs
George (1830-1905) m. Harriet Dean
Edward (1832-1834)
Henry (1834-?) m. Mary W. Hamilton
Alfred-Lee (1836-?) m. Harriet Stegman
Robert-Turner (1841-?) m. Margaret Lewis
Charles Horace (1844-1904) m. Eliza Folwell
William George (1853-?) m. Ella Hargraft
Albert Edward (1861-?) m. Mary Reford Duncanson
George Horace (1868-?) m. Maude Northrop
Melville Ross (1877-?) m. Charlotte Wheeler Taylor
Harriet Victoria (1851-1906 m. T.G. Blackstock
Elizabeth Louise (1857-1875) m. John Ross Mitchell
Adelaide Mary (?-?) m. James Ross, Sen.
Charlotte Olive (d. young)
Violet Dean (?-?) m. Reginald Bird
Florence Josephine (?-1903) m. William Brouse
Eleanor Gertrude (1860-?) m. Edward Campion
Lillian May (?-?) m. Charles William Beatty

Figure XIII : Genealogical Sketch of the Gooderham Family

(See Appendix VI for Genealogical References)

consultation with the members of the other family. Each family was independent and numerically strong but each believed that there was strength in collective numbers, particularly as it related to social and commercial ventures. James Worts, the father of James Gooderham Worts, came to Canada in 1831 (see geneological sketch).[1] He had been a long-time mill-owner in Lowestoft and in Bungay, Suffolk, England, before emigrating. He had decided that if his economic future was to brighten in order to supply the amenities of life for his family, a change in geographic location was necessary. He left Great Yarmouth in May, 1831 with his eldest son, James Gooderham Worts.[2] The elder Worts arrived in Toronto in the early part of 1832 and decided to establish a milling business at the mouth of the Don River. Once formal plans for the mill had been completed, James Worts sent for his son, who was being educated in boarding school in Montreal. His son arrived, along with the necessary milling equipment bought in Montreal, in the summer of 1832.[3] In addition to the arrival of James Gooderham Worts in June of 1832, a delegation of the Worts family also arrived from England. Included within this delegation were members of the Gooderham family. The reason for the familial closeness was that James Worts had married Elizabeth Gooderham, sister to the future Toronto commercial magnate, William Gooderham.[4] It was William, in fact, as the paternal overseer of the two families, who, upon James Worts invitation, had organized the emigration of both families to Upper Canada.[5] Besides Gooderham and his wife, nee Harriet Lovell Herring, the group consisted of nine Gooderham children, who included George, thirty-two relatives of the Gooderham and Worts families, plus eleven orphans whose mother and father died during the voyage to the colony and who were "calmly adopted" by William Gooderham and his wife upon arrival in Toronto.[6] After settling down in permanent quarters near the milling site on the Don River, William Gooderham and James Worts set about formally establishing their milling business. Fortunately, the families were not without means, Gooderham having sold his father's (James Gooderham) farm which he had inherited after serving in the East Indies during the Napoleonic Wars.[7] The proceeds from the liquidation were re-invested in the milling partnership of Gooderham and Worts. In fact, when William Gooderham deposited the family's capital of L3,000 into the Bank of Upper Canada, a scurry of activity resulted. Never before had anyone pushed that much money across the counter of the Bank in the form of a deposit. The heads of the Bank were summoned by the wide-eyed teller to fondle the largest single deposit ever made in the institution's history. Apparently, this did much to impress the Family Compact directorate of the Bank of Upper Canada and served to gather a marginal amount of respect and support for Toronto's newest clan. As well, it functioned to elevate the Gooderham and Worts' families to a 'fringe' level of acceptability among the elite of the region. Although the business had yet to be formally underway, the elite, in the form of the *Family Compact*, was betting on the success of the venture due to what it saw as competent management, extensive milling experience and a more than adequate capital investment. The *Compact* believed the group to be worthy of its notice and eligible for some social concessions, particularly educationally. More will be mentioned on this point later.

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[1] The Globe, June 21, 1882.

[2] For the two families respective geneologies, see Edward M. Chadwick, Ontarian Families: Geneologies of the United Empire Loyalists and Other Pioneer Families of Upper Canada. (Toronto: Rolph, Smith & Company, 1894), pp. 158-159.

[3] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 11 (1881-1890), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 937.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Joseph Schull, 100 Years of Banking in Canada: A History of the Toronto Dominion Bank. (Toronto: Copp-Clark Publishing, 1958), p. 41.

[6] *Ibid.*

The brother-in-law arrangement of James Worts and William Gooderham survived successfully for two years in the milling partnership but ended in 1834 when James died.[8] Gooderham continued the company but temporarily changed the name to the William Gooderham Company.[9] He added a distillery in 1837, due to the fact that he was being paid milling fees mostly in the form of grain and had to figure a way of using the excess stock for profit. In pursuing a burgeoning distilling business, William Gooderham also took responsibility for his nephew and began grooming him for a partnership in the firm. In 1845, James Gooderham Worts became a partner in his uncle's business which was renamed Gooderham and Worts.[10]

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[7] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 358.
[8] Chadwick, Ontarian Families..., p. 158.
[9] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1947), p. 25. Also see Katherine Hale, Toronto: Romance of a Great City. (Toronto: Cassel, 1956) and E.C. Kyte, Old Toronto. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1954), p. 64.

James Gooderham Worts was born in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, England, on June 4, 1818.[11] He married Sarah Bright on October 1, 1840 and by her had nine children (see geneological sketch, *supra.*, p. 257.).[12] Although he was to achieve substantial wealth and a reputation as a shrewd businessman in his own right, James Gooderham Worts' career was so closely tied to his uncle that in the 1840s and early 1850s he was somewhat overshadowed, and their joint achievements were not easily separable. Among their accomplishments was the introduction of gas lighting and steam-driven engines into their flour mill in the later 1840s. Then in 1846, they built their own wharf to accommodate grain vessels and whiskey transports from England, a situation unheard of in the colonies to this point in time.[13] Later, in consequence of the lack of dependable transportation and the expense of hiring others to ship their cargo, Gooderham and Worts built their own ships in the late 1850s and 1860s, an innovation at the time, and indicated their willingness to diversify and assume a pre-eminent position in Toronto's trade.[14] Their impact on the milling and distilling business in Canada West was large. Just prior to 1850, in less than twenty-eight years, Gooderham and Worts were the largest producers of flour and distilled spirits in western Canada.[15] They were able to process sixty bushels of grain per day, or 18,000 bushels per year, producing close to 80,000 gallons of spirits.[16] Moreover, the partnership boasted a herd of 300 head of dairy cattle which were maintained by the byproducts of the mills and the distillery business. The milk from the cows largely satisfied the demands of Toronto's dairy markets and served to bring added revenue to the already prosperous milling partnership. Further, the business raised beef cattle, 300 of which were slaughtered per year, and served largely to supply the local food markets and satisfy the demands of Torontonians for their dietary staple of meat.[17] The reason for their early success in business was attributable not only to Gooderham and Worts' shrewdness, cunning, and risk-taking characteristics but also to their insatiable appetite to broaden their horizons, both commercially and socially, and to be the best at whatever venture they chose to involve themselves. It seemed that their 'midas' touch resulted from ingenious commercial thinking plus copious amounts of hard work and capital investment. As will be shown later, these traits became hallmarks of their personal careers and the *modus operandi* of James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham in their sporting lives.

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[10] Bruce West, Toronto. (Toronto: Doubleday, 1967), p. 128.
[11] Chadwick, Ontarian Families..., p. 158. Also see The Globe, June 21, 1882 and The Evening Telegram, June 20, 1882.
[12] *Ibid.*, Sarah Bright died on June 30, 1876, at the age of fifty-nine. They had two children who died in their early years, James Gordon (age three) and Elizabeth Anne (age seven).
[13] British Colonist, April 16, 1850. Gooderham and Worts' first ship was the propeller driven ***Western Miller***. It was capable of handling a cargo of 3500 barrels of flour.
[14] Edwin Guillet, Toronto: From Trading Post to Great City. (Toronto: Ontario Publishing, 1934), p. 274.
[15] The Globe, February 12, 1866.
[16] British Colonist, April 16, 1850.

The foundation upon which these two men built their commercial empire in Toronto in the later nineteenth century was largely constructed by William Gooderham. He was the paternal overseer of most family business well into the 1870s. Characterized as stubborn, tough and dictatorial, William Gooderham eschewed traditional business practices often and set off on his own ventures to secure a profitable return on money invested. For instance, when George W. Allan* initiated the Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society in the mid-1860s, Gooderham, seeing the potential for a sizable return on his investment from mortgage loans and construction credit in the west, decided to partner with Allan to exploit the earning potential.[18] Accompanying these two gentlemen was David L. MacPherson. MacPherson, an effective administrator and legislator, plus a close business associate of Casimir S. Gzowski* in railway contracting, invested heavily in Allan's project and remained a director of the company until 1896.[19] Gooderham and MacPherson's social ties were long and successful. Both men originally were members of the Toronto Turf Club in

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[17] *Ibid.*
[18] The Globe, February 7, 1868.
[19] The Edmonton Bulletin, October 29, 1896.

1863[20] and in 1876, each became charter members of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club.[21] While Gooderham usually rejected the camaraderie of gentlemen's clubs, he apparently enjoyed equestrianism and the playing of tennis, characteristics which were passed on to his son George. William Gooderham also invested heavily in William McMaster's* Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Society in 1870.[22] Again, in seeing the potential of credit extension to the settlers in the west, Gooderham confidently hedged his business investment in not only Allan's scheme but also in that of McMaster. Moreover, Gooderham sought to recapitulate his capital by investing in other worthwhile and profitable enterprises. When the Provincial Mutual and General Insurance Company was established in 1849, Gooderham was one of the original subscribers and charter directors.[23] Interestingly, the Secretary of this Company was Edward O'Brien, father of Henry O'Brien, who started the Argonaut Rowing Club in 1874.[24] Both of these gentlemen had been long-time members of McMaster's Toronto Rowing Club. William Gooderham was also one of the original subscribers to the Canada Mutual Fire Insurance Company when it opened its doors for business in 1859[25] As well, Gooderham led the merchants of Toronto in their attempts to have a central trading agency which would facilitate the exchange of goods and services by regional businessmen. As a consequence, Gooderham became the chief director of the Toronto Produce and Merchant's Exchange Association in 1866.[26] His partner and friend James Gooderham Worts was also credited with helping to establish the Exchange and it was through the latter's friendship with the Northern Railway's Managing Director, Frederick W. Cumberland*, that he was able to secure a reduction in the fare for shipping goods over the line. This reduction privilege was only extended to Exchange members and served to increase interest in both trade with the west (i.e., Chicago) and the size of the membership in the Merchant's Exchange.[27] Similarly, in 1867, William Gooderham, plus several other leading merchants of Toronto, formed the Corn Exchange.[28] The purpose of this Exchange was to deal strictly with grain commodities, an idea which still perpetuates itself today. As well, Gooderham, as President of the Bank of Toronto, was the driving force behind the organization of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway which was established in 1867.[29] It was in the narrow gauge railways that Gooderham and many of his associates saw profits for the taking. It was the intention of this railway to "draw-off" the mineral riches of the north and to supply the mining companies, the lumber franchises and the farmers of this region with equipment produced in the Toronto area, a service which had yet to be rendered by any other railway. Concomitant to this venture, and not to be outdone by William Gooderham's cartel, several other leading merchants pushed for the establishment of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway.[30] The leaders of this railway project were Henry S. Howland, the Warden of York, and A.R. McMaster, of A.R. McMaster and Brother. While it was true that the Gooderhams were not the catalyst behind the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, the family and its social connections did have an initially indirect say in the development of this line. James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham, Vice-President and director of the Bank of Toronto respectively, placed themselves on the board of directors of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway through substantial contributions to the project, and in doing so, captured an administrative stranglehold on the narrow gauge railway ventures of the late 1860s.[31] In fact, because the

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[20] List of members, 1863. Minutes of the Toronto Turf Club, Magrath Papers, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library and Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Archives of the Ontario Jockey Club.
[21] Lists of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Toronto.
[22] Monetary Times, June 10, 1870.
[23] British Colonist, July 31, 1849.
[24] The Globe, April 6, 1874. Henry O'Brien had been a member of the Toronto Rowing Club from the mid-1860s but he wished to start a more competitively oriented club, namely the Argonaut Rowing Club in 1874.
[25] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1859.
[26] *Ibid*, May 21, 1866.

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[27] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1866.

[28] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1867 and May 6, 1868. Also see the Incorporation Act of the Toronto Corn Exchange Association, 35 Vic. Cap. 45, June 14, 1872. Statutes of Dominion of Canada. The Association was almalgamated with the Board of Trade in 1884, see 47 Vic. Cap. 46, April 19, 1884, *ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, April 2, 1867. Also see the Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway Company. 31 Vic. Cap. 41, March 4, 1868. Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[30] *Ibid.*, Also see the Incorporation Act of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway Company. 31 Vic. Cap. 40, March 4, 1868, *ibid.*

[31] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 359.

Bank of Toronto ('Gooderham's Bank') advanced loans large enough to give bonds to both railways, William Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts exercised considerable influence in the goods and services rendered over the lines. It is of interest to note that the terminus of both railways was close to the Gooderham and Worts distilleries and cattle sheds, and that each railway served the needs of the family's businesses. So contrived and purposeful was their investment in the railways that, one year after their completion, William Gooderham, along with Henry S. Howland, John Shedden, Noah Barnhart and George Laidlaw, established the Toronto Wharf and Warehousing Company to take advantage of the transhipment necessities brought on by the rail lines.[32] It was not surprising that most of the shipping was done on the boats built by the Gooderhams, a commercial fact which successfully completed the stranglehold of their monopoly on narrow gauge railways.

The Gooderhams were largely guided by the efforts of a former employee, George Laidlaw, in the building of the two railways.[33] Laidlaw, born in Sutherland, Scotland on February 28, 1828, had had experience in the railway building business while residing in Montreal. He had been an assistant to Casimir S. Gzowski* in the construction of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway between Portland, Maine and Montreal, Canada East.[34] George Laidlaw originally came to Toronto in the early 1850s to take-up the occupation as a forwarder but opted instead to accept a job as a grain commission merchant with the firm of Gooderham and Worts.[35] By 1867, Laidlaw had been retained by William Gooderham to evaluate the feasibility of running trains to the region north of Lake Simcoe and east of Lake Huron. Upon the receipt of a favourable report, Gooderham and Worts set about organizing a subscription campaign which would pay for the construction of the Toronto and Nipissing and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railways. Their campaigns were highly successful and the subscription books closed within a year on both projects. In fact, John Shedden, a railway forwarder and an ardent Toronto Hunt Club member with James Gooderham Worts, opened the books of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway with a substantial contribution. The Globe on April 16, 1869 described the event in the following manner:

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[32] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Wharf and Warehousing Company. 33 Vic. Cap. 48, December 24, 1869. Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[33] W.H. Breithaupt, "The Railways of Ontario", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records. Vol. 25 (1929), pp. 12-25.

[34] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 481 and W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1978), p. 428.

[35] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 75. Masters cited the obituary of Laidlaw in the Globe, August 8, 1889, as well as Alfred Price's work, "George Laidlaw: Pioneer Railroad Builder", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 42 (December 1927), pp. 124-133.

> Mr. John Shedden yesterday subscribed $5,000 to the stock of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway and put the first name on the book. Mr. Shedden's experience in connection with the railways, here and elsewhere gives significance to his subscription, and is a fair criterion of what our businessmen think of the stock of the narrow gauge roads. We hope and believe Mr. Shedden's investment will realize liberal dividends.

Likewise, James Gooderham Worts ended the subscription campaign of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway in 1869 by subscribing $5,000 himself.[36] Both Shedden and Laidlaw, because of the loyal service and staunch support of the Gooderhams' business interests, were readily accepted into social sphere of Gooderham and Worts. Shedden, a native of Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, Scotland, was taken under the wing of Gooderham and Worts for his knowledge of railway cartage and railway construction.[37] They offered him membership in the Toronto Turf Club, the Toronto Hunt Club and the Toronto Club (Worts acting as Shedden's nominator in each instance) plus, they secured the Presidency of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway for him in 1871.[38], Additionally, they obtained directorships in the Toronto House Building Society,[39] of which William Gooderham and his friend William McMaster* were senior partners, the Toronto Wharf and Warehousing Company,[40] initiated and funded by the Gooderhams, and the Toronto Building and Loan Association,[41] where Dr. Larratt Smith and

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[36] The Globe, July 1, 1869.

[37] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 650 and The Globe, January 2, 1868.

[38] The Globe, September 13, 1871.

[39] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1870. Other directorships of the Toronto House Building Society in this year were; Gooderham, McMaster, James Austin, John Fisken, Peter Paterson, Edward Hooper, and Thomas McCrossan.

[40] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Wharf and Warehousing Company, *loc. cit.*

[41] The Globe, March 4, 1870. Interestingly, Peter Paterson and Thomas McCrossan were cross-over directors to the Toronto Building and Loan Association from the Toronto House Building Society with Shedden.

Joseph H. Mead, members of the Hunt, were President and Vice-President respectively. Similarly, Gooderham and Worts recruited Laidlaw into their social sphere by soliciting on his behalf for membership in the National and Toronto Clubs,[42] the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club,[43] the committee of management of the Toronto Board of Trade.[44] the Toronto and Nipissing Railway.[45] the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway,[46], the Toronto Wharf and Warehousing Company.[47] the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal Company,[48] the Narrow Gauge Railways Commission,[49] and the Corn Exchange.[50] Therefore, what can be inferred from this evidence was that Shedden and Laidlaw were examples of 'fringe' associates of an elite, namely Gooderham and Worts, who were recruited in the sub-strata of the upper class due to some unique skills or potentially beneficial knowledge which they possessed. It can also be said that their ascendency into this sub-strata was one which was conscious and conspiratorial. By surrounding themselves in such people as Shedden and Laidlaw, William Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts were able to add to their small body of intimate social and business contacts, making their hegemonic leadership more coherent and cohesive and in addition they were able to surround themselves with a group of experts who were able to assist and guide them in their entrepreneurial ventures which later on would bring commercial success and the societal perception of power. The sub-elite member's insulating and supportive qualities of the elite were important because they were the ones to seek out feasible and potentially profitable ventures for the elite and the ones which functioned as an administrative buffer between the non-elite and the elite. Thus, John Shedden and George Laidlaw, were recruited by Gooderham and Worts to serve their business needs and in so doing, were elevated to positions of commercial control (directorships) and of social confidence (club memberships).

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[42] Minutes of the Toronto Club, August 4, 1874. Archives of the Toronto Club. Toronto.

[43] Lists of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Toronto.

[44] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, dated January 28, 1867. Toronto Public Library. James Gooderham Worts was the President of the Board of Trade in this year which greatly influenced the decision to accept Laidlaw into the committee of management.

[45] The Globe, April 2, 1867.

[46] *Ibid.*, Also Monetary Times, April 12, 1869.

[47] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Wharf and Warehousing Company, *loc. cit.*

[48] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, dated January 25, 1869. Toronto Public Library. The project was a reincarnation of the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company which was proposed in 1856. Due to the recession of 1857 no further action on the proposal was taken until Worts and his committee renewed the idea thirteen years later. For the earlier plan see the Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company, 19 and 20 Vic. Cap. 118, July 1, 1856. Statutes of Province of Canada.

[49] The Globe, January 2, 1868.

[50] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1867.

Besides the empire building characteristics of William Gooderham in the distilling, warehousing, shipping, railway and cattle business, he was also prominent in the banking and financial circles of Toronto and region. His major motivation for being interested in banking was his desire and need to finance many of his entrepreneurial ventures and to set in place an institution which could recirculate his quickly accumulating capital.[51] In addition to his large investments in Allan's* Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society, and McMaster's* Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Company, William Gooderham was the 'body and soul' of one of Toronto's most trusted financial institutions in the mid to late 1800s, the Bank of Toronto.[52] Incorporated in 1855, the Bank of Toronto was one of many banking institutions which established itself to combat the tightening credit policies in Canada West of the Bank of Montreal.[53] It, along with McMaster's, Commerce; Henry S. Howland's, Imperial; W.P. Howland's, Ontario; and James Austin's, Dominion, tried to create in Canada West a banking nucleus which would offer loans and credits to the traders and merchants of the region without the interference of the Bank of Montreal.[54] The imperativeness of this scheme was obvious due to the precarious financial position of many companies and banks already venomously touched by the tight credit policies of the Bank of Montreal in Upper Canada. Although the Bank of Toronto was conservatively managed by George Hague,[55] during the first decade of its existence, the institution was able to survive the critical years of the mid-1860s and blossom into the third largest bank in Canada West prior to Confederation.[56] With the failure of the Bank of Upper Canada in 1866,[57] the Commercial Bank of Canada in 1867,[58] Brown's Bank in 1869,[59] the Royal Canadian Bank in 1869,[60] and the Gore Bank in 1869,[61] the Bank of Toronto was able to secure many of their larger defunct accounts and increase its working capital to $2,000,000.[62] This stroke of fortune for the Bank of Toronto, plus the creation of several other banking institutions in the late 1860s, effectively nailed the lid shut on E.H. King's (Bank of Montreal) credit coffin in Canada West.[63] It also served to vilify the contempt and anger which many of the merchants and businessmen of Toronto and region felt toward King. In editorial writings following the meetings of the Canadian Banking Committee, a Senate sub-committee, both the Montreal Gazette of November 12, 1867 and the Globe of October 3, 1867, reflected the emotion felt by bankers in Ontario toward King. The Gazette, in quoting the Bank of Toronto's James Gooderham Worts, stated:

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[51] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1867.

[52] The Bank of Toronto was established along with the Ontario, the Commerce, the Dominion and the Imperial, as a counter-measure to the tightening credit policies by the Bank of Montreal. For its original charter, see the Incorporation Act of the Bank of Toronto, 18 Vic. Cap. 205, May 19, 1855. Statutes of Province of Canada.

[53] Schull, 100 Years of Banking in Canada ..., p. 44.

[54] For general discussions of the competition and rivalry which existed between the respective banking institutions of Montreal and Canada West, see Merrill Denison, Canada's First Bank: A History of the Bank of Montreal . (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 159-160; Victor Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Vol. 2 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 16; and Schull, 100 Years of Canadian Banking in Canada..., p. 34.

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[55] George Hague was an extraordinary banker in the nineteenth century. While he got his banking start with the Bank of Toronto, Hague went on to resurrect the Merchant's Bank of Canada into one of the most powerful and successful banking institutions in Canada. As well as being the long-time President of the Canadian Banker's Association, Hague was also a prolific writer about banking and financial matters. Some of his works included: Banking and Commerce. (New York: Banker's Publishing, 1908); "The Late Mr. E.H. King", The Canadian Banker, Vol. 4 (October 1896), pp. 20-21; and "R.H. Bethune", *ibid.*, Vol. 2 (June 1894), pp. 425-427; plus, numerous other articles.

[56] Masters. The Rise of Toronto..., p. 180.

[57] The Globe, September 19, 1866.

[58] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1867.

[59] *Ibid.*, March 8, 1869.

[60] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1869.

[61] *Ibid.*, August 26, 1869.

[62] Schull, 100 Years of Banking in Canada... p. 44 and The Globe, August 22, 1881.

[63] R.M. Breckenridge, "The Canadian Banking System: Province of Canada, 1850-1867", Journal of the Canadian Banking Association. Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1895), p. 288. Between 1858 and 1866, fourteen charters were passed authorizing capital for $19,460,000.

> Is this man a little God that he dares to treat the representatives of all other banks in this manner?

And The Globe, in echoing the implied sentiment to this question, retorted:

> Are the Upper Canada Banks to remain at the mercy of this treacherous and double-faced man?

Needless to say, great relief came to banking in Canada West after the independence question was settled by the Dominion Bank Act of 1871.[64] No longer would the banks of Canada West have to deal with E.H. King and the Bank of Montreal, nor would they have to direct their energies into credit borrowing from the United States. For all intents and purposes, the bankers of Canada West were free to capitalize on business ventures which they deemed worthy of their credit measures. The Government of Canada was now the sole regulator of notes and species issue and it was the principal overseer of the credit borrowing procedures of all banks in the country. As a result of the Bank Act, it was unlikely that one particular bank (i.e., Bank of Montreal) could hold large credit notes for other banks and in the course of tight money situations, call in the credit notes to submerge the equity positions and livelihood of other lending institutions.

Gooderham's cool and cautious leadership had led the Bank of Toronto to a pre-eminent position in Ontario banking circles in the late 1870s. He had been President of the Bank in a period from 1864 to 1881[65] and had, along with his milling partner and Bank Vice-President, James Gooderham Worts, ably assisted in rejuvenating the economy of many businesses in the Province. Worts had been William Gooderham's right-hand man in the affairs of the Bank of Toronto from almost the very start. Worts served as Vice-President and a director of the Bank for an unprecedented twenty-seven years.[66] Through the course of their connection to banking in Canada West and Ontario, William Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts had made several good friends and business acquaintances. One of these was William McMaster*. Not only had McMaster subscribed heavily in the Bank of Toronto when it was established in the mid-1850s[67] but he had also been a partner of Gooderham in the Mechanic's Institute Building Fund in 1859,[68] of which George W. Allan* and Casimir S. Gzowski* were a part, the Toronto General Trust Company in 1881,[69] the Toronto and Nipissing Railway in 1869,[70] the Consumer's Gas Company in 1856,[71] the Board of School Trustees for the City of Toronto,[72] the Toronto General Hospital Building Fund of 1866,[73] the Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Company in 1870,[74], the committee of management of the Toronto Board of Trade in 1860 through 1866,[75] and the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club in 1876.[76] Similarly, Worts had social and business connections to McMaster through the Toronto Board of Trade, where both served on the committee of management through the period 1854 to 1863,[77] the Consumer's Gas Company,[78] the Toronto and Nipissing Railway,[79] the Rossin House Hotel,[10] along with George W. Allan*, Casimir S. Gzowski* and David L. MacPherson, the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company,[11] the Inter-Colonial Steamship Company,[12] the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal Company,[13] the Toronto Golf Club,[14] and the Toronto Granite Club.[15] along with George Gooderham. In essence, *William Gooderham, James Gooderham Worts and William McMaster formed one of the tightest entrepreneurial trilogies of the mid to late 1800s in Toronto.* Each of these gentlemen shared common goals, the least of which was to expand the trade of Toronto-based businesses, and each had a heart-felt confidence in the abilities and financial backing of the other. Thus, they shared a uniform consciousness which added to their cohesiveness as an elite. And because joint stock companies of this era relied so heavily on the financial stability of their stock subscribers, it was paramount in the minds of many investors to have confidence in whom they were dealing. Or, in other words, it was important to know who the mutual investors were, both socially and administratively, so that when the capital was subscribed there was very little chance of default on payment and corporate collapse prior to the company being fully operational. Unfortunately, financial collapse was the fate of many poorly backed ventures during the nineteenth century but very rarely was this a phenomenon of the elite merchants, traders, bankers, engineers and other professions, who nearly always knew the people and the conditions under which their investment was being made.[16] Sport clubs aided in the acquaintance of business partners and were the site of many of the ***interlocking friendships*** which developed during this era due to the importance of knowing who one was dealing with in enterprising projects. Later, after the introduction of Sir John A. MacDonald's National Policy,[17] which stressed corporate expansion in the face of a fast growing economy, joint stock companies fell from grace due to the inability of investors to know with whom it was they were dealing. The share stocks were so numerous in large corporations that it was very difficult to know all the respective stockholders, thus reducing the management's intimacy directly related to company financing. As a result, large, independently backed joint stock ventures declined in popularity. The evolving corporations eased the financial liabilty pressure of a small number of investors in a joint stock company and surpassed the trust element so closely associated with the business and social relationships during the majority of the nineteenth century. The net result of corporation establishment was that commerce was no longer controlled by the people who owned the majority of stock in the company, and who had made oligarchical leadership a staple of their business relationships. Rather, larger directorships, independent to the financial backing of a commercial venture, characterized corporate evolvement. Socially, this turn-around in the commercial thinking of the period altered the status of business relationships. The do-or-die need of nineteenth century commercial friendships waned in importance due to the decreased need of investors to know thoroughly their mutual investing partners. Therefore, the importance of good social connections, apart from business, weakened and the close-knit fabric of elite society in general began to diverge and moderate in terms of a homogeneously based ideology. Thus, sport club membership after 1880 deminished in importance somewhat, due to the declining importance given to social inter-relationships. But this was a relatively small adjustment and one not wholly discarded by the elite.

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[64] B.E. Walker, "Banking in Canada", *ibid.*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (September 1893), p. 10. He refers to the Bank Act of the Dominion (34 Vic. Cap. 5) as having a "turning-around" effect on the Canadian economy. No longer did the banks have to issue their own species, this was now done by the Government of Canada who regulated the extent of paid-up capital of each bank. Therefore, this circumvented the need of the banks in Canada West of going to the Bank of Montreal for credit extension and government notes. Also, see the Monetary Times, March 4, 1870.

[65] See the Monetary Times, July 27, 1869; June 21, 1872; October 12, 1877; and June 17, 1881. Also see Schull, 100 Years of Banking in Canada..., pp. 40 and 72.

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[66] *Ibid.*, Also see, Toronto Evening Telegram, June 20, 1882 and The Globe, June 21, 1882.

[67] See the Incorporation Act of the Bank of Toronto, *loc. cit.*

[68] List of subscribers to the Toronto Mechanics' Institute Building Fund. Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.

[69] The Globe, May 12, 1885.

[70] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1869.

[71] *Ibid.*, October 29, 1856.

[72] *Ibid.*, January 14, 1857 and January 13, 1858.

[73] *Ibid.*, January 4 and 5, 1866. William Gooderham was Hospital Commissioner for the Toronto Board of Trade from 1862 to 1866. He became Chairman of the Board for the Toronto General Hospital in 1866. See *ibid.*, December 5, 1866.

[74] Monetary Times, June 10, 1870.

[75] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, February 7, 1860; February 5, 1861; January 29, 1862; January 30, 1863; January 26, 1864; February 1, 1865; and February 7, 1866.

[76] List of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, Toronto.

[77] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, February 10, 1854; February 2, 1855; March 13, 1856; January 28, 1857; February 2, 1858; January 9, 1859; February 7, 1860; February 5, 1861; January 29, 1862; January 3, 1863; and January 26, 1864.

[78] See The Globe, October 29, 1867; October 27, 1868; October 26, 1869; November 1, 1870; and October 30, 1873.

[79] Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway, *loc. cit.* As well, see The Globe, July 21, 1869.

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[10] Incorporation Act of the Rossin House Hotel. 29 and 30 Vic. Cap. 124, August 15, 1866. Statutes of Province of Canada.

[11] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, dated July 20, 1855. Also see Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company. *loc. cit.*

[12] The Globe, December 7, 1866.

[13] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, dated January 25, 1869.

[14] Lists of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, Toronto.

[15] Lists of members, 1878-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Granite Club. Archives of the Toronto Granite Club, Toronto.

[16] For a general discussion of the nature of joint stock companies, see M. Schmitthoff, "The Origin of the Joint Stock Company", University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. 4 (1939), pp. 74-96; R.C.B. Risk, "The Nineteenth Century Foundations of the Business Corporation in Ontario", University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. 38 (1973), pp. 207-306; and T.W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism: A Study in the Structure of Entrepreneurship, 1880-1910", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971; and P.A. Baskerville, "The Boardroom and Beyond: Aspects of the Upper Canadian Railroad Community",

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[16](cont'd) Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1973.

[17] For a somewhat biased analysis of MacDonald's National Policy, see J.M. Bliss, "A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972. Although he speaks of corporate expansion, he does so in terms of how a larger corporate manufacturing to the social needs of the poorer segments of the population.

Apart from William Gooderham's many business successes during the mid to late 1800s, ones which included the Canada Guarantee Company,[88] the Toronto Opera House Company,[89] and the Western Assurance Company,[90] he never lost sight of what had made him a wealthy and envied man. Drive, shrewdness and moral rectitude were values which he utilized in developing his many enterprises and which stood as symbols to many young men in their endeavor to fulfil the elusive prophecy of a "self-made man".[91] From his initial days in Toronto as a small miler to his later years as Toronto's largest taxpayer,[92] William Gooderham had done much for his community and had accomplished a level of societal positioning which made him a revered friend and business associate to many of the elite. The Globe, on the occasion of his death on August 20, 1881, stated:

> Few men have been more closely identified with the history of a community. Coming to Toronto when the town contained only three or four thousand inhabitants, and little wealth, he at once threw his energies into the little community, developing its importance and industry, and there have been few movements since affecting the welfare of the city of which Mr. Gooderham has not been one of the originators or active supporters, while at the time of his death, in conjunction with his partner, Mr. J.G. Worts, held the controlling power in a variety of enterprises or institutions which directly or indirectly have a vast influence on the growth of the city.

William Gooderham's impact on the life of Toronto, to say the least, was considerable. At the time of his demise the Gooderham and Worts distillery business employed no less than 1000 men and paid annual taxes in excess of $1,551,580,[93] the largest single taxed industry in Ontario. Although his exact monetary worth was never accurately established, Gooderham's estate, after providing for his six surviving children, was valued at $1,550,000.[94] This amount did not include his business holdings which were indirectly passed on to George Gooderham, his third son, the entitled director and executor of his accounts. It also did not include James Gooderham Worts' interests in the Gooderham businesses which were substantial. Part of elder Gooderham's holdings included common shares worth $42,000 in the Bank of Toronto; $122,000 in loan and savings companies; $90,000 in the Canada Permanent Building and Savings Company; plus, $32,000 in the Western Canada Loan and Savings Company.[95] The munificence of this man stood as testimony to his ability to deal in a wide variety of consumption markets with great sensitivity and to capitalize on opportunities offered by new techniques and new markets.

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[88] Monetary Times, November 28, 1873.
[89] The Globe, January 16, 1874.
[90] Monetary Times, May 11, 1869.
[91] The Globe, August 22, 1881.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] Toronto Telegram, May 2, 1905.
[94] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 360.

As a patriarch of business interests in Toronto, William Gooderham did much to guarantee the careers of James Gooderham Worts and his son, George Gooderham. By opening up new commercial ventures, whether these be in distilling, banking, milling, real estate, financing, railways, shipping, forwarding or the cattle business, William gave Worts and George a plethora of opportunities with which to demonstrate their competencies and talents. While it was true the elder Gooderham overshadowed the importance of the business roles played by his two younger associates, each, particularly Worts, was able to create an identity for himself which, though largely in the shadow of William and connected to the fortunes of a multi-faceted distilling empire, showed a unique rendering of personality. Worts, although older than George Gooderham by more than a decade, and summoned into the family's business interests earlier in life, remained a contemporary of William's son throughout his life. Many of James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham's activities were *inter-mixed*, both in a social and a commercial context. Both of them were long-time members of the Toronto Turf and Hunt Clubs. They became interested in equestrianism apparently through William Gooderham who had been a member of the Turf Club since 1863.[96] In all likelihood, William developed an interest in horse-racing as a direct result of his friendship with Casimir S. Gzowski*. Gzowski was President of the Toronto Turf Club from 1861 to 1868 and represented the 'new' professional element in the directorship of an otherwise staunch *Family Compact* organization. As a consequence, Gzowski enticed many of the leading entrepreneurs of Toronto to follow his lead and join the elite in their passion for the equine species. He most likely sponsored Gooderham and others for membership in the Toronto Turf Club. Fenianism and Gzowski's attempts at raising a loyal cavalry regiment to defend Toronto, most likely cemented the committment of prominent citizens, like Gooderham, to the volunteer movement and served to give the elite a rallying point around which they could demonstrate their favor for the Crown. Moreover, William Gooderham's membership in the Toronto Turf Club was likely a friendly result of his having helped Gzowski secure the Esplanade contract for the city's harbourfront in 1855.[97] At this time, Gooderham, an alderman for the St. Lawrence Ward,[98] chaired the committee on wharves and harbours and along with compatriots, George W. Allan* and John Beverly Robinson II*, also friends of Gzowski, agreed to award the contract to the capable Polish engineer.[99] Since inherited memberships were a predominant characteristic of the elite in the 1800s, it follows that James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham naturally followed in their uncle's and father's footsteps and joined the fashionable Toronto Turf Club to pursue social and business acquaintances at their leisure. Interestingly, both Gooderham and Worts tendered their membership in the Toronto Turf Club in the same year, this being 1870.[100] As well, each joined the Toronto Hunt Club in 1865,[101] a fact which speaks loudly for the closeness of these two gentlemen. In fact, each man concurrently shared the duties of the Master of the Hunt. George Gooderham served as Master of the Toronto Hunt in 1870, 1871, 1872; and 1876, 1877, and 1879.[102] His tenure as Master was interspersed with James Gooderham Worts' tenure in 1873, 1874, 1875; and 1880, 1881, and 1882.[103] Thus, for a period of no less than twelve years, the administrative direction of the Toronto Hunt Club was under the control of the Gooderham and Worts' cartel.

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[95] *Ibid.*

[96] List of members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Turf Club. Denison Papers. Ontario Public Archives and Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Woodbine.

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[97] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 360.

[98] Victor Russell, The Mayors of Toronto, 1834-1899. (Erin, Ont.; Boston Mills Press, 1982), p. 144.

[99] Report of the Select Committee of the Corporation of the City of Toronto to Whom was Referred the Contract for Esplanade and the Esplanade Bill before the Legislature. (Toronto; MacLear and Thomas, 1855). Gzowski Papers, Ontario Public Archives. Also see, Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 360.

[100] List of members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Turf Club. Denison Papers, Ontario Public Archives.

[101] List of members, 1865-1881. Records of the Toronto Hunt Club. Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club and the personal papers of Clifford Sifton III, Caledon, Ontario.

[102] List of Masters of the Toronto Hunt Club, 1843-1931. Records of the Toronto Hunt Club. Newcastle, Ontario. Other Masters of the Hunt included, Colonel Elliot, Royal Canadian Rifles, 1843-44; Colonel Maul, 79th Regiment, 1848-1851; Colonel

Evidently, both men were accomplished horsemen. Worts was especially proficient as he often secured the 'brush' as a result of being the first rider to the fox kill.[104] Mr. Worts frequently entertained the Club prior to and after the rides a his residence of Brockton House, just east of the City.[105] This honor eventually switched to Mr. M.A. Thomas' Chop House, on Kingston Road, where weekly meetings of the Club were held regularly during the summer months.[106] Due to the relatively undeveloped nature of the countryside in the eastern segment of Toronto, most of the chases of the Toronto Hunt were held on private farming property in this region. On one occasion, as the Globe on May 16th, 1870, described, the chase covered a considerable distance:

> On Saturday afternoon the Toronto Hunt Club met at Norway (Mr. Thomas' Chop House) and the drag was laid on at Mr. Peter Paterson's house (prominent merchant of Toronto), on the south side of Kingston Road. The hounds took the trail and ran about six miles in the northeasterly direction; then they turned and went across the Kingston Road, down the west side which they ran until they came within two miles of Norway, when the fox was let loose. He ran for about three miles when the brush was taken by Mr. (A.R.) Boswell. Several of the gentlemen received 'croppers' during the meeting. Between thirty and forty ladies took part in the run.

Other chases were held on the estates of various members, including John Shedden,[107], a protege of both George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts, and Colonel O'Hara.[108]

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[102](cont'd) Dalrymple, 74th Regiment, 1851-1854; Captain Seagrave, 1854-1857; Captain Clarke, 1857-1860; John Hendrie, 1860-1864; William Copeland, 1864; Colonel Jenyns, 13th Hussars, 1865-1868; John Hendrie, 1868-1870; William Copeland, 1882; Dr Andrew Smith, 1883-1893; and George W. Beardmore, 1893-1931.

[103] *Ibid.*, Also see Aemilius Irving, "A History of the Toronto Hunt Club, 1842-1928", A speech presented to the membership of the Toronto Hunt Club, October 12, 1928. Miscellaneous Collection, Ontario Public Archives; Frank Proctor, Fox Hunting in Canada and Some of the Men Who Made It. (Toronto; MacMillan, 1929), pp. 25-30; *idem*, Fox Hunting Under Six Sovereigns. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1934), pp. 28-29 and 44-46.

[104] The Globe, November 30, 1870 and May 15, 1871.

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] *Ibid.*, May 4, 1872.

[107] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1870 and May 14, 1866.

[108] *Ibid.*, November 30, 1870.

Shedden, an associate of Worts and Gooderham in several commercial ventures, was a man of considerable horse breeding experience. At the Carleton Races of the Toronto Turf Club in 1865, Shedden's horse of 'Truxton' defeated John Beverly Robinson II's* horse, 'Silver Heel' in a match race.[109] And at the Barrie Races in July of 1873, an article in the Globe referred to the late John Shedden's horse, 'Norlander' as winning one of the principle races.[110] Shedden died accidently on May 16, 1873 as a result of being crushed between two railway cars on the Credit Valley Railway,[111] a venture owned and operated by George Laidlaw, another protege of Gooderham and Worts.[112]

As well as the Toronto Turf Club and the Toronto Hunt Clubs, Gooderham and Worts were also associated in the membership in the Toronto Golf Club.[113] Both gentlemen joined the Club in its inaugural year, 1876, and both continued their association with the Club until their deaths in 1882[114] and 1905,[115] respectively. Each man was evidently an avid golfer as both participated in tournaments throughout the late 1870s and 1880s-1890s.[116] While each man actively supported the activities of the Toronto Golf Club, it would appear that they enjoyed the social nature of the Club rather than the administrative challenges to which they could have had easy access if they so desired. In fact, both George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts were nominated to run for club executive positions on several occasions but both declined due to their already active roles in the Toronto Turf and Hunt Clubs.[117] The two cousins preferred to contribute to the welfare of the Toronto Golf Club by giving generously to subscription campaigns run by the organization in order to develop and expand their land holdings. As a result, they were instrumental in assisting to establish formal quarters for the Club and successful in elevating their status among the elite who had also contributed generously to the subscription campaigns. The original Toronto Golf Club was laid out on land near Norway, on property owned by many of the wealthier citizens of Toronto (which included both Gooderham and Worts). The property approximated the region which was the chase grounds of the Toronto Hunt Club. The thirty-seven acres of land which constituted the initial nine holes of the course were purchased through the generosity of five men, Robert H. Bethune, Sir Edmund B. Osler, Justice Walter P.G. Cassels, George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts.[118] The Woodbine Hotel, a popular spot for the fox hunters and turf riders of the region, was "used as a luncheon room and a receptacle for clubs and golfing clothing".[119] The land of the Toronto Golf Club was directly adjoining, and included part of the property of the original instigator of the Club, James Lamond Smith.[120] Smith had been a long-time friend of both Gooderham and Worts, and, at one time or another, had done banking business with them. Smith, a Scot, was born in Glen Millen, Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, on May 14, 1822. He had emigrated to Canada in 1840 settling in the Fergus region, an area steadfastly Highland in spirit and population. From there he moved to Toronto in 1860 to take-up the position as chief accountant with the Bank of Upper Canada's property department.[121] When the Bank closed its doors in 1866, he was able to secure a piece of property near Norway, which he called Ben Lamond.[122] In 1870, his brother Farquharson Smith visited Toronto, and it was he who evidently interested several gentlemen to play at golf on his brother's property. Among those who initially played in 1870, besides Gooderham and Worts, was Sir Edmund Osler. He was a financial broker in Toronto with partner, Henry Pellatt (who will be discussed later) for a number of years and later a federal minister and a director of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, along with Lord

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[109] *Ibid.*, October 25, 1865.
[110] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1873.
[111] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 10, p. 650.
[112] Monetary Times, October 31, 1873.
[113] Lists of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, Toronto.
[114] Evening Telegram, June 20, 1882.
[115] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1905.
[116] Tournament Score Books, 1876-1896. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, Toronto.
[117] The nominations of George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts were variously mentioned in the Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club between 1876 and 1896. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, Toronto.

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[118] Record of a Farewell Dinner at the Toronto Golf Club, October 19, 1912. A Speech Given by Colonel G.W. Sweny. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, Toronto.

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Jack Batten, The Toronto Golf Club, 1876-1976. (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1976), p. 9.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] Record of a Farewell Dinner..., *passim*.

Strathcona (Donald Smith) and Lord Mount Stephen (George Stephen).[123] He eventually became James Lamond Smith's son-in-law, having married the Smith's second daughter, Mary Isabella in 1868.[124] Osler, besides being a director of the Gooderham and Worts' venture of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway in 1878,[125] was a friend of the Gooderham and Worts families through his connections to them in the Toronto Stock Exchange,[126] the Toronto Granite Club,[127] the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club,[128] the National Club,[129] and the Toronto Club.[130]

Sir Edmund, in recounting his early golfing days in Toronto, stated:

> Golf was played in Toronto first in the year 1870 on the common on the Kingston Road near Ben Lamond, a little west of the present links of the Toronto Hunt Club. Mr. Farquharson Smith, Manager of the Bank of British North America, Quebec, brother of Mr. Lamond Smith of Toronto, came from Quebec on a visit to his brother for a few days, bringing with him clubs and balls. He asked a few friends (which included George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts) to come out and play, and from that time forward there was enthusiasm on the part of those who had seen the beginning of the game here. Among the first players were Mr. Justice Cassels, Mr. R.H. Bethune, Mr. J.L. Scarth, Mr. George Gooderham, Mr. James G. Worts, and Mr. Lamond Smith [131]

Osler continued his recollection by reflecting:

> The game was played on the common in the Kingston Road, more or less regularly until permission was obtained to play upon the grounds which the Toronto Club subsequently acquired. While there was no Club regularly organized, there was continuous golf from 1870 until the Toronto Golf Club

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[123] See Henry J. Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 874 and W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1978), p. 634.

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] The Globe, September 12, 1878.

[126] Monetary Times, July 23, 1868. E.B. Osler handled all the stock investments of William and George Gooderham, and James Gooderham Worts up until 1905, when George passed away.

[127] Lists of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Granite Club. Archives of the Toronto Granite Club, Toronto.

[128] Lists of members, 1876-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, Toronto.

[129] Incorporation Act of the National Club. 41 Vic. Cap. 66, March 7, 1878. Statutes of Province of Ontario.

[130] Lists of members, 1870-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club. Toronto.

[131] Record of a Farewell Dinner..., *loc. cit.*

> was permanently established nearly twenty-five years later (on their own course). The Club made its headquarters for many years in the old Woodbine Tavern, which was subsequently burned. In the fire nearly all the red coats which had been bought by the early golfers were destroyed. One of those who occasionally came to Toronto and was an enthusiast was Mr. Stevenson, General Manager of the Quebec Bank, and, whether appointments were made by accident or design, his head clerks seemed to be enthusiatic golf players.[132]

While a formal club may not have been started until 1876, the Toronto Golf Club and its respective charter members were active informally from 1870 onwards. If this were the case, then Toronto ranked closely with Montreal and Quebec for the honor of being the first location in British North America where golf was played on a regular basis. The Royal Montreal Golf Club was formally established in 1873,[133] and the Quebec Golf Club was organized in 1875.[134] The latter Club was supposedly begun by Farquharson Smith, brother of James Lamond Smith and a frequent golfer in Toronto.[135] Sir Edmund Osler, again recollecting his golfing experiences at the Toronto Golf Club's first course in Norway, described the social nature of golf in the 1870s and early 1880s:

> ... they (Bethune, Smith, Scarth, George Gooderham, James Gooderham Worts, William McMaster and others) usually assembled at a spot where a small stream ran at the base of what we know as the 'Punch-Bowl', and there, seated upon the grass after their exertions, they partook of light refreshments, which they had brought with them , washed down by copious draughts of water of the brook, qualified, and rendered innocuous by the wine of Gooderham and Worts.[136]

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[132] *Ibid.*, Also see W.A.R. Kerr, "Golf in Canada", The Canadian Magazine, Vol. 17 (1901), p. 340. Kerr stated that Lamond Smith, R.H. Bethune were the originators of the Toronto Golf Club in 1876. This was only partially correct. As well, see Joseph T. Clark, "Golf in Canada", The Canadian Magazine, Vol 26 (1905), p. 44. The red coat which Osler referred to was a British tradition. Blackheath Golf Club in England had required members to wear red coats as a symbol of their membership. See "The Game of Golf - Its Introduction Into England", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2, Series 4 (1865), pp. 208-209.

[133] See P.L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 114 and Gerald Redmond "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972, p. 269. While Redmond was correct in stating that a debate raged over 1873 as the founding date of the Royal Montreal Golf Club, he was incorrect in stating that "... a rather informal club was formed in Toronto in 1876."

[134] Kerr, "Golf in Canada", p. 343.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] Record of a Farewell Dinner to Colonel G.A. Sweny, A Speech by Sir Edmund Osler, *passim*. Also see Batten, The Toronto Golf Club..., p. 15.

Apparently, George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts contributed more than just their golfing skills and money to the Toronto Golf Club during its early phase of development. The Club moved from their course at Norway in 1894, to a parcel of land farther west which would provide enough room for an eighteen hole course. This land was secured in the region of Port Credit not far off the shores of Lake Ontario. Sir Edmund Osler and Justice Walter P.G. Cassels were in charge of the land acquisition.[137] Due to their connections with the Mayor of Toronto at the time (Warring Kennedy), Osler and Cassels were able to buy the necessary property for a fraction of what the ordinary buyer would have had to pay to the municipality. In formulating the best way to further reduce the incurred costs to the Club, Osler and Cassels, as principals in the land deal, formed an incorporated entity. Justice Masten, who had joined the Club in 1890, recalled the shrewdness and cunning which these two gentlemen exhibited in securing the property and in lessening the Toronto Golf Club's costs. The example stands as testament to the type of skilled businessman or financier who belonged to the "Banker's Golf Club" with whom George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts had a long relationship. Masten recounted that:

> In 1894 the club became incorporated.... Indeed there were two clubs incorporated.... The Fernhill Land Company was formed and bought the lands which they then leased to another association known as the Toronto Golf Association Limited, the real golfing club. The Golf Association paid all the taxes on the land and paid to the shareholders six per cent on the money invested. The Fernhill Company was composed entirely of members of the Club - Sir Walter (P.G.) Cassels, Sir Edmund Osler, D.R. Wilkie, James Gooderham Worts, and Colonel Sweny were prominent members of Fernhill - and an option was given by that company to the Toronto Golf Association agreeing that it might at any time acquire the course and clubhouse by paying to Fernhill the amount of the principal money which it had invested.[138]

In essence, Osler and Cassels owned the land bought by the Fernhill Company and rented it to the Toronto Golf Association at a nominal charge. Further, the rental fee was high enough to return a yield to the members at a rate of six percent. Therefore, Edmund Osler and

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[137] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[138] A speech given by C.A. Mastern to the Toronto Golf Club on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Club, June 29th, 1926. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club. Toronto.

Walter Cassels stood to gain little from this venture apart from assisting the Toronto Golf Club in establishing a sound footing upon which to develop and expand. Osler, in an historical address to the membership, paid tribute to Justice Cassels and others (including George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts) who helped in the development of the Club and gave examples of the importance of *friendly connections* among the elite. He reminisced:

> The services rendered by Mr. Justice Cassels during the fourteen years he was captain can scarcely be adequately set forth here; but his gift of several acres of the eastern fields to the club, which have proved themselves to be a most valuable asset and without which an eighteen hole course was not possible of achievement, should be recorded and never forgotten by us.... Nor should we overlook or forget the kindly action of Mr. Justice MacLennan whose lands were used as part of the course for so many years and whose goodness we have feebly attempted to repay by asking him to accept an Honorary Life Membership of our Club.... and... to the legal members of the Board of Directors who have gratuitously given much of their valuable time to the legal part of our labours... thank-you.[139]

The elite members of the Club, which included Gooderham and Worts, did everything in their powers to ensure the perpetuation of their organization. In addition to the money invested in such clubs, the elite used their legal, administrative and benevolent talent to secure institutions which would foster and enhance the quality of their social relationships. Even though the physical activity of playing a sport was important in the context of social relationships within elite clubs, it was largely a tertiary consideration when it came to pinpointing the lifeblood of such establishments. ***Fraternization with social equals in an atmosphere of non-censure stood as the modus operandi of these clubs.*** The commiserations of Colonel Sweny certainly corroborated this idea in terms of the Toronto Golf Club:

> For more than forty years this club has been growing to its present condition and has now become a leading factor in Golf in Canada. It has, above and beyond being a sporting association, been a social company of members and associate members with whom pleasant intercourse was always possible. Our companions have been men and women whom it was always a pleasure to meet, whose golfing ethics and sportsmanlike conduct have been devoid of reproach and whose loyalty to the club has made it prosperous and held in

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[139] Record of a Farewell Dinner to Colonel G.A. Sweny, A Speech by Sir Edmund Osler, *passim*.

high esteem.[140]

While neither George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts was ever a Captain nor an executive member of the Toronto Golf Club during their respective twenty-nine and six year tenures, they did 'rub shoulders' with the majority of the banking and legal elite of Toronto and they were two of the original founders of the Club. They did so presumably to promote and enrich association with others of equal, or near equal, societal positioning. The fraternizing characteristics of club membership allowed them to socially encounter those with whom they did business (i.e., Bank of Toronto business) and to informally discuss the atmosphere of social and economic policy with which the elite were so concerned due to the rapidly changing complexion of Canadian society brought on by increased industrialization and immigration in the late 1800s. The fact that the bulk of two professions, banking and law, had joined the Toronto Golf Club, speaks well for the argument that the elite was a homogeneous grouping of various professionals who exercised an ideological policy of social control and class regulation which inherently preserved the access to and authority of power. The practice of *black-balling*, though developed in an earlier period, gave the elite, within clubs and executive boards, the ultimate means of controlling the access to power and served to demonstrate the 'paradox of upward mobility' which was a contemporary reform ideal of the elite in the nineteenth century.[141] Although the impression given by the elite to prospective club members was one of democratic choice, meaning that they could apply and be balloted for by the membership, in true fact, *black-balling* was a mere formality for those deemed suitably acceptable. In other words, the elite would have already made its choices of members prior to the *sham-democratic process of balloting and black-balling.*[142] *In the history of most*

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[140] *Ibid.*

[141] The 'paradox of upward mobility' simply meant a perceived opportunity to raise one's social status when in fact, no opportunity existed at all. See Allan Smith, "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1978), pp. 189-219.

[142] Of the sixteen sport clubs and five business clubs analyzed in this study, all had regulatory clauses pertaining to the black-ball method of membership selection. Usually, one black-ball was enough to exclude. In the By-Laws drawn up by the Toronto Golf Club on September 9, 1898, Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club, Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, it stated in the second By-Law that: "Members

clubs surveyed in this study, there were very few occurrences ever recorded where a nominated member was ever rejected by the black-ball procedure. Therefore, it can be implied that access to power, power that George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts were so aware of, was more than just wanting to be powerful, but rather it was a matter of being designated as suitable in terms of social, economic, religious, ethnic and educational criteria. The elite was very selective in whom it allowed into its socially controlling and socially controlled institutions, and it did not hesitate to ignore those persons who posed a usurping threat to its control and regulation of power.

Although George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts largely inherited their memberships in Toronto's elite clubs from their mentor, William Gooderham, each man was responsible for demonstrating his own social and commercial talents and securing for himself, an everlasting, respectful position among the wealthy and influential. James Gooderham Worts showed his capable talents early on in his career when he was still in the shadow of his older partner. Worts, due to his large stake in the economy of Toronto, became actively involved in the Toronto Board of Trade in the late 1840s. He was first elected to the committee of management for the Board in 1852 and held this position until 1863 when he was elected Vice-President.[143] Concomitant to his committee of management position, Worts was elected as Harbour Commissioner for the Toronto Board of Trade in 1856.[144] James Gooderham Worts was joined on the committee of management by such people as William McMaster* in 1852,[145] Thomas D. Harris in 1854,[146] (he will be looked at later), W.P. Howland in 1857,[147] and William Gooderham in 1860.[148] All these gentlemen shared intimate

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[142](cont'd) of the Association (Club) shall be elected by the Board of Directors, and where a ballot is called for one black-ball in three shall exclude the applicant." For the technicalities of membership election refer to J.F. Josling and Lionel Alexander, The Law of Clubs. (London: Oyez Publications, 1964), pp. 23-24 and 31-32; and J.N. Martin, Daly's Club Law. (London: Butterworth, 1970), pp. 8 and 9.

[143] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade. January 26, 1852.

[144] *Ibid.*, March 13, 1856.

[145] *Ibid.*, January 26, 1852.

[146] *Ibid.*, February 10, 1854.

[147] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1857.

[148] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1860.

social and commercial connections to Worts and each one of them, in some way, was connected in their friendship to Worts through sport. For instance, both Worts and McMaster were charter members of the Toronto Golf Club when it was officially formed in 1876 and Worts had indirectly inherited his right to become a member of the Toronto Turf Club thanks to the lobbying power of William Gooderham.

Worts epitomized the elite stranglehold of the top executive positions in Toronto's society by his long and respected role on the directorship of the Toronto Board of Trade. In addition to his eleven year committment to the committee of management form 1852 to 1863, Worts served as Vice-President of the Board in 1863 and 1864,[149] plus, he headed the organization as President from 1865 to 1869.[150] In 1870, he returned to his duties as a member of the committee of management and as Harbour Commissioner, and retained ~~these~~ postings until his death on June 20, 1882.[151] Thus, besides his many other commercial, fraternal and sport activities, Worts sat on the executive of the Toronto Board of Trade for thirty years, to this day, an unprecedented accomplishment. His next longest executive association was with the Bank of Toronto. He was Vice-President of the Bank from 1858 to 1881, a period of twenty-three years, plus he was a director of the same institution for a concurrent term of twenty-six years.[152] Not withstanding Worts' forty year connection to the family's distilling business, he exhibited faithful service to almost every enterprise he joined.[153] He was a director of the Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society, a rival to George W. Allan's* Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Company and William McMaster's* Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Company, from 1860 to 1882,[154] and he was a member of the Toronto Club from 1870 to 1882.[155] Similarly, his already discussed directorships with the Toronto and Nipissing, and Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railways, spanned a period of over a decade, as did his associations with the Toronto Turf and Hunt Clubs.

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[149] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1863 and January 26, 1864.

[150] *Ibid.*, February 1, 1865; February 7, 1866; January 28, 1867; January 23, 1868; and January 25, 1869.

[151] Evening Telegram, June 20, 1882.

[152] From Schull, 100 Years of Banking in Canada..., p. 4.

[153] James Gooderham Worts joined the distilling firm of Gooderham and Worts about 1842 and was made a full partner by William Gooderham in 1845. See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 11, p. 937.

[154] *Ibid.* Also see The Globe, February 18, 1860; February 5, 1864; February 13, 1868; and February 10, 1870. Plus, see Monetary Times, February 13, 1874; February 12, 1878; and February 14, 1879.

Worts' extensive tenure and association with various institutions did not preclude his sporadic attempts at independent commercial enterprises. For instance, he tried to initiate a concern which would supply all the wood fabricators and furniture builders of Toronto with wood preservatives. Because most of the furniture and household items of the period were constructed from wood, the Toronto Linseed Oil Company, moved to fill a void in the commercial marketplace which had yet to be occupied.[156] As well, his entrepreneurial spirit and his mentor's influence to broaden family interests, led him to invest in friends Casimir S. Gzowski* and David L. MacPherson's scheme to build a transcontinental railway in 1872.[157] Worts was joined in this venture by his close business associates, George W. Allan*, John Beverly Robinson II*, and William McMaster*.[158] Moreover, he teamed with Gzowski*, MacPherson*, and McMaster*, to build the Rossin House Hotel,[159] a hostel which later catered to the elite in Toronto, and he associated himself with Allan*, Gzowski*, D'arcy Boulton II and William Cawthra in the Toronto Volunteer Relief Fund in June of 1866,[160] and with Allan* and McMaster* in the Quebec Relief Fund in November of 1866.[161] The last two ventures showed in large part Worts' propensity to be philanthropic, a characteristic common to many of his elite contemporaries.

James Gooderham Worts was a man of great compassion and love for his family. When the Toronto General Hospital was being built in 1866, partly as a result of the Fenian raids on the City of Toronto and the surrounding regions, Worts and William Gooderham were at the fore of the organizational activity. Joining them were, not surprisingly, William McMaster*, William Cawthra, Casimir S. Gzowski*, and the Hon. George Brown.[162] Each man subscribed $100 dollars to the cause and each remained actively involved in the subscription campaign which followed the cessation of hostilities with the Fenians of the United States. Besides being loyal to the volunteers and their families after the incursions from the southern states, Worts was also devoted to his family. It seemed that anywhere he went, either out of the country or within the provinces of Canada, James Gooderham Worts took his family with him. As slow and as expensive as travel was at the time, it must have been a bittersweet arrangement to take his family with him when he travelled. He did not want to be away from them too long yet taking them with him all the time must have been expensive. The situation must have been amicable to him though as he was not detracted by their presence on his trips. In fact, on one business journey to England, on the occasion of the send-off from the members of the Corn Exchange, James Gooderham Worts spoke of the advantages of having his family along on the trip.[163] Concisely, Worts believed his trip would be more like a holiday than a commercial Odyssey and he hoped that when he returned all would be well with his many friends and acquaintances. In response, Robert Spratt, President of the Corn-Exchange, replied:

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[155] List of Members, 1870-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club. Toronto.
[156] The Globe, June 11, 1867.
[157] Incorporation Act of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, 35 Vic. Cap. 72, June 14, 1872, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.
[158] *Ibid.*
[159] Incorporation Act of the Rossin House Hotel Company, 29 and 30 Vic. Cap. 124, August 15, 1866. Statutes of Province of Canada.
[160] The Globe, June 9, 1866.
[161] *Ibid.*, November 3, 1866.

> While we must regret your temporary absence, we would cheerfully tender to you our heartfelt congratulations upon your well-earned escape for a time, sincerely hoping your tour of Europe may be the highest degree auspicious - that your visit to the French Exhibition may still further enlarge your experience as well as afford you all the enjoyment you anticipate - and that you may safely return to the familiar circle of trusting and admiring friends as resolved as ever to prosecute those enlightened plans of commercial enterprise of which we recognize you as an able and intelligent exponent.[164]

The admiration of fellow citizens of Toronto for this competent and enterprising man was by no means a backroom issue. On several occasions Worts was applauded for his commercial and philanthropic initiative but none was more personally flattering to him than in 1867 when 200 businessmen of the city in the riding of East Toronto, asked him to run for federal politics.[165] Friend and business associate, and the incumbent for the riding, Alexander Mortimer Smith, had agreed to step down from the posting in order that Worts be given the chance for election. Although this was fine with Worts, he experienced considerable opposition to his proposal of candidacy due to what others saw as too much "economic power" which William Gooderham and himself wielded in the region. Worts resigned his candidacy shortly after his nomination in the realization that, outside of the business community, the resentment for his wealth and power was too strong for him to secure any sort of consensus or surrogate responsibilty from the lower social orders of his riding.[166] His loyal associate in many commercial and sport ventures, Alexander Mortimer Smith resumed his incumbent seat and closed the curtain on Worts' infamous political career.[167]

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[162] *Ibid.* January 5, 1866 and February 20, 1866.
[163] *Ibid.*, February 15, 1867.
[164] *Ibid.*

Snubbed by the non-elite of his own riding, James Gooderham Worts still enjoyed the approval of most of his elite business compatriots. In one instance, at the first skating carnival to be held in Toronto in 1863, Worts was accorded the honor of being Chief Judge of Costumes and Master of Ceremonies.[168] He was joined on the judges stand by prominent businessmen, John O. Heward, R.H. Rutherford, John Boulton and John Leys.[169] All had connections to Worts not only in business but also in sport. The author for the editorial which appeared on the Globe on March 2, 1863, stated that "by 1:30 hundreds of the elite from all parts of the city had arrived." Thirteen girls were entered in the fancy skate contest, one of whom was Alice Worts, daughter of James Gooderham Worts.[170] As fate might have it, young Alice Worts won a silver flower stand for best female skater, at which time her father was splendidly received to make an acceptance speech on her behalf. Moved by the reception, Worts, "the eminent distiller of Trinity Street", thanked the Mayor (J.G. Bowes), the rink's proprietors and judges. A newspaper article went on to describe Mr. Worts' speech:

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[165] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 938.
[166] *Ibid.*
[167] Alexander Mortimer Smith had many associations with James Gooderham Worts and Willaim Gooderham during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. He was an associate of Worts' on the Toronto Board of Trade's committee of management; the Toronto and Nipissing Railway; the Huron and Lake Ontario Canal Company; the Canada Permanent Building and Savings Company; the Toronto Granite Club; and the Toronto Club. Further, each man had dealings with each other in banking circles due to the fact A.M. Smith was the President of the Royal Canadian Bank in 1867 and 1868 prior to its collapse in 1869. Worts was Vice-President of the Bank of Toronto from 1858 to 1881.
[168] Toronto Star, March 4, 1937.
[169] The Globe, March 2, 1863.

> Not only did he consider it an honor by its being the first prize won on that rink, but because it was the first that ever had been won at a prize skating match in this city. Mr. Worts who wore his skates while speaking, mentioned his own progress in the art of skating and the fact that he had at present five children among the skaters. At this Mayor Bowes broke in to say that seven members of his family skated "and that beats Mr. Worts!" Whereat a gentleman in the audience shouted that he had nine children skating - loud cheers.[171]

Obviously, Worts was regarded with much esteem by his elite compatriots and was accorded much respect when it came to issues of public concern and economic policy.[172] During his lifetime Worts had developed qualities which had endeared him to many. Not only was his family important to him but so were all his business associates and employees. He was a man of highly ethical and moral practices and he was a man who could relate equally as well with the brewmaster as with the Prime Minister. His flexibility in character was a quality which won him friends and served to produce vast commercial connections which inevitably contributed to his business empire. The Globe of June 21, 1882, in eulogizing the man, considered James Gooderham Worts to be one of the prime forces behind Toronto's ascendancy to business success and one of the City's leading figures in social discourse. The respectful testimonial stated:

> In all the positions of honor and trust held by Mr. Worts during his

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[170] Newspaper clipping from the T.A. Reed Collection. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. No date or publication information. Possibly from the Dominion Illustrated News.

[171] Alice Worts, in keeping with elite practices of the era, married Edward Strachan Cox, a relative to Anglican cleric John Strachan. Elite inter-marriage was not an unusual event in Toronto during the 1800s.

[172] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 26.

> extremely active lifetime, his integrity and sterling worth as a man and as a Christian distinguished him no less than his rare ability and thorough mastery of business details and general principles. Socially, Mr. Worts was a genial, kindly disposed gentleman, and was a general favorite with his acquaintances, while in his family relationship of husband and father, his grief stricken children, in the poignancy of their sorrow bear evidence to his love and indulgent parental authority. His employees were highly attached to him, and always found him to be a kind *master*.

While Worts may have been a master to many, he was a master to none in elite social circles. Neither was his business accomplice, George Gooderham.

George was born on March 14, 1830 in Scoles, England, the third son of Harriet Herring and William Gooderham.[173] (see geneological sketch of the Gooderham family). He emigrated with his parents to Canada in 1832 but did not immediately seek the security and shelter of the family's distilling business. Rather, his father had insisted that he receive a gentleman's education at Upper Canada College prior to embarking on a life of commercial interests.[174] Due to early tentative acceptance of William Gooderham by the *Family Compact*, George's education was almost an assured concession by the elite. William had recognized early on in his business affairs in the City of Toronto that a good education could go a long way in opening up socially restrictive doors which would otherwise have remained closed to George and his brothers. Young Gooderham, unlike his brothers, showed keen interest and aptitude in the commercial affairs of his father and of his older cousin. Although his older brother, William II, did come into the family's business affairs in the later 1860s, he never showed the commercial skill or acumen that George demonstrated throughout the later part of the nineteenth century. George was also a favourite of his father. Many times on business trips or special occasions, Gooderham would be his father's sole companion. And very often on weekends in fact, he would spend considerable time at the Gooderham and Worts' mills learning various aspects of the distilling business.[175] This experience early on in his life evidently did not affect George's studies at Upper Canada College as he exhibited good scholarship by remaining at the top of his class throughout his school years.[176] While it is uncertain whether George was a good athlete at Upper Canada College, he did show interest in recreational pursuits later on in his life.

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[173] Toronto Telegram, May 2, 1905. Also see Edmonton Bulletin, August 5, 1882.
[174] Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College. (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1901), p. 265.
[175] Toronto Telegram, May 2, 1905.

Like his father, Gooderham enjoyed the social atmosphere and physical challenge of the turf. As mentioned previously, Gooderham, along with James Gooderham Worts, joined both the Toronto Turf Club , an organization long patronized by William Sr., and the Toronto Hunt Club. Apart from the fact that their years of joining these organizations were the same, George and James coincidently shared alternating tenures as Master of the Hunt in the 1870s and 1880s. Both men did much to improve the blood-line species of the standard breds in Ontario and they also sought to raise the best possible hound packs in the Province.[177] Attached to his interest in horses and the chase, George was an accomplished sailor and golfer, not to mention a fine tennis player and curler. While Worts never showed the same affinity for sailing as did Gooderham, both remained long-established members of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[178] James Gooderham Worts became a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1861 and remained so until his death in 1882.[179] Gooderham became a member in 1867 and likewise remained so until his demise in 1905. And unlike Worts, Gooderham turned much of his inherited capital into purchasing, what was then one of the largest and best equipped schooners in North America.[180] The Oriole was an extraordinary seventy-three feet long an weighed ninety-five tons, an almost unheard of size for a pleasure vessel in the 1870s.[181] In fact, in an article published in the Dominion Illustrated Monthly in 1892, George Gooderham's yacht was named as one of the finest examples of ship building in

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[176] Roll of Pupils..., p. 266.

[177] Monetary Times, May 6, 1905.

[178] List of members, 1852-1902. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

[179] C.H.J. Snider, The Annals of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club: 1852-1937. (Toronto: Rouse and Mann, 1937), p. 100.

[180] See mention of the *Oriole* and its size in Allan Cox, "A History Sport in Canada, 1868-1900", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 337.

[181] "Evolution in Yacht Building", Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. 1 (October 1892), p. 526 and George E. Evans, "Yachting on Lake Ontario", *ibid.*, (July 1892), p. 337.

Canada. The article also made comment on the social and elitest nature of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. The passage read:

> The Royal Canadian Yacht Club of Toronto, one of the wealthiest and most flourishing clubs on the continent, numbers among its fleet some of the finest yachts to be found on fresh or salt water, notably the Oriole, Vreda, Aileen, Condor, Erma, Samoa, Wona, Kelpie, sloop Cygnet, and the Zelma .[112]

The Oriole name remained a long-standing tradition with the Gooderham family. George not only owned the Oriole I but he also supplied the necessary funds to build the Oriole II in the late 1870s. Similarly, George's third oldest son, George Horace Gooderham, built and sailed the Oriole III and his second oldest son, Albert Edward Gooderham, constructed and sailed the Oriole IV.[113] George sold the original Oriole to his good friend and Toronto Golf Club playing partner, Sir William Mulock in 1880.[114] Sir William had been a long-time enthusiast of yachting, having joined the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1867.[115] It was not unusual that the likes of the Gooderham, Worts and Mulock were members of a prestigious yacht club at this time. Yacht clubs, for the most part, were highly social institutions which had a lineage to the British tradition of yacht clubs and which, selectively, sought to exclude a certain segment of the population who could neither afford the time away from work to participate nor the large sums of money necessary to buy themselves a yacht. In essence, yacht clubs of the period were the most highly discriminating of all sport clubs in terms of their membership. To belong to a yacht club was an obvious sign to everyone that an individual had achieved considerable success and wealth in life. George Goderham had achieved this level of success by the time he became a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[116]

To be a yachtsman during the nineteenth century did not mean that you had to own a standardized size boat or that the sole purpose of the club was to race. Rather, up until the early 1880s, when rules were developed to handicap different types of boats to equalize competition, yacht clubs were largely social by nature. To yacht, did not mean to race in the 1800s, even though some ship owners did like to challenge one another. Yachting, in a tautological sense, meant boating for pleasure. In an article, written for Chamber's Journal in 1860, the author attempted to explain about yachts and yacht clubs of the era:

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[112] *Ibid.*

[113] Snider, Annals of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club..., p. 199.

[114] Petition for Transferral of Yacht Ownership to William Mulock, dated September 7, 1880. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

[115] List of Members, 1852-1902. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

[116] *Ibid.*

> Let it not be supposed that we know exactly what sort of a vessel a yacht is, merely because it is called by that name; for the yacht clubs include among their fleets, cutters, schooners, brigs, sloops, luggers, and yawls, according to the build of the vessel, the number of masts, and the rig of the sails. Nor does the tonnage of the vessel settle the question; for there are yachts on the Clyde and the Mersey barely exceeding two tons each, while the Brilliant, a yacht belonging to the Commodore Victoria Yacht Club is 480 tons.... The truth is, that a yacht is a pleasure vessel, as distinguished from a ship of war or a trading vessel.[117]

Thus, yachts could be any vessel built for pleasure sailing which was not used for commercial or military purposes. Moreover, yacht clubs could be composed of any type or size of vessel. To be a member of a yacht club in the Victorian period signified more than racing talent or ability. Usually it meant that "a man had a real taste for amateur seamanship, and also time, opportunity, and, above all, sufficient means for the purpose....".[118] Above all else, yachting and the confines of a yacht club were strictly reserved for men during this era. Women, in typical Victorian fashion, were highly censured both in the clubs and on the ships. In describing the general atmosphere of yachting in the late 1850s, one author related an apparently status-quo feeling of the period:

> Except for a short sail on a very fine day, we would give the same advice to our lady-readers. Ashore, they are truly, as the Persian poets sings, "the roses in the flower garden of our existence; but transplanted to the deck of a yacht, they become briers and thistles alike useless, inconvenient, and unsightly.[119]

Indeed, women's participation in yachting, remained non-existent except perhaps for the odd special occasion when their presence was, at best, tolerated.

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[117] "Yachts and Yacht Clubs". Chamber's Journal, Vol. 13, Series 3 (June 1860), p. 393.

[118] "Yachting", *ibid.*, Vol. 10, Series 3 (September 1856), p. 161.

[119] *Ibid.*

The Royal Canadian Yacht Club was assuredly fashioned after those of Great Britain. To the last detail, British North American yacht clubs were the mirror reflection of those in the 'Old Country'. The motivating force behind the establishment of yacht clubs in the colonies was the same no matter where one went in the British Empire - *social intercourse*.

> As sociability was found considerably to increase interest in this amusement (yachting), various associations styling themselves Royal Yacht Clubs, were formed in the various ports in the United Kingdom. Each of these clubs has an admiral and a vice-admiral, or commodore and a vice-commodore, committee and secretary, its own flags, which being used issued by special admiralty warrant, entitle vessels sailing under them to certain privileges, such as exemption for harbour dues & c., not only in home, but foreign ports.[190]

To say the least, George Gooderham's membership, and the membership of other Toronto elites, in the Royal Canadian Yacht Club was initially motivated by *social intercourse*. The Club served to perpetuate elitist ideals among those who cared to enforce them and it served to exclude those who did not have the time, the opportunity or the wealth. One need only look at the roster of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club between 1852 and 1900 to observe that the Club was an elite refuge. The original charter families were inter-mixed with the upwardly mobile commercial and professional elite. In addition to the Jarvis', Boultons, Strachans, Gwynnes, Sherwoods and Allans were mixed the Gzowskis, McMasters, Worts, Howlands, Harmans, and Gooderhams. Nothing could remove the indelable upper class facade from Ontario's only royal yacht club.

While George Gooderham may have started his yacht club membership on the social level, he became increasingly more interested in making yachting a competitive sport. Thanks to him the Royal Canadian Yacht Club was able to move its headquarters to Toronto Island in 1880,[191] plus, the Club was able to claim that it was the originator of uniform rules which governed inland lake yacht racing in North America.[192] Although the 'Seawanhaka Rule' did not originate in North America, Gooderham was the one to suggest that it be transplanted for use in Great Lakes yachting competitions. Invented by the Seawanhaka Corinthian Yacht Club of Oyster Bay, Long Island Sound, Ireland, in 1882,[193] the 'Rule' which took the length of the yacht at the waterline added to the square root of the sail area, and the sum divided by two, was established to determine a particular boat's sailing handicap. It was a condition which Gooderham had sailed Oriole II under when in England in 1883. He suggested the idea of the Seawanhaka Rule to Commodore John Leys of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1884. Leys, a fellow member of the Toronto Hunt Club, asked Gooderham if he would draw up the documents to form an association which would race and abide by the 'Rule'. As a consequence of his efforts, George Gooderham made a significant contribution to the sport of sailing by devising the Constitution and Rules and Regulations which would govern the Lake Yacht Racing Association formed in 1884.[194] The Lake Yacht Racing Association still exists today and continues to govern the competitions which take place annually on the inland lakes of Canada and the United States. Gooderham was an important developer of standardized rules for yacht racing in North America and as such, stood eminently respected by the sailing fraternity.

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[190] *Ibid*.

[191] Property Deed of George Gooderham for the purposes of erecting a clubhouse for the Royal Canadian Yacht Club on Toronto Island, dated June 23, 1880. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto. Also see The Globe and Mail June 21, 1980, for an historical account of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club's move to Toronto Island.

[192] Rules and Regulations of the Lake Yacht Racing Association, dated August 17,

George Gooderham's deserved respect also materialized outside his administrative contributions to sailing. He was not only a student of shipbuilding but he was also a keen skipper and a worthy sailor. So accomplished was he that besides competing in the America's Cup twice for Canada, Gooderham won no less than six major international victories as a skipper of Oriole I and Oriole II. Moreover, his good friends, John Leys and W.C. Campbell, assisted him in winning eleven Prince of Wales Cups, the oldest major international yacht race in North America, begun in 1861.[195] In essence, George Gooderham epitomized the type of man who could use his cunning and decisiveness, developed in a business enviroment, to compete successfully in the strategically demanding sport of sailing. The cross-over ability

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[192](cont'd) 1884. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.
[193] *Ibid.*
[194] *Ibid.*
[195] *Ibid.*

was not always successful for everyone who tried but Gooderham possessed the steely strength of character and a developed sense of good judgement which allowed him to compete in many aspects of life at the highest level. Although he was a confident man, and an accomplished participant in equestrianism, tennis, golf, sailing and curling, Gooderham remained a humble and an introspective person. The Monetary Times of May 6, 1905, in recounting the type of man he was, pointed to his quiet demeanor in spite of his very successful commercial career.

> Mr. Gooderham had been successful to a very uncommon degree in commercial and financial directions, and amassed great wealth, and exercised wide influence, but no one would have ever discover these facts from his demeanor. He was of simple and kindly manner, unchanged by success or wealth, markedly domestic in his habits, averse to ostentation as he was to prodigality. A hard worker almost all his life long, he was very methodical, and in anything he undertook, attentive to detail in an unusual degree. Immersed in business, as he had nearly always been, he found time to fill positions of trust in the hospital and college: and though showing no desire for public or municipal life was an encourager of sport and a contributor to good works, always unobtrusively. Everyone who knew Mr. Gooderham in a business way admired his quiet honesty and candor, and respected his good judgement: those who knew him intimately discovered in him loveable qualities, for he was a man who could show real cordiality though he did not wear his heart upon his sleeve.

And, in speaking of his recreational interests, the tabloid recalled George Gooderham's many pleasures and his non-unique membership in several social clubs.

> A direction into which his taste for outdoor life led him, and one that is little known outside of Toronto and vicinity, was yachting and hunting. He took a general interest in the improvement of the horse flesh and at one time rode to hounds. Of his various yachts, steam and sail, none was better known on Lake Ontario than the last schooner "Oriole", and many a day's pleasure did he give his friends in her, year after year. A quiet man, he was yet what Dr. Johnson called a "*clubbable man*", his membership in clubs including the St. James in Montreal, the Toronto Golf Club, the Hunt Club, The Toronto Club, the Albany Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club .[196]

While the Monetary Times failed to mention his connection to the Toronto Curling Club, the Toronto Granite Club, the National Club and the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, it did serve to point out that ***multiple club memberships*** among the elite, even in different cities and countries, were not an unusual occurrence. Here within the confines of a club, the 'gentleman' of the era could exchange social, economic and commercial ideas and could perpetuate the "social control" perception which many of the less fortunate and poorer individuals had of the elite.

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[196] Monetary Times May 6, 1905.

George Gooderham, like his father, oversaw the majority of the Gooderham and Worts enterprises by the time he reached the age of thirty-five years.[197] Though relatively young in years to hold a position of such large responsibility, George's early training on weekends by his father, while he was still in school, gave him a decided advantage in understanding the family's business interests over his brothers and his cousins. George Gooderham's business skill led him to expand his father's business when there was considerable opposition to it in the depression years of the later 1850s. But his confidence in the future of Canada and his knowledge of business cycles persuaded the management of Gooderham and Worts to follow his risk-taking venture. As a result, the Gooderham and Worts business was able to significantly increase production of alcoholic spirits and other sundry products, to capture almost a one third market share of the distilling business in Canada in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s.[198] The Monetary Times in eulogizing the man spoke highly of his expansionary vision of the late 1850s:

> His ideas prevailed and it is not much to say that a large part of the growth of the Gooderham and Worts business was due to his stand at the time. Of course, he has never been, at any time since without able assistants, chosen often from among his own family and connections, to manage the various concerns which his wealth has founded or vitalized.[199]

In addition to his various enterprises and business investments with James Gooderham Worts, which included: the Toronto Board of Trade, Gooderham serving on the committee of management in 1860 and Hospital Commission in 1861,[200] the Bank of Toronto,[201] the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal Company,[202] and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce

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[197] The year 1855 signified the beginning of George Gooderham's formal acceptance into his father's business affairs. Besides being named as a chief incorporator of the Bank of Toronto, George was also appointed Vice-President of Gooderham and Worts Limited. See the Incorporation Act of the Bank of Toronto, *loc. cit.*

[198] The Telegram, May 2, 1905.

[199] Monetary Times, May 6, 1905.

[200] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, dated February 7, 1860.

[201] Incorporation Act of the Bank of Toronto, *loc. cit.*

[202] The Globe, July 1, 1869.

Railway.[203] Gooderham was also a member with Worts in the Toronto Club,[204] the Toronto Hunt Club,[205] the Toronto Turf Club,[206] the Toronto Golf Club,[207] the Toronto Curling Club,[208] and the Albany Club.[209] George Gooderham's relationship to James Gooderham Worts was unquestionably close and profittable but so was his relationship to several other brothers who, in one form or another, worked for the family businesses. William II, his eldest brother (1824-1889), was appointed President and Managing Director of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway in 1873.[210] He held these positions until 1882 after which he retired. William II capably managed the Toronto and Nipissing Railway over the nine year period but did so only after an inglorious career in several other businesses which were not family owned. His appointment to the Toronto and Nipissing Railway symbolized the Gooderham's family efforts to resurrect the career of one of their own offspring, a practice not totally unusual among the elite. Similarly, Henry (1834-?), Alfred Lee (1836-?), and Charles Horace (1844-1904), all worked within the family's distilling business but none rose to the level which George had achieved during his career.[211] By and far, George was the one who masterminded the Gooderham's business success. His other brother, James (1825-1879), died as a result of a railway accident on the Credit Valley Railway in 1879 and his fourth oldest brother, Edward (1832-1834), died in infancy.[212]

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[203] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1871.

[204] Lists of members, 1870-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club, Toronto.

[205] List of members, 1865 - 1881. Records of the Toronto Hunt Club. Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club and personal papers of Clifford Sifton III, Caledon, Ontario.

[206] List of members, 1835 - 1881. Minutes of the Toronto Turf Club. Denison Papers, Ontario Public Archives and the Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Woodbine.

[207] Lists of members, 1876 - 1881. Minutes of the Toronto Golf Club. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club. Toronto.

[208] Lists of members, 1835 - 1881. Minutes of the Toronto Curling Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club. Toronto.

[209] List of members, 1881. Minutes of the Albany Club. Archives of the Albany Club. Toronto.

[210] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 360.

[211] Chadwick, Ontarian Families..., pp. 156 and 157.

[212] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 11, p. 360.

While it could be said that George Gooderham restricted the extent of his business interests to family ventures, he did this purposefully due to the high demands placed on him by the Gooderham and Worts conglomerate of companies. Though it was true he held several directorships in numerous firms which included the Bank of Toronto, the Toronto and Nipissing Railway, the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, the Manufacturer's Life Assurance Company,[213] the Toronto Board of Trade; plus, directorships and large stock holdings in the Canada Permanent Building and Savings Company, and the Western Canada Loan and Savings Company.[214] George Gooderham was a relatively focussed administrator of business affairs. Rather than having a customarily large portfolio of external directorships, he remained concentrated on family business enterprises.[215] His sizable wealth at the time of his death was almost solely attributable to his energy and skill in managing the Gooderham businesses. His estate was valued at close to $9,000,000 in 1905,[216] and he was said to have been the richest man in Ontario.[217] Although his estate was valued at $9,000,000, his net worth was valued at closer to $20,000,000.[218] He was registered as owning 3,258 shares of the Bank of Toronto stock which had a par value at the time of 100 dollars per share. At the market price in 1905, the share was worth $246, which meant his bank holdings alone, were worth close to a million dollars.[219] His distillery business was valued at $4,000,000; his mortgages held at $3,000,000; his real estate holdings at $4,500,000; his mining interests at $1,000,000; his stocks at $1,500,000; his loan company stock at $500,000; and his insurance interests at $2,000,000. These figures exclude his personal assets of yachts, the King Edward Hotel, his large residence at St. George and Bloor Streets (now the home to the York Club), and all the house furnishings. Suffice it to say, George Gooderham was not only one of the wealthiest men in Canada at this time but he was also probably one of the most ingenious in making capital investment work for him. His tax assessment surpassed that of his fathers' at $2,000,000, making him the largest second generation taxpayer in Toronto.[220]

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[213] Masters, The Rise of Toronto:..., p. 185.

[214] Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Vol. 11, p. 360.

[215] J.M. Careless, Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History. (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1984), pp. 109-111.

[216] Edmonton Bulletin, May 17, 1905.

[217] Monetary Times, May 6, 1905.

[218] The Telegram, May 2, 1905.

[219] *Ibid.*

George Gooderham, to the end of his life, was a man whose character "...was a pattern of plain, unassuming, unchanging strength".[221] His funeral was planned to be without ceremony and fanfare. He had explicitedly set out in his will that his funeral would be a private family affair but his social worth to his friends and city prevented it from being a restricted occasion. Hundreds lined the streets outside of the St. James Cathedral and a large gathering of prominent friends paid their last respects to this "old sailor".[222] Gooderham's cortege was covered in wreaths presented by many of Toronto's leading citizens and institutions. Included in the list of organizations which donated funeral decorations were the Toronto Hunt Club and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. He was buried in the St. James Cemetery alongside his mentor and father, William Gooderham. The Gooderham family dynasty, within two generations, had gone from an immigrant, 'fringe' elite to one which deserved considerable respect due to the monetary and social influence which it exerted in Toronto and Ontario. The Gooderhams had acquired the societal positioning among Toronto's original charter families because they had sought to educate their young, plus invest money and expand their business pursuits. While many of the *Family Compact's* familial vestiges withered and sank, both socially and economically, during the mid-1800s, the new elite of the Gooderhams, Worts and McMasters, to name a few, filled the void. A social recapitulation of sorts or a generational mix occurred during the late 1870s and 1880s but only up to the point where the old *Compact* families allowed themselves to compete financially and where they removed themselves from the elite social circles. George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts represented the new breed of elites in Toronto, and it was they who eventually set the guidelines for social acceptability in the early 1900s among the wealthy and influential. The social network among the new elite remained as it had for the *Compact* families and indeed the Robinsons, Allans and the Jarvis', were just as much a part of the *intimate social connection system* as they had been originally in Toronto. Yet now it was the new professional and the new commercial magnates who obtained prestige and status, and who controlled the access to power. The Gooderhams and Worts stand as examples of how non-elites were recruited and absorbed by the original elite of Toronto and how sport club membership assisted in interlocking the above stated gentlemen with those individuals who could best further their social and commercial causes.

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[220] *Ibid*.
[221] The Globe, May 2, 1905.
[222] *Ibid*.

Chapter X

EARLY ELITE INTEREST IN TORONTO SPORT, 1827-1840

> Refusing to broaden the base of the dominion by Conquistador-like assimilation, the British overseas were heavily dependent on their own imported inventions for keeping up morale. *The club*, the Anglican churches, railway refreshment rooms, mock Tudor taverns, masonic lodges, the golf courses, the race course - all these played their part.[1]

The British influence on Upper Canada, and later Ontario, was undeniable. Emigration of imperial subjects to a region such as Toronto during the earliest parts of the nineteenth century resulted in the transplantation of most Victorian social institutions. The club, whether for sport, commercial, benevolent, philanthropic or fraternal purposes, joined the High Church, the public-house, the horticultural society, the mechanics' institutes, the philharmonic society, and various other customary British organizations, in the establishment of an Upper Canadian society which, for the most part, reflected what had been a long tradition in the Mother Country.[2] Upper Canada, and Toronto, because of their almost sole development as quasi-British settlements, naturally showed the marks of life as it had been carried on in Britain for decades prior to colonization. While the American social influence to the near south was always a lingering threat, Upper Canada developed during the better part of the 1800s closely aligned to its Imperial roots due to what one authority of the period described as, "...the threat of Republicanism".[3] Social democracy, from Toronto's earliest beginnings, was something which was severely frowned upon and something which the original settlers of the region found highly distasteful about their American counterparts, due to what they believed was an unnecessary reliance on independence and personal freedoms.[4]

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[1] R. Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century, 1815-1914. A Study of Empire and Expansion. (London: B.T. Botsford, 1976), p. 150.
[2] For a substantiation of these general facts, see Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875. (London: Fontana, 1982), pp. 189, 232 and 233.
[3] John A. MacDonald as quoted in Michael Cross, The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 29.
[4] See R. Burns, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers (1973), pp. 312-314.

Ultimately, the settlers felt that too much independence would inevitably lead to colonial separation as the Revolution in the late 1770s had shown in the United States. Thus, what Home Secretary, William Warren Grenville, hoped to establish in drafting the Constitutional Act in 1791 was a society in Upper Canada which was the *image and transcript* of that of Britain. A society based on an hierarchical aristocracy and upon landed wealth and service to the King.[5] Although this absolute plan failed, due in part to Grenville's successor, the Duke of Portland, who blocked the idea of a landed aristocracy for fear that it too might lead to independence and separation, the general template of contemporary British society dominated the social and economic features of Upper Canadian and Toronto society. Yet, was Upper Canada and Toronto the *image and transcript* of Victorian British society? Were there peculiarities about Toronto's societal evolvement which impacted on sport? Were the people who played sport in Toronto from the earliest moments representative of an aristocracy? And, were there dominant social traits which linked them in any way? These are but a few of the questions that have been examined in this chapter and next three chapters. Hopefully, a better understanding of formal sport will materialize from the explanation. As well, an appreciation for sport and business club membership will result. Were friendly connections important in the terms of commerce, the professions, philanthropy, politics, education, benvolence and sport? Attempts have been made to tie British sport development with that of Toronto and to show that society as it existed in Toronto during the majority of the 1800s, mirrored that which was evolving in Britain. Sport and commercial growth have been the key elements of analysis, but where appropriate, other indirect explanations of Toronto's social development have been advanced so that that the general institutional relationships which were so important in terms of elite connections in sport may be understood.

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[5] See Lord Chancellor Thurlow to W.W. Grenville, September 1-10, 1789, in E.A. Cruickshank (ed.), The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1923).

A. The Earliest Sport and Social Roots of Toronto

Toronto was originally established by the British as a military guardpost and as a naval landing site.[6] Although the site of Toronto had previously been an entrepot for the French (known as Fort Rouille), it did not officially become recognized as a settlement claim until John Graves Simcoe decided that it would be an excellent alternative location to that of Niagara for the region's capital. Niagara had been too close to the untrustworthy American border and was highly vulnerable to attack.[7] The new Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, as a British-American Loyalist, was determined to build a defensible capital at Toronto based upon what he felt were very British-Tory ideals.[8] Like Grenville, Simcoe saw Toronto's initial society being based on a hierarchical social structure and an 'Established Church'. He contended that order, harmony and paternalism, as reflected by such a society, would serve to suppress the supposed corruption and instability of republican institutions.[9] Simcoe would only accept potential inhabitants of Toronto who were loyal to the Crown and to the constitutional monarchy, and who ascribed to his view of a stratified society. Social democracy, as understood in the American states, would not be tolerated in the new quasi-British capital of Upper Canada.

To reinforce his ideals of a hierarchically based society, John Graves Simcoe, working upon the authority of the Home Government, set about constructing a town in 1793 which had at its social apex, an *elite*. The elite was formed originally of two distinct groups: one being the loyalist officers and soldiers of Simcoe's old Revolutionary War regiment, the Queen's Rangers; and the other being administrative officials who basked in the patronage given out by the Lieutenant-Governor.[10] Simcoe saw these persons as constituting his *official class*, or his quasi-British aristocracy. To them he accorded the "recommendatory Powers of the Militia and Magistracy" to create an all pervasive local aristocracy, the absence of which was "... justly considered... the Principal Cause of the American Revolt ...".[11] He also saw his appointment of former Queen's Rangers to chief administrative positions as "democratic"[12] and he also saw his attempts at restricting the political influence of Kingston and Niagara, as being consistent with his ideals of making Toronto the pinnacle of Upper Canadian social development.[13] As well, he was the first to suggest that, even though Upper Canada and Toronto were frontier societies, they needed a university in which to educate the children of the colony's gentlemen who would still otherwise be sent to the United States where "... their British Principles would be 'perverted' ...."[14] Although practically, Simcoe's hope of a landed aristocracy who were hereditarily based, never came to fruition, his views served to establish a basis upon which the capital developed and upon which its leading inhabitants conducted themselves in succeeding generations. Simcoe's original legal and administrative officials were at the apex of York's social fabric. For all intents and purposes they considered themselves the upper class of the community if for no other reason than being the first to inhabit this colonial town.

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[6] G.P. de T. Glazebrook, The Story of Toronto. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 13-15.

[7] Edith G. Firth. The Town of York, 1793-1815: Collection of Documents of Old Toronto. (Toronto: Champlain Society's Ontario Series, 1961), p.xiv. Also see T.A. Reed, "The Story of Toronto", Ontario Historical Society Papers, Vol. 30 (1934), pp. 201-202.

[8] See S.F. Wise's description of Tory ideals in "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition", in Profiles of a Province. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), p. 21.

[9] R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 15.

To set firmly in place his view of a quasi-aristocracy in York (Toronto) in 1793, Simcoe had the forested townsite surveyed. He awarded each of his thirty or so colonial officials a park lot of approximately 100 acres.[15] This land constituted the essence of the

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[10] Much has already been written on his social values and his plans for Upper Canada. See Cruickshank, The Correspondence ..., *passim.*; Firth, The Town of York..., *passim.*; W.R. Riddell, The Life and Times of General John Graves Simcoe. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1906); and G.M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

[11] Simcoe to Dundas, Navy Hall, November 4, 1792 and November 23, 1792. The Correspondence..., Vol. 1, pp. 251 and 264.

[12] Simcoe to R.G. England, Commandant at Detroit, Navy Hall, June 14, 1794, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 261.

[13] Simcoe to Portland, Kingston, December 21, 1794, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 235.

[14] Simcoe to Dundas, Quebec, April 28, 1792, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 143.

[15] See T.A. Reed, "Memoranda Re. the Crown Grants of Park Lots in the City of Toronto Based on the Records of the Registry Office". Manuscript compiled in 1926. Baldwin Room. Toronto Public Library.

original settlement and would later prove to be the mechanism by which many of the original government group made their fortune. Those who found themselves in possession of the choicest park lots nearest the harbour were those who secured the earliest patronage from the Lieutenant-Governor. The family names of Jarvis, Powell, Small and Osgoode were but a few of the names originally associated with land grants in Toronto.[16] It has been already outlined in chapter IV how William Botsford Jarvis*, as a member of the official class, subdivided some of his land in the Yorkville region of the town and made a sizeable profit from the proceeds of the sale.[17] By no means were the original government officials immune to speculative land dealings. In fact, many of the *Family Compact* subdivided their park lots to accumulate their *gentlemen's fortune*.[18] The granting of land, deemed most desirable by settlers of the region, indicated Simcoe's wishes to have his officials and social compatriots well-heeled in the support aspects of Toronto affairs, and economically and physically committed to the town's future growth. By doing so, he was creating for himself and the community, a class of people who were highly motivated to uphold the ideals upon which Toronto's society was originally founded. Moreover, by making gentry land holders of his officials, Simcoe was creating for himself, a cooperative community who could exert considerable influence in local and regional affairs. Through this manoeuver he hoped to avoid losing their power and control. Thus, in a perverted British sense, he had created for himself a group of loyal individuals who were considered to be the quasi-aristocratic or elite segment of Toronto's initial society.

While land speculation and land grants were one general avenue by which a person could ascend into the 'inner circle' of the elite, it was by no means the only route.

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[16] *Ibid*.

[17] Jarvis along with Joseph Bloor sold a portion of their respective speculative properties and realized a return an investment of three to four times what they paid for it.

[18] For a general discussion of speculative behavior by Simcoe's officials, see Frederick H. Armstrong, "Ethnicity in the Formation of the Family Compact: A Case Study in the Growth of the Canadian Establishment", in Jorgen Dahlie and T. Fernando (eds.), Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada. (New York: Methuen Publishing, 1979), pp. 22-27.

Governmental appointments were of the utmost importance in the early decades of Toronto's development.[19] For instance, and as has been previously discussed in chapter V, William Allan secured his recognition by the colonial elite by successfully showing his talents for business and for knowing the *right* persons in order to gain governmental positions. While his initial appointments as postmaster, collector of customs, and inspector of stills and taverns,[20] were lowly positions and begrudgingly given by Simcoe and his elite, they did set the stage for further recognition and opportunity. Later, he was appointed the treasurer of the church building committee[21] and even later, treasurer of the Home District, a magistrate, and a member of the Legislative Council.[22] The slow, gradual upward mobility for someone like Allan, allowed the elite time to evaluate the loyalty and talents of a potential recruit. His acceptance was one of discretionary power and not one of 'right'.[23] Another factor highly prejudicial to acceptance into the elite, and one not detrimental to Allan's ascendancy, was ethnicity. For the most part, Simcoe's British-American Loyalists ascribed their allegiance to the Church of England.[24] Most were English by origin and most felt that by participating in the 'Established Church' which Simcoe felt was instrumental in fashioning a quasi-British society in Upper Canada, they could offset the secular influence of republicanism. Therefore, what the church and ethnicity represented to the elite in Toronto's initial society, were factors by which social discrimination for purposes of upward mobility could be exercised. William Allan's ascription to Anglicanism, as an English emigre, did little to hurt his chances of elite acceptance.[25] Nor did it tarnish the possibility of acceptance for his son, George William Allan.[26] George William was accepted not only on his father's laurels but also on his own recognition of several other mitigating acceptance standards. More has been mentioned on this point later on.[27]

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[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", pp. 58-59 and 326.
[21] G. Mercer Adams, Prominent Men of Canada. (Toronto: Canadian Biographical Publishing, 1892), p. 421.
[22] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", pp. 256-259.
[23] Armstrong, "Ethnicity in the Formation of the Family Compact...", p. 26-27.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[25] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 59.
[26] His biography has been previously outlined in chapter V.

In addition to being a former Queen's Ranger, a government appointee, an individual of appropriate ethnic and religious background, one also had to have a proper profession. Because Toronto was the home to a number of provincial positions[28] and the district seat of government at the turn of the nineteenth century, it follows that it also became the locale for the colony's elected representatives, the seat of the Court of King's Bench, and the home of the Law Society of Upper Canada.[29] Beyond the Lieutenant-Governor's patronage, legal training was a key to the door of government office and social mobility. This avenue, in addition to patronage and government appointments, became carefully guarded by Toronto's elite. While the town's 'inner circle' could not bar the entrance of British lawyers into Upper Canada, the Law Society, the vestige stronghold of the elite due to its importance to many governmental offices, completely controlled local entry into the profession which in turn opened the narrow door to other 'official' positions.[30] The Law Society moved to Toronto in 1797 shortly after its formation in Niagara. The Society was dominated by Toronto lawyers who in turn were usually associated with the town's elite.[31] The practical significance of this point was that by recruiting members from the ranks of the legal profession, the elite had found a way to institutionalize their discriminatory practices and therefore develop their own rules for social acceptability.[32] This is an important point because just as the legal profession served to discriminate through their professional associations, so too did the individuals who were members of various sports clubs at the time. Although more will be mentioned on this point later on in this and the next two chapters, the point to be made here is that institutionalized membership in a variety of societies and associations was a key component of the Victorian class struggle, this being, tight social control of agencies which could allow an individual to be considered for elite inclusion. Thus, William Allan, by striving to be initially accepted by Toronto's early elite was only attempting to secure for his son, George William, an opportunity to be educated as a lawyer. And, it was education at the elite colleges which best prepared a young man for the legal profession.[33] Not only was he in the environment of the elite whereby he could aspire to learn the proper social and political views which were essential for social acceptance, but he was also there because he could acquire an education which was the best to be had in the colony and one which could sufficiently prepare him for the responsibilities of an administrative position. Therefore, it was not surprising to find George W. Allan* attending the bastion of elite education in Upper Canada at the time, Upper Canada College.[34] Nor was it surprising to find George W. Allan pursuing a career as a lawyer as did most of his elite contempories.[35] Moreover, during the first decades of the nineteenth century it was customary for the elite to tighten their oligarchical control of society by promoting intermarriage between 'inner circle' families.[36] In fact, William Allan, in order to strengthen his case for elite acceptance, married Leah Tyrer, daughter of Dr. John Gamble, chief surgeon of Simcoe's Queen's Rangers and a distinguished member of Toronto's official class.[37] And, again, it should follow, that George William should marry within the 'inner circle'. He married Louise Maude Robinson, a daughter of Sir John Beverly Robinson I and a sister of his best friend, John Beverly Robinson II*.[38] Therefore, what commonly resulted was an inbred line of familial connections and a communication network which often gave proteges and aspiring office holders the best opportunities for the ear of the Governor.

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[27] See page 307 in this chapter.

[28] York (Toronto) officially became the capital of the Home District in July, 1801, but was probably the seat (unofficially) from 1798. See Frederick H. Armstrong, Handbook of Upper Canadian Chronology and Territorial Legislation. (London, Ont.: University of Western Ontario Press, 1967), p. 163.

[29] The first Assembly met in York in 1797 and continuously as of 1800. The Court of King's Bench arrived with Chief Justice John Elmsley in 1798 and the Law Society began meeting there in 1799. See W.R. Riddell, The Bar and Courts of the Province of Upper Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1917), *passim*.

[30] See R. Wayne Simpson, "Toronto's Early Sport Clubs: A *Compact* History", Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 199-203.

[31] Burns, "God's Chosen People...", p. 214.

[32] ***Ibid.***, p. 215.

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[33] For a discussion of the importance of legal training and social mobility during this era, see H.V. Nelles, "Loyalism and Local Power: The District of Niagara, 1792-1837", Ontario History, Vol. 57, No. 2 (June 19667), pp. 99-114 and Elva M. Richards, "The Jones of Brockville and the Family Compact", Ontario History, Vol. 60, No. 4 (December 1968), pp. 169-184.

[34] W.S. Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1926), p. 4.

[35] See chapter V, *passim*.

[36] Burns, "God's Chosen People...", p. 219-220.

[37] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 257.

[38] Wallace, The Dictionary..., p. 4.

What occurred in Toronto during the formative years of the last century was a formal and highly purposeful attempt to establish a society based upon certain elite qualifications. Loyalty in the Queen's Rangers was an important requisite for inclusion in the official class. A customary governmental appointment and/or a grant of valuable land were Simcoe's rewards for devoted service in his loyal American Revolutionary band of fighters. Therefore, what the Jarvis, Sherwoods, Gambles, Smalls, Robinsons, Powells, Boultons, Gwynnes, Ridouts, Chewetts and Baldwins, represented were an elite group of families who were recognized for their service to Simcoe's loyal cause or for their significant ability to be heard by the Governor and appointed to important governmental positions. Additionally, 'inner circle' hopefuls, apart from the military personnel, strove to secure elite acceptance by acquiring a good education, pursuing a legal career, exposing the proper conservative political and social views, which included membership in the Church of England or, attempting to marry into or across 'official' families. As a consequence, Toronto initially developed along very strict, typically quasi-British class lines. The society was highly discriminatory and often times rigidly regulated in whom it accepted as a member of the official class and whom it dismissed as undesirable. While the *Compact* families of Simcoe's elite were hardly a landed gentry, they did believe themselves to be the upper class *squirearchy* of the region. Hence, how sport developed in Toronto from 1793 onwards, was a direct reflection of how the elite functioned in the initial society and how various Victorian influences (social reform, philanthropy, greater professionalism, the rise of clubs, and fraternal institutions) impacted on the growth of this Upper Canadian community. To say that Toronto was dominated by a *Family Compact* in the elite circles of society would certainly not be a misleading statement and to express the fact that sport grew in a *Compact* way would again not be misinterpreting the historical facts.[39] While changes in the social fabric of Toronto did occur in the later decades of the 1800s due to middle class recruitment, the pattern of change had been set from the outset. The elite definitely controlled most aspects of Toronto's Victorian society and this fact did not exclude the variety of institutions transplanted on British North American soil.[40]

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[39] To examine who was representive within the Family Compact, see Robert E. Saunders, "What Was the Family Compact?", Ontario History, Vol. 49 (1957), pp.

Because Toronto, in the period 1827 to 1840 was socially dominated by the *Family Compact*, it was not surprising to find that the majority of the occupations held by individuals who held common or joint sport and business club membership were related to the legal profession and to the government bureaucracy (see Table I).[41] The elite of the town were the lawyers and government officials of the era who exercised considerable influence in most aspects of society. When stating that they controlled most aspects of Toronto's developing society, it is meant that the elite dominated not only the sport clubs of the period but also the commercial, benevolent, philanthropic, educational, political, religious and fraternal aspects of the community.[42]

Commercially, Toronto during the first four decades of the nineteenth century was a town and city dominated by a staple economy.[43] Land clearing and rural settlement in and

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[39](cont'd) 165-178 and Alison Ewart and Julia Jarvis, "The Personnel of the Family Compact, 1791-1841", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1926), pp. 209-221.

[40]For other studies of local elites, see M.S. Cross, "The Age of Gentility: The Formation of an Aristocracy in the Ottawa Valley", Canadian Historical Association Report (1967), pp. 105-117; S.F. Wise, "Tory Factionalism: Kingston Elections and Upper Canadian Politics, 1820-1836", Ontario History, Vol. 57 (1965), pp. 205-223; and Frederick H. Armstrong, "The Oligarchy of the Western District of Upper Canada, 1788-1841", Canadian Historical Association Papers (1977), pp. 87-102.

[41]All the data related tables of the sport and business club members for the total time frame of the study are contained in Appendix I. Anytime a particular table is mentioned in this and the next four chapters, please refer Appendix I. This has been done for expediency of data referral and for greater clarity in chapter organization.

[42]Generally, see Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), for an excellent treatise on elite control and dominance in sport.

[43]See Craig's chapter on "Economic Growth" in Upper Canada: The Formative Years..., pp. 145-164, where he described the essence of the staple economy of Upper Canada during its earliest years. Also see the general references of Donald Creighton, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1970); H.A. Innis and A.R.M. Lower, Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933); and W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins, Approaches to Canadian Economic History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

about the town in the first two decades of the 1800s spurred on the lumber trade and the growing of wheat for flour production.[44] It was these two staples which initially held the bulk of Toronto and Upper Canada's commercial interest. While the earlier economy had been largely dependent on the supply of goods and services to the military garrisons and to the fur trading industry, it slowly changed to reflect the increased population growth in both rural and urban areas.[45] Upper Canada, in 1790, had a total population of approximately 12,000 as compared to that of Lower Canada which possessed some 160,000 inhabitants.[46] Whereas in 1806 and 1814, Upper Canada had 71,000 and 95,000 persons respectively, Lower Canada had 250,000 and 335,000. The War of 1812 had significantly slowed population growth in Upper Canada but this effect quickly disappeared after the cessation of hostilities. The fact that eighty percent of Upper Canada's population in 1812 was attributable to British-American Loyalists, partly explains why immigration to the Province slowed during the fighting.[47] Through subsequent post-war years, and thanks to government settlement agencies such as the Canada Company, largely administered by *Family Compact* subordinates, Upper Canada's population rapidly swelled so that by 1840, its population of 432,000 was beginning to rival that of Lower Canada's at 560,000.[48] From an urban standpoint, Toronto's population in 1793 was sparse. As Gentilcore expressed, the new capital of "... York (Toronto) possessed only twelve small cabins and a hinterland practically devoid of white population".[49] In 1810, its population was less than 600 which for a provincial capital was small, but considering that most of its hinterland was owned by a small group of elite government officials, it was understandable.[50] By 1825, York's (Toronto's) population was 1800, rivaling that of its chief provincial commercial competitor, Kingston. The return of provincial capital status to Toronto, after a short, temporary tenure in Kingston, signified the beginning to a growth era in Upper Canada which stood unprecedented and which led Toronto to a foreshadowed dominance which it would never relinquish. As immigration and the hinterland's economy expanded about Toronto in the 1830s and 1840s, so too did the city's population growth. Toronto's population in 1834 was 9,252, a substantial increase from ten years previously.[51]

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[44] T.W. Acheson, "The Nature and Structure of York Commerce in the 1820s", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 50, No.4 (December 1969), pp. 406-407. Also see Michael Bliss, Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), pp. 130-144.

[45] This transition is well explained in Bruce G. Wilson's, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton: A Study of Wealth and Influence in Early Upper Canada, 1776-1812. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1983). Particularly see Chapter 2, "The Post-Revolutionary Adjustment".

[46] For census estimates, see W.L. Marr and D.G. Paterson, Canada: An Economic History. (Toronto: Gage, 1980), p. 169.

[47] R.L. Gentilcore, "Settlement", in Studies in Canadian Geography: Ontario . (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 28.

[48] Marr and Paterson, Canada:..., p. 169.

[49] Gentilcore, Studies in Canadian Geography..., pp. 26-27.

Simcoe's original settlement plan for Toronto, in addition to utilizing the site as a naval arsenal, intended the town to service the portage route to the North. As a result, the government built a road to the north (Yonge Street) to service this important trade route. Eventually, the road was the major artery for the movement of immigrants to their hinterland settlements and the most significant thoroughfare for the shipment of goods to the transhipment port of Toronto. The commerce of Toronto during the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s depended heavily on the forwarding business and on the merchants who were supplying the immigrants with the much needed amenities of settlement.[52] Because the immigrant families continued to demand a wide variety of dry goods, hardware and foodstuffs, most of which had to be imported from England, the import and export business became a leading commercial enterprise for Toronto's early businessmen. And, because the lumber, wheat and potash exported never approached the volume or value of the imported commodities consumed by the local population, Toronto was a debtor economy with a perpetually unfavorable balance of trade.[53] From a social and economic standpoint, Toronto's general financial status was tenuous at best and favoured those who already held large, secure investments, such as land. Thus, for the merchants and forwarders, who viciously competed with Montreal for imported goods from England, and who had to guarantee payment on the receipt of goods, it was a harsh existence. Bankruptcy was the most often heard complaint among inhabitants of Toronto and vicinity in the first four decades of the 1800s.[54] The fact that the economy in Upper Canada precariously balanced on extended notes of credit, unfair Home legislation (i.e., Corn Laws) and uncertain growing seasons, often led to the impression that commercial and social survival was dependent on the status of the economy. Those hinterland farmers who most often grew crops on extended loans and who were most frequently paid in dry goods credit, were the ones who carved out the most tenuous existence. If in the event they had experienced a poor growing season and could not pay for their seed through the credit sale of their grain, then they stood to lose not only their place of residence, which often stood as collateral for their mercantile credit, but they also stood to lose their land which was again, usually mortgaged to them by one of the wealthy land-holders of the region.[55] Therefore, the immigrant farmer, and even the highly debt ridden merchant, stood to lose everything he had in the debtor economy of early Toronto. A merchant had to be sizably skilled in commercial abilities to avert catastrophe in this fragile staple-export economy.

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[50] For a discussion of the speculating tendencies of the Family Compact in Toronto, see David Gagan. "Property and Interest: Some Preliminary Evidence of Land Speculation by the Family Compact in Upper Canada, 1820-1840", Ontario History, Vol. 70, No. 1 (March 1978), pp. 63-70 and *idem*, "Land Population and Social Change: The Critical Years in Rural Canada West", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 59 (September 1978), pp. 293-318.

[51] Peter G. Goheen, Victorian Toronto: 1850 to 1900. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 49. He quoted from Firth, The Town of York..., p. xxxii.

[52] Frederick H. Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition: The Emergence of a City, 1828-1838", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 377.

[53] Acheson, "The Nature and Structure of York Commerce ...", p. 407.

The individuals to benefit most from this economic situation were the elite. Not only was their financial position less precarious than those of the majority of the population, but they also held the powers to government legislation, legal address, social acceptability, educational destiny, religious practice and commercial direction. The elite did not have to gamble away their assets on a seasonal basis in hopes of securing a tidy profit. Essentially the members of the elite were the 'gifted' ones, the individuals who owned and controlled several aspects of Toronto's initial social mosaic. Politically, the *Compact* families dominated local politics. Those in the study who had both sport and business club membership, held the majority of political postings in the six year period between 1834,[56] when Toronto became incorporated as a city, and 1840 (see Table II in Appendix I). As well, sport and business clubs members were highly representative of the rest of the elite community as eighty-seven and a half percent for the period 1827 to 1840 were worshippers and pew purchasers within Toronto's 'Established Church', St. James Cathedral.[57] Moreover, most were either English (32.4%) or Canadian born of English ancestry (35.1%) (see Table III). While it usually followed that the English would fall under the realm of Anglicanism, not all leading promoters of sport were pro-Tory worshippers. Yet, for the most part, during all three periods under study, Anglicanism predominated as the majority religion (see Table IV). Educationally, the sport and business club members of this period were educated primarily in private colleges or grammar schools (see Table V). Many had received their schooling in England prior to coming to the colony (see Table VI) yet some had received their schooling in Upper Canada at the best institutions available at the time. Finally, most of the sport and business club members held significant executive posts in various benevolent, philanthropic and fraternal orders, a phenomenon not uncharacteristic for people of their station in life in Britain (see Tables VII and VIII). While Toronto in 1827 to 1840 hardly represented the most stable, complex and sophisticated city, it was able to manifest a recognizable elite who carried on life much in the same fashion as their contemporary counterparts had in Britain. Their elite characteristics even poured over heavily into sport involvement.

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

[55] David Gagan, "The Security of Land: Mortgaging in Toronto Gore Township, 1835-1895", in Frederick H. Armstrong (ed.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 135-153 and L.A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851", Ontario History, Vol. 58 (1971), pp. 41-60.

Sport in Toronto from its formative beginnings had an aristocratic air about it. William Jarvis, an early *Compact* member, had the distinction of being the first person mentioned in terms of Toronto sport. He had led a fox-hunt on the frozen harbour in front of the town in 1801.[58] Lindsay noted this when he stated that:

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[56] Reed, "The Story of Toronto", p. 206.
[57] See J.J. Talman, "The Position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1840", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 15 (1934), p. 361-375.
[58] As originally referred to in Peter L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada,

> Fox hunting was an exclusive sport, restricted to upper class society as it had been in England, or to those affluent enough to be able to contribute towards the upkeep of a pack of hounds.[59]

Fox-hunting for the masses was something only dreamed about by those who could not become part of Toronto's 'official class'. The sport was restricted to those who had sufficient leisure time, wealth and opportunity to participate, and indeed many of the *Family Compact* possessed these 'gentry' traits.[60] The tradition of participating in aristocratic sport was an ideal that the elite colonial settlers naturally held onto and the reasons they did were quite logical. Firstly, by participating in activities which represented elite sport in Britain, the colonial settlers were able to reinforce and recreate customary bonds which they had to sport. This meant that they could symbolically reaffirm their indirect social ties to Britain by participating in sport already well-known to them, and they could also establish a precedent for sport involvement in the colonies.[61] Secondly, by participating in the aristocratic sports which had been familiar to them in Britain, the elite members were capable of demonstrating in a very "conspicuous" manner that they were still the *cream of society*, or the upper class, and that the type of sport participated in was just as important as was the fact that some effort had been put forth by them to organize a recreational pursuit. Authors such as Thermstrom,[62] Adelman,[63] Jebsen,[64] Somers,[65] Hershberg,

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[58](cont'd) 1807-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 190. See Upper Canada Gazette, February 14, 1801.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[60] See Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", particularly his chapter on the "Social and Cultural Activities, 1830-1900", pp. 223-242.

[61] See Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972, for a good discussion of colonial bonds for sport in Britain. Also see Allan Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1868-1900", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 20 and Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada ...", p. 17.

[62] Stephan Thermstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in the Nineteenth Century City. (New York: Athenaeum, 1972).

[63] See Melvin Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics: Sport in New York City, 1820-1870", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1980 and also his published thesis, A Sporting Time. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[64] Harry Jebsen, "The Public Acceptance of Sport in Dallas, 1880-1930", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Winter 1979), pp. 5-19.

[65] Dale Somers, The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850-1900. (Baton Rouge:

[66] Hardy,[67] Morrow,[68] and Metcalfe,[69] have all recognized the fact that initial elite participation in particular kinds of sport was a definite affirmation of class standing. And as historian Dixon Wecter observed about the Anglo-Saxon concept of sport and social aristocracy,

> ... only the upper-class Englishman really sees in sport a way of life and the cult of gentlemanliness. He may doubt some of the eternal verities, but his blood tells him that to gallop across the downs, and live much with the dogs and horses and the smell of the earth, and to feel the salt wind against his cheek as he grips the wheel, are good things and requisite to the salvation of his class.[70]

Because the *Family Compact* and their close associates saw themselves as "God's Chosen People", it was not surprising to find that they were attempting to solidify their social position through sport. And because many of the original *Compact* had been educated at schools such as Christ Church in Oxford, Trinity College in London, and the Royal Military College in Sandhurst, England, it was again not surprising to find that many of Toronto's early elite were thoroughly familiar with such aristocratic sports as the turf, fox-hunting and yachting, not to mention cricket and lawn bowling (quoits).[71] The aristocratic public schools

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[65] (cont'd) Louisiana State University Press, 1972).

[66] Theodore Hershberg (ed.), Philadephia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[67] Stephen Hardy, How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and Community, 1865-1915. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982) and *idem*, "The City and the Rise of American Sport, 1820-1920", Exercise and Sport Sciences Reviews. Vol. 9 (1981), pp. 183-219.

[68] Donald L. Morrow. A Sporting Evolution: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881-1981, (Montreal: Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and Don Morrow, 1981).

[69] Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1901", in Richard S. Gruneau and John S. Albinson, Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. (Toronto: Addison and Wesley, 1976), pp. 77-101. Also see his most recent work, Canadians Learn to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport in Canada, 1807-1914. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).

[70] Somers, The Rise of Sports in New Orleans..., p. 23. He quoted from Wecter's, The Saga of American Society: A Record of Social Aspiration, 1607-1937. (New York: Methuen, 1937), pp. 428-429.

[71] The schools were typically upper class institutions and perpetuated instruction in aristocratic sports. As a general reference see R. Wilkinson, Gentlemanly Power: British Leadership and Public School Tradition. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); I. Weinberg, The English Public Schools: The Sociology of Elite Education. (New York: Atherton Press, 1967); V. Ogilvie, The English Public School. (London: B.T. Botsford, 1957); and C. Barnett. "The Education of Military Elites", The

of the pre-Arnoldian era made a practice of infusing the gentlemanly practices of such sports into their students. The time, wealth and opportunity which these British aristocrats would have in later life necessitated the teaching of pastimes which would fill their leisure hours and which would show to all who cared, that they were symbolically the elite of the community. Thus, when it has been realized that aristocratic sports were the first to appear and be formally organized in Toronto prior to 1840, it follows that it was those persons who had no need to labour for fourteen hours a day and seven days a week, who were the ones most instrumental in initially introducing sport to the region.[72] The local elite of Toronto, the official land grant families, the lawyers and the office holders, were the people who participated in the first quasi-aristocratic sports of the city (town prior to 1834) and who were the first to develop the formal basis upon which future sport would evolve.

The first sport clubs to materialize in Toronto were the Toronto Cricket Club in 1827,[73] the Toronto Turf Club in 1828,[74] the Toronto Curling Club in 1835,[75] and the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club in 1837.[76] Fox-hunting was established on a formal basis in 1843 with the formation of the Toronto Hunt Club[77] and yachting was started in 1852 with the creation of the Toronto Boat Club, later (1854) the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[78] While these last two clubs were outside of the initial 1827-1840 period under study, they did compete

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[71](cont'd) Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1967), pp. 15-36.

[72] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada ...", pp. 9-10 and 34. It was not until the early closing movements of the 1850s and 1860s, that sport for the workingman began to take hold.

[73] Records of the Toronto Cricket Club. In the Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club. Toronto. Also see Stanley Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game. (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1977), for the authenticated date of origin.

[74] First mention of the Toronto Turf Club was in United Empire Loyalist, August 12, 1828. Also, Records of the Toronto Turf Club partly held by the Magrath Papers, Toronto Public Library, the Denison Papers, Ontario Public Archives, and the Records of the Ontario Jockey Club, Woodbine, Ontario.

[75] Records of the Toronto Curling Club. In the Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto. Also Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game, *passim*.

[76] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club. *passim*. Ontario Public Archives.

[77] Records of the Toronto Hunt Club. Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club and the personal papers of Clifford Sifton III, Caledon, Ontario.

[78] Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library and Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.

and function informally as loose social organizations prior to 1840.[79] Their specific analysis has been left until later, but could have been collectively included in this section. The Toronto Cricket Club began as a collection of Toronto's elite wanting to socialize and play a game with which they were familiar, all likely having tested their skills when in public school in Britain.[80] While there was a sincere interest among the elite of Toronto to initiate a cricket club, it was plausible that the arrival of George A. Barber and G.A. Philpotts in 1826 in Toronto, did much to formalize their thinking about a constituted organization.[81] As was previously mentioned in the biographical chapter on John Beverly Robinson II* (see chapter VI), Barber emigrated to Toronto in 1826 to take up a teaching position, along with Rev. T.D. Phillips at the Home District Grammar School.[82] Both gentlemen had attended Oxford University in England where they established themselves as fine cricketers.[83] In all likelihood these two cricketers saw an opportunity to do several things for cricket in Canada. Firstly, they established a formal club through which they could play and teach the game of cricket. Secondly, by virtue of their professional positions at an elite educational establishment, they saw a chance to establish an organization which would be responsible for teaching the basic elements of the game to the schoolboys who would not have the benefit of learning it in a British public school. And, attendant to this point, they also saw the justification for re-introducing the game to the schoolboys' fathers, who in turn, would become interested in their son's progress in acquiring the gentlemanly skills of cricket. Finally, these two men were probably motivated in making a good impression on their new employers, the *Family Compact*, and deeply interested in establishing for themselves a significant network of social contacts whom they may have to call on at some future date to do them a favour, whether it be for social mobility reasons or otherwise. Thus, the Toronto Cricket Club was likely formed to serve not only the social intercouse needs of the elite but also to fulfill the practical considerations of instruction, role modelling, and social networking.

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[79] As was evidenced by William Jarvis' fox-hunting exploits in 1801. The Toronto Hunt Club's activities were closely tied to those of the Turf Club as were the activities of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada. See R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), pp. 167-169 and 342-343.

[80] Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game., p. 35. Lindsay referred to the Toronto Cricket Club being established in either 1828 or 1829. "History of Sport in Canada ...", p. 91. He also mentioned that the St. John's Cricket Club had the distinction of being the first cricket club in Canada, citing the Newfoundlander, August 14, 1828.

[81] Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), Vol. 10, p. 34.

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] G. Dickson and G. Adams "College Cricket", in A History of Upper Canada College. (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1893), p. 267 and J.E. Hall and R.O. McCullock, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket. (Toronto: Bryant Publishing, 1895), p. 372.

Because the Toronto Cricket Club had no rivals at the time, it is of interest to examine what the probable reasons for its establishment were and for the establishment of other sport clubs of the period. The first reason for club formation was to localize the member's interest in the sport so that the development of the game could be efficiently managed. Or, by formally constituting a cricket club, or any other club for that matter, the membership of the organization could strictly control who became a member and who participated in club activities.[44] By the mid-1820s in Toronto, immigration was such that the town and the surrounding countryside began to experience the initial effects of settlement. Hence, what was beginning to occur in Toronto in a small way, was the dilution or rarification of the class homogeneity which had existed for the most part from the town's inception. Therefore, what the original club members saw was the potential threat of social inferiors infiltrating their ranks. Formal club rules in membership election and qualification constituted a tidy method by which to legitimize social discrimination and to maintain the original close ties of the elite. Albeit, the Toronto Cricket Club was the first to initiate such action, but the Toronto Turf Club, the Toronto Curling Club, the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, the Toronto Hunt Club and the Royal Canadian Yacht Clubs were all soon to follow, with none of them at the time having local or even regional rivals. Secondly, a formal club could exercise an official voice in the negotiations for competition, whether these be with an informal group or another official club. By doing this, a club could once again exercise its right as to whom it competed with and upon what basis. This was certainly true of the Toronto Cricket Club in the period leading up to the early 1840s. Not only was the Club instrumental in helping to establish the Upper Canada College Cricket Club, when it formed in 1836,[15] but it was also instrumental in establishing the first international cricket matches in North America in August of 1840.[16] By limiting whom it competed with, whether it was the Philadelphia Cricket Club or the St. George's Cricket Club of New York in the early 1840s (early elite clubs as well), the Toronto Cricket Club strove to discriminate socially when selecting competitors. This was ardently so in July of 1844 when the Toronto Cricket Club refused to play a return match with the otherwise elite cricket club of New York, the St. George's, when it was discovered that the latter club had hired three professional players from the Union Cricket Club of Philadelphia (a workingmen's cricket club) to play for them.[17] Such 'non-gentlemanly' conduct was not tolerated by the quasi-aristocratic Toronto Cricket Club and would not be, well into the late 1870s and 1880s when arguments of amateur versus professional were the focus of the sports world.[18] Thus, by raising the amateur-professional sport conflict well before it became a contemporary social sport problem, the Toronto Cricket Club gave credence to the fact that clubs, like itself, were unwilling to compete with anyone who exhibited behavior other than that which represented the aristocratic social nature of sport and the elite community.

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[44] Of the six sport clubs examined in this chapter all had rules which explicitedly set out conditions for membership. And when the membership conditions failed to exclude someone who was deemed undesirable, each club invoked their black-ball rule. See Appendices II, III, and IV.

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[15] Dickson and Adams. A History of Upper Canada College., p. 267. Also see Minutes of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club. University of Toronto Archives. Toronto. George A. Barber, as mathematics and literary instructor at Upper Canada College, and former Treasurer of the Toronto Cricket Club, initiated the formation of the school's cricket organization.

[16] As a general reference for all United States and Canada cricket matches, including matches in the 1840s', see John I. Marder, The International Series: The Story of the United States Versus Canada at Cricket. (London: Kaye and Ward, 1968), pp. 11-13. Also see Adelman, A Sporting Time., p. 100-103 and William R. Wister, Some Reminiscences of Cricket in Philadelphia Before 1861. (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1904)p. 140-141. For a description of the matches see C.G.S. Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada" Part I, Dominion Illustrated Monthly, (August 1892), pp. 432-441; Part II (September 1892), pp. 496-497: Part III (November 1892), p. 609; and Part IV (April 1893), pp. 160-167.

[17] The Globe July 23 and August 13, 1844 and Dominion Illustrated Monthly, *loc. cit.*

[18] General reference of these factors can be made in Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973.

Sport in Toronto, from its earliest beginnings, clung to its British conservatism not so much as a function of limiting competition but rather as a means to preserve the social integrity of the group who claimed to be the *cream* of society.[89] Any other behavior would have been counter-productive to their cause of demonstrating superior social qualities and enviable moral habits.[90] Clubs were traditionally established to uphold the cause of exclusivity[91] and this they certainly did in Upper Canada prior to, and even after, 1840. In fact, so exclusive was the sport of cricket to the non-elite population that newspapers of the era neglected publishing any detailed accounts of the matches because they feared "... it would not prove sufficiently interesting to the generality of (their) readers".[92] At the time that Governor Sir Perigrene Maitland "laid out a crease at Stamford" and had young John Beverly Robinson II* chasing balls for him in the early 1820s, cricket remained the preserve of the elite of Toronto.[93]

The membership roster of the Toronto Cricket Club was dotted with names synonymous with the *Family Compact* and its 'fringe' elite. The Spragges, Gwynnes, Robinsons, Strachans, Boultons, Baldwins, and Gambles were all original members of the Toronto Cricket Club,[94] as were the Drapers, Keefers, Streets, Galts and Powells. Not only were Dr. W.G. Spragge, William C. Gwynne, John Beverly Robinson I, James McGill Strachan, William Henry Boulton, William Warren Baldwin and Clarke Gamble all fine cricketers during the 1830s and 1840s, but so were William Henry Draper, Augustus Keefer, T.C. Street, Alexander Tilloch Galt and John Powell.[95] The fact that so many of the original *Compact* families were devoted members of the Toronto Cricket Club goes a long way towards explaining why they so enthusiastically rallied behind George A. Barber when he wished to establish a cricket club at Sir John Colborne's elitist educational institution, Upper Canada College.[96] To the *Compact* mentors of the sport, cricket was more than just a game. For the boys at Upper Canada College who were being trained as the future leaders of the Empire, cricket was a proud, loyal symbol which was a "delightful and untainted channel" through which British feelings could "flow into the breasts of our Canadian boys".[97] The "noble game", which Sir John Colborne always took a deep interest in, was formally incorporated into the elitist doctrine of the school to develop the character of men who would in later life be responsible for administering a nation.[98] The school, founded in 1829, was purposely modelled after the British public schools which had for many decades educated the offspring of the aristocracy.[99] This "cradle of the Canadian Establishment"[100] most likely evolved along the lines of the Winchester School of England, a public school where Colborne received much of his gentry education.[101] The quasi-aristocratic mentality of private education endured during this period and likewise served to implant in the minds of the second generation elite, the gentrified nature of sport and the effort which should be made to maintain the class distinction of sport. Cricket, turf, bowls, fox-hunting, yachting and even curling took on this aura not only in the 1830s and 1840s, when these sports initially evolved, but also in the later nineteenth century when the class homogeniety of club membership was lost to a certain extent. More will be mentioned on this point later. But, for the most part, sport, as reflected in the discussion of cricket, evolved formally along strict class lines for purposes of symbolically representing the elite nature of those who played. Affluence, time and opportunity were the key factors to sport participation, and only the *leisured class*, or the *Family Compact*, possessed this in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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[89] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto..." pp. 223-224.

[90] See generally, "Some Ideas About Cricket", London Society, Vol. 18, No. 107 (November 1870), pp. 422-425; "The Morale of Cricket", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 14, No. 698, New Series 4 (May 1877) , pp. 298-300; "Cricketana", London Society. Vol. 2, No. 6 (July 1862), pp. 114-121: *ibid*., Vol. 2, No. 10 (November 1862), pp. 441-448; *ibid*., Vol. 3, No. 1 (January 1863), pp. 82-89; and *ibid*., Vol. 3., No. 5 (May 1863), pp. 530-541.

[91] *Ibid*., Also, Keith Sandiford, "The Victorians at Play: Problems in Historiographical Methodology", Journal of Social History, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Winter 1981), p. 276; Walter Thornberry, "London Clubs", Part I, Belgravia, Vol. 6 (July 1868), pp. 30-39 and Part II, *ibid*., Vol. 6 (August 1868), pp. 209-211; W.C. Day, "Inside a Sporting Club", Tinsleys, Vol. 25 (September 1879), pp. 263-275.

[92] Kingston Chronicle, August 8, 1835, as quoted in Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 92.

[93] John Beverly Robinson (II), "Reminiscenses of Early Governors", Athletic Life, Vol. 1 (1895), p. 54.

[94] Lists of members of the Toronto Cricket Club, *passim*.

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[95] *Ibid.*

[96] See David W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984, p. 42.

[97] The Patriot, July 15, 1836.

[98] W.A. Neilson, "Upper Canada College", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 6 (August 1894), p. 457.

[99] Upper Canada Gazette, November 19, 1829 and November 26, 1829. Originally called the Minor College, the school quickly changed its name to Upper Canada College in December of 1829.

[100] From C. Gossage, A Question of Privilege: Canada's Independent Schools. (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977), p. 39.

[101] Dickson and Adam. A History of Upper Canada College., pp. 12-23.

Individuals like John Beverly Robinson I, John Beverly Robinson II*, William Botsford Jarvis*, and George W. Allan* were all members or products of the *Compact* machinery. Each, in his own way, promoted the ideals of his social group through sport, cricket being just one of the activities. But, so too did other individuals, for instance, William Henry Draper, T.C. Street and Alexander Tilloch Galt. While the original elite had considerable influence in the governance of sport in Toronto's early society, they also had the power to recruit individuals who, in their own right, would be major factors in the way sport developed. One of these individuals was William Henry Draper. He epitomized the type of person the elite would recruit to both the social realm of society and the sport community. Draper, as a trusted functionary of *Compact* interests, was a man given the responsibility in the 1840s of partially developing and enforcing elite social policy relative to sport and recreation, and he was a sterling example of how an elite member of society became intimately connected to the social side of sport. Draper's ascription to elite values, occupations, institutions, and social connections make his biographical relevance to the non-democratic features of Toronto sport of significant importance.

William Henry Draper, though not an original member of Toronto's 'official class', was a recruited government office holder who was important in both sport and the general complexion of early Toronto society. Born near London, England on March 11, 1801,[102] Draper was a man who exhibited great interest in bettering himself early in life. Initially educated by a private tutor, he left home at fifteen by hiring on as a cadet with an East Indianman.[103] After two voyages to India in the next three years, he decided that something better must await him in North America. He arrived in Upper Canada in the spring of 1820 ready to begin his new life. At nineteen years of age, Draper must have been astute because he apparently quickly figured out that in order to succeed in the rustic, genteel society of Toronto, he must align himself with the ruling oligarchy of the region, namely the *Family Compact*. He probably realized that a young man with talent and social grace, but without wealth and influence, could have aspirations far beyond what seemed possible in England.[104] Draper reached the 'inner circles' of the elite gradually. Initially employed as a school teacher in Port Hope, he quickly turned his attention to law in 1821 on the advice of Thomas Ward, a local barrister. Ward, who partnered a law firm with George Strange Boulton, an elite confidant, was well aware of the fact that a young, talented man must use his *social connections* to win favour.[105] With Boulton's help and his own carefully structured oratorical style, Draper quickly won notice from the elite. His bland, forceful, philosophical and discursive style of speaking made him a favorite among the judges of the period and earned him a rapid reputation as a most competent lawyer. In 1829, he prepared a brief for the Attorney-General, John Beverly Robinson I, at the Cobourg assizes.[106] Robinson was so impressed that he gave Draper a position at the Attorney-General's offices in York (Toronto).[107] Once there, Draper proved that he had the wit and ability to find his way into the inner recesses of the local hierarchy. His close connection with the masterful and sophisticated Robinson,[108] a close associate and former understudy of the powerful Anglican

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[102] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 10, p. 253.

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[103] *Ibid.*, East Indianmen were large, bulky scows used to transport silks, spices and precious metals from the far east to British and Continental markets.

[104] George Metcalfe, "William Henry Draper", in J.M.S. Careless, The Pre-Confederation Premiers: Ontario Government Leaders, 1841-1867. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 32-82.

[105] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 10, p. 253.

[106] D.B. Read, Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada and Ontario. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888), p. 224.

[107] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 10, p. 253.

[108] See previous description of his life in the chapter on his son, John Beverly Robinson II*, *supra.*, pp. 164-198.

Archdeacon of York, John Strachan, meant that he was firmly entrenched with the "orthodox elite".[109] Robinson not only sponsored Draper in the membership of the Toronto Cricket Club in 1830 but he also 'solicited' for his inclusion in the *Compact* businesses and associations of: the Bank of Upper Canada,[110] the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company,[111] the Toronto Club,[112] the House of Industry,[113] the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club,[114] the Toronto Library and Historical Society,[115] the United Church of England in the Diocese of Quebec and Toronto,[116] the Toronto Curling Club,[117] the Toronto Horticultural Society,[118] and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[119] Robinson, as the prime apologist for the *Compact*, also introduced Draper to Christopher A. Hagerman, father-in-law to John Beverly Robinson II*. Hagerman, an elite member of Toronto and Kingston's 'high society', was a man who appreciated a fine, straight forward speaker, as he was known to be an energetic, abrasive orator himself.[120] Hagerman liked Draper enough to invite him into legal partnership in 1835.[121] The partnership also included John Beverly Robinson II*, "...a tip top bowler and a dashing bat ...".[122] Like his father, Robinson II was a long-time member of the Toronto Cricket Club and had the distinction of winning a sterling cricket ball for attaining the highest score ever in the traditional match between the Toronto Cricket Club and Upper Canada

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[109] Metcalfe, "William Henry Draper", p. 34.
[110] Upper Canada Gazette, June 13, 1833.
[111] *Ibid.*, November 20, 1834.
[112] See J.K. Johnson, "The U.C. Club and the Upper Canadian Elite, 1837-1840", Ontario History, Vol. 69, No. 3 (September 1977), pp. 151-168.
[113] British Colonist, December 11, 1839.
[114] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club. See September 29, 1842 for Draper's election. Nominated by John Beverly Robinson I.
[115] British Colonist, January 11, 1843.
[116] Act of Incorporation for the United Church of England in the Diocese of Quebec and Toronto. 7 Vic. Cap. 68, December 9, 1843 and June 27, 1844. (Amendment), Statutes of Province of Canada.
[117] List of members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Curling Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto.
[118] British Colonist, March 29, 1853.
[119] List of members, 1851-1881. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.
[120] Metcalfe, "William Henry Draper", p. 34.
[121] Read, "Lives of the Judges...", p. 205.
[122] Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada", Part IV, p. 738.

College.[123] Hagerman was Upper Canada's Solicitor-General from 1835 to 1838. On John Beverly Robinson I's appointment to Chief Justice, he became the Attorney-General.[124] As fate, under *Family Compact* law, would have it, Draper became Solicitor-General of Upper Canada as a function of Hagerman's promotion.[125] By filling Hagerman's Solicitor-General's position, Draper showed how connections were instrumental in vertical mobility within Toronto's official class. And, Hagerman's nepotistic favours toward Draper did not stop there. When Hagerman was made a judge in the Court of Queen's Bench in 1840, Draper, not surprisingly, took over his position as Attorney-General.[126] Further, because of his connections in his new position, William Henry Draper, was also appointed to the position of Aide-De-Campe to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.[127] In this latter position, Draper acquired a good feel for politics and a better perspective of how Tory interests would be best served. After Durham's Report, lambasting the oligarchical control of Compact leadership in Upper Canada, and the Act of Union of 1841, creating two provinces under one government, Draper became more directly involved in politics. Pushed into politics by Robinson I, Draper soon became a correspondingly fine spokesman for Conservative interests. So much so, he became Premier of Upper Canada in 1845.[128] He held this appointment until 1848, when he could no longer fight the divergent battles of the Tory-Conservative ranks. During his tenure as Premier he had pushed hard for the University Bill[129] which would establish an Anglican-based university in Toronto; he had appointed Egerton Ryerson as Assistant Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada,[130] a significant move in terms of planning to educate the rural poor who were the greatest social and political threat to the Toronto elite; he pushed through considerable legislation relative to the establishment of agricultural societies, municipal improvements, penitentiary reorganization and railways[131] (Acts of Incorporation); he also drafted the Upper Canada Commons Schools Act of 1846 which ironed out the unmanageable areas of Baldwin's School Act of 1843[132]; plus, he introduced, via Inspector-General William Cayley, the first real 'budget' in Canadian Parliamentary history.[133]; and he, as a result of the Oregon crisis, drafted legislation in the form of the Militia Bill which saw the United Provinces better-prepared in the event of war.[134] William Henry Draper, was by-in-large a very successful politician. He had contributed to establishing many firsts in the political history of Canada. But, he was also influential in molding sport in Upper Canada and in exercising the social control of sport which was engrained into the silent doctrine of the ruling elite of Toronto and region.

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[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Upper Canada Gazette, March 1, 1838.

[125] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1839.

[126] *Ibid.*, February 14, 1840.

[127] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1840.

[128] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 10, p. 253.

[129] Metcalfe, "William Henry Draper", p. 44.

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Draper, as Solicitor-General and later Attorney-General, was also responsible for drafting much of the legislation relative to the 'game laws' of Upper Canada. On his appointment to a board of commissioners, which included William Dummer Powell, James B. Macaulay and John H. Cameron, to revise the Statutes of the Province in August of 1840,[135] Draper assisted in revising earlier game law statutes. The significance of the statutes was that the elite, who comprised the majority of the political and social oligarchy of the pre-Durham and Syndenham days, could control the recreational and at times the survival activities of the hinterland farmer and urban poor. Legislation which empowered the ruling authorities to punish the offenders harshly was a direct means by which the elite could exercise their 'right' to control the behavior of the less powerful.[136] For instance, two acts were passed in 1843 restricting the hunting and catching of foul and wildlife. In an "Act for the Better Preservation of Certain Species of Fish in the Rivers and Waters of the Counties Therein Mentioned"[137] and in an "Act to Prohibit the Hunting and Killing of Deer and Other Game

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[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

[132] C.B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and His Letters. 2 Vols. (Toronto: Clarke-Unwin, 1937), Vol. 2, p. 101.

[133] Metcalfe, "William Henry Draper", p. 63.

[134] *Ibid.*

[135] Upper Canada Gazette, August 13, 1840.

[136] W.L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise. (London: Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 270-294.

[137] Act for the Better Preservation of Certain Species of Fish in the Rivers and

Within This Province (Canada West)",[138] efforts were made by the elite to control the way in which the inhabitants of the hinterland conducted themselves with respect to game hunting. By all accounts, the game of the Province was not in jeopardy of losing certain animal and fish species through over-hunting, therefore the only assumption which can be made was that the elite felt the insatiable sport hunting behavior of the farmer and homesteader was 'ungentlemanly' and deserving of censure. This point was certainly made in 1845 when further legislation was introduced to restrict the hunting practices of the rural inhabitants of Canada West. In an "Act to Prevent Certain Wild Fowl and Snipes from being Destroyed at Improper Seasons of the Year and to Prevent the Trapping of Grouse and Quail in this Province",[139] the legislators pulled no punches in showing how they felt about the 'ungentlemanly' conduct of the "poachers":

> And whereas the Game called Grouse and Quail in the western parts of this Province have of late years become nearly extinct by reason of the same having been caught in snares, nets, and traps, by day and by night, *in an unsportsmanlike manner*, and it is expedient to enact a Law to prevent that description of Game (which contributes so much to the amusements and luxury of the inhabitants of that part of the Province), from being utterly destroyed by such clandestine means.

By demanding a form of social ascription, the elite were imposing a moral code of conduct on the general population. The imposition of certain laws by legislators such as Draper, formed the 'not-so-subtle' policy of the Victorian upper class to curb and control, if not reform the behavior of the lower orders.[140] While it may have been acceptable for an upper class gentleman to "gamefully" shoot the odd patridge or quail, it was *not* acceptable for a working class person to snare, net or trap a bird, by day or by night, in large quantities. Whether fowl or other game were ever pushed to extinction by unfair hunting practices is suspect at

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[137](cont'd) Waters of the Counties therein Mentioned, 7 Vic. Cap. 13, December 9, 1843, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[138] Act to Prohibit the Hunting and Killing of Deer and Other Game Within This Province. 7 Vic. Cap 12, December 9, 1843, *ibid.*

[139] Act to Prevent Certain Wild Fowl and Snipes from being Destroyed at Improper Seasons of the Year and to Prevent the Trapping of Grouse and Quail in this Province, 8 Vic. Cap. 46, March 29, 1845, *ibid.*

[140] Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., pp. 5-6.

best, but what was significant was the imposition of law and 'will' by the elite over the other inhabitants of the Province. This showed a willingness among the 'official class' to exercise their "moral right" for control.[141]

In exercising their "moral right" to control the behavior, time and habits of both the general resident of the city and agrarian inhabitant of various regions of Canada West, the elite enacted laws which would limit the type of activity, the type of social gatherings, the time when the activities could take place, and where the events could be held. For example, by passing legislation which sought to encourage agriculture and agricultural societies in Upper Canada,[142] the elite strove to channel the energies of the rural settlers into constructive, educative behavior; behavior which would prove beneficial in not only a learning sense, but also in a developmental sense. The elite felt education in better agricultural practices would be useful to the farmer and rural inhabitant and they also felt that a more informed populace would be a more politically stable and cooperative economy, something which was badly needed in the turbulent times of the late 1830s and 1840s.[143] One of the Tories most fervent agricultural apologists, as has already been discussed, was William Botsford Jarvis*, who, along with John Elmsley, William Henry Boulton, John Beverly Robinson I, and Henry John Boulton, were prime movers in agricultural education in Upper Canada. The formation and development of both the Home District Agricultural Society and the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada, were attributable to Jarvis and his *Compact* contemporaries.[144] Attendant to the hunting laws and agricultural legislation were edicts restricting the use of the Lord's Day for anything other than quiet repose and physical regeneration. These laws were unpopular because the urban working class resident who had to work six days a week, twelve to fourteen hours a day, was essentially banned from recreating himself in a way which was healthy, physically challenging, competitively stimulating, and mentally uplifting. Sabbatarianism represented not only a religious observance, but it also was a cloaked attempt by the elite to 'conspicuously' use religious reasons to enforce socially controlling principles.[145] The Lord's Day Act of 1845, besides barring the drinking of spirits on Sunday also stated,

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[141] *Ibid.*

[142] An Act for the Encouragement of Agricultural Societies and Agriculture in Upper Canada, 8 Vic. Cap 54, March 29, 1845, Statutes of Province of Canada. Also, see an Act to Amend the Act 31 Victoria Chapter 29, entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Agricultural, Horticulture, Arts and Manufactures", January 23, 1869, Statutes of Province of Ontario.

[143] An Act for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Horticulture, Arts and Manufactures", *loc. cit.*

[144] See Upper Canada Gazette, May 27, 1830 and the Act of Incorporation of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada. 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 61, July 28, 1847, *ibid.*

> ... nor shall it be lawful for any person or persons to play skittles, ball, football, racket, or any other noisy game, or to gamble with dice or otherwise, or to run races on foot, or on horseback, or in carriages, or in vehicles of any sort on that day; nor shall it be lawful for any person or persons to go out fishing or hunting or shooting, or in quest of, or to take kill or destroy, any deer, or other game, or any wild animal, or any wild fowl or bird or fish, except as next hereinafter mentioned, or to use any dog, gun, rifle or other engine, or any fishing rod, net or trap, for the above mentioned purposes, on the Lord's Day.[146]

The comprehensiveness of the Act in restricting the most frequently resorted to activities of the workingman, demonstrated how unbending and purposeful the elite were in their enforcement of social policy. In all likelihood, it was not just the Clergy Reserves or the oligarchical nature of Upper Canadian government (with respect to Toronto) which led MacKenzie and his rebels to the Rebellion but it may also have been the strict social policy which was being enforced by the leaders of the upper class. Although Draper may have only been a figurehead for the *Compact* Tories, he was the one who most likely guided and developed the legislation which served the interests of the official class. He was the person who (as Attorney-General) in essence assisted in 'effecting' the social policy of the elite and the one who frequently spoke most ardently in defense of legislation which protected the quasi-aristocratic values usually attached to the upper class in Britain but practiced by the initial quasi-gentry of Toronto and region.

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[145] This fact was alluded to but not definitely explained by several authors. See J.T. Jable, "Pennsylvania's Early Blue Laws: A Quaker Experiment in the Suppression of Sports and Amusement, 1682-1740", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1974), pp. 107-121; *idem*, "The English Puritans: Suppressors of Sport and Amusement?", Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1976), pp. 33-40; Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 270; Gerald Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada", in Society and Leisure, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1979), pp. 89-90; and Barbara Schrodt, "Sabbatarianism and Sport in Canadian Society", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1977), pp. 22-33. and C. Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company. (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977), particularly pp. 144-156.

[146] An Act to Prevent the Profanation of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, in Upper Canada, 8 Vic. Cap 45, March 29, 1845, Statutes of Province of Canada.

To paint a picture of William Henry Draper as a sole functionary of elite social control policy is unfair, because he did do much for Canada in a parliamentary sense as well as in a sport sense. While his legislation regarding agricultural societies was largely selfishness on behalf of the elite, to improve the quality of farming and the cooperative spirit of the general populace, it did serve indirectly to promote agrarian activities which were considered sport. For instance, plowing matches of the farmers were popularized through agricultural societies as were horse races and fox-hunt.[147] By institutionalizing these sports, the elite sought to sanction their appropriateness in terms of general societal behavior. Plowing matches allowed the farmer to develop a practical skill which would further the interests of agriculture in Upper Canada plus, they would allow him an outlet by which to compete with his fellow settler. Similarly, turf-racing motivated the rural resident to pay close attention to the breeding of the equine species, thereby elevating the quality of horse in the Province. And, it also allowed the farmer another alternative outlet for his competitive tendencies. Therefore, in an intellectual way, what the elite hoped to accomplish in promoting agrarian societies was a betterment of the general principles of farming through competitively based activities. The rural inhabitant's appetite for distractions from the dull, trying existence of the hinterland was exploited and positively channeled by the elite.[148]

Additionally, Draper effected the sport of cricket in a beneficial way during his almost thirty year tenure as a member with the Toronto Cricket Club. As a close associate of George A. Barber, John Beverly Robinson I and John Beverly Robinson II*, William Henry Draper was also instrumental in setting the game on a good organizational footing in Upper

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[147] See Jones, History of Agriculture..., pp. 167-169 and 341-344. Also see Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", pp. 199-222.

[148] Again, see *ibid.*, for descriptions of the arduous lifestyle of the rural inhabitants of Upper Canada.

Canada. For several years, in the period 1827 to 1834, Draper acted as President of the Toronto Cricket Club, a task he relinquished to William Henry Boulton.[149] Boulton's contibutions to sport will be examined in the next chapter. Draper was also a fine player of the game of cricket and participated in many important early matches. In one of the initial inter-city matches played in Upper Canada between Hamilton and Toronto on August 8, 1835, Draper teamed up with Barber, F.W. Barron, John Kent, the "triumvir" of Canadian cricket,[150] William C. Gwynne, E. Beeston, Dr. W.G. Spragge, William Hamilton Merritt and W. Toring, to defeat the newly formed group from Hamilton. In 1840, when the first international matches were played against the St. George's Club of New York,[151] Draper, along with Barber, Robinson II* and several other elites of the Toronto Cricket Club, 'bravely' engaged the American enemy even though they ended up on the losing end of the match.[152] Interestingly, the match arose as a hoax. A false invitation had been sent by "Mr. Philpotts" of the Toronto Cricket Club to the St. George's Club, who readily accepted and appeared at the former Club's ground on August 28, 1840, prepared to play. When informed that the invitation to play was a fraud, the New York group was understandably annoyed. But, being true gentlemen, the St. George's Cricket Club was willing to listen to an apology and an alternative plan for a match. A committee of three from the Toronto Cricket Club, Colonel Mackenzie Fraser, William Henry Boulton, and John Barwick, saved the reputation of the Club by suggesting that a match be played the following day and that a *gentleman's wager* of fifty pounds per side be the stakes.[153] The plan was agreed to by the New Yorkers and a fine day at the wickets ensued. As was traditional at this time, the newspapers reported the elite affair between these two upper class clubs in the grand style usually accorded significant events. Fillmore,[154] in quoting the New York Albion of August 30, 1840, attempted to demonstrate the social significance which surrounded cricket matches in Toronto in the 1840s:

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[149] Records of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club. Toronto.

[150] Lindsey,"Cricket in Canada", Part IV, p. 736, as quoted in Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918", p. 40. And as Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", cited on p. 92.

[151] Records of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto. Also see Fillmore, For the Pleasure of the Game., p. 74-77.

[152] See Marder, The International Series ..., p. 11-13.

[153] Records of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto. See Scorebooks of various international matches from 1840 to 1985.

> The cricket match between the St. George's Club, of New York, and the Toronto Club, U.C., to which we alluded in a late Albion came off at Toronto on Friday, ... a large and highly respectable crowd was present to witness the progress of this *truly noble and manly English sport*, and the play went off with the greatest eclat. The most marked attention and civility was shown by the members of the Toronto Club, as well as by the inhabitants generally, to their friends of the New York Club; and as both the clubs were composed entirely of Old Countrymen, it is hardly necessary to say that the harmony of feeling and warmth of welcome between the two amicably opposed parties was unqualified by any less grateful emotion .... The play was commenced by the Toronto Club going in, with Hon. Mr. Draper, Attorney-General, for their umpire. Mr. W. Howe acted as umpire for New York,..... The play was honoured by the presence of the Governor of the Province, Sir George Arthur, and part of his staff. The band of the 30th Regiment were present, and played many beautiful and national airs during the match.... After the day's sport was concluded, the parties sat down to a spendid and sumptuous banquet, to which the St. George's had been invited by their hospitable Toronto opponents. Every delicacy of the season had been procured, the finest wines were drunk, loyal and social toasts prevailed, and good Old English hospitality, hearty welcome, and feelings of brotherhood were unequivocally manifested.

William Henry Draper not only contributed significantly to this international match but on subsequent matches with the St. George's and Philadelphia Clubs, he admirably displayed his qualities as a capable cricketer. In fact, his son, Frank Draper, a traditional second generation member of the Toronto Cricket Club, also became an accomplished player. One authority described him as a "destructive bowler".[155] Frank was later the Chief of Police for the City of Toronto and the City's Head Police Magistrate.[156] Not surprisingly, he was also a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, joining in 1862,[157] and a member of the Toronto Club,[158] organizations with which his father had a long association and ones usually passed on through membership to elite offspring.

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[154] Fillmore, For the Pleasure of the Game., pp. 77-79.
[155] Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada", Part IV, p. 739.
[156] The Globe, November 5, 1873.
[157] Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht, Toronto.
[158] Lists of Members 1837-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club. Archives of the Toronto Club. Toronto.

Draper was not the only original Toronto Cricket Club member to influence the development of the game. T.C. Street, a prominent lawyer and politician of the mid-nineteenth century, was instrumental in introducing the game of cricket to southwestern Upper Canada. The Chief Justice assisted in forming the London Cricket Club in 1861 and served as its first President.[159] One biographer described T.C. Street's contribution to cricket and the London Cricket Club in the following manner:

> This gentlemen, was an excellent long stop and patient bat and was for many years the reliable scorer of the Club. He was chosen as one of the eleven to represent Canada in the Halifax Tournament of 1878 and has played on international matches with the United States. His energy kept his club to the front and during the period of his generalship, a number of excellent players were produced ... Justices Cronyn and Meredith, and Henry Beecher, Q.C..[160]

T.C. Street maintained his membership in the Toronto Cricket Club while residing in London. This was not an unusual practice for the elite of the era as it served to continue the social bonds which they had earlier established in their former place of residence. This was true as well for another Toronto Cricket Club member, Alexander Tilloch Galt. Sent to the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada to become the Commissioner of the British-American Land Company in 1836,[161] Galt quickly exercised his administrative and cricket skills by establishing the Sherbrooke Cricket Club in 1837.[162] He had earlier been a student of George A. Barber at Upper Canada College and had benefitted from the coaching of the "father of Canadian Cricket". Although the Sherbrooke Cricket Club flourished under Galt's leadership, other clubs in Lower Canada failed to materialize. While Lindsay claimed it was due to lack of tradition of cricket among the French,[163] other authorities have postulated that it was the dearth of "cricket breeders" from the Ontario public schools which inhibited the development of the game in Lower Canada.[164] Montreal's Cricket Club was formally established on August 17, 1843, but interest in the sport was minimal during the 1840s and 1850s. The stark contrast in the enthusiasm for cricket between Toronto and Montreal was indicative of the ethnic differences between the two cities. Montreal was largely a pluralistic society. The Scottish fur trader and exporter, the elite of the community, was sandwiched between the larger majorities of French and Irish.[165] Toronto, because of its strictly loyalist roots, was predominantly an quasi-English stronghold.[166] Its Anglican or High Tory politics clashed with those of the Presbyterian fur trader of Montreal. Therefore, it was not an unexpected finding that the public school educated English of Toronto were more zealous toward the playing and development of the game of cricket as tradition and knowledge of the sport won out.

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[159] Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada", Part IV, p. 730. The first match to take place between Toronto and London was in 1859.

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] J.D. Borthwick, History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal. (Montreal: John Lovell, 1892), p. 213. Also see R. Wayne Simpson, "The Influences of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857", Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980, pp. 197-198.

[162] Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada", Part III, p. 615.

[163] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 96.

Cricket, while being the first formally organized sport in Toronto, was not the only one to receive elite membership and patronage. Curling, for instance, grew rapidly in importance in Toronto because of upper class involvement in the sport. For the most part, when the Toronto Curling Club was formally established in 1835,[167] it drew its membership from many individuals of the legal community and of governmental office. The likes of Samuel B. Harrison, Henry Sherwood, Sir George Arthur, Lord Sydenham and Hon. Joseph C. Morrison were all members in good standing in the 1830s through to the 1850s.[168] It was probable that people like William Henry Draper encouraged fellow *Compact* associates to join the Toronto Curling Club because it provided another institution by which the local elite could socialize and exercise their considerable influence in who could and could not become a member of their close-knit fraternity. Although certain well-respected merchants entered the elite ranks during the first few years of operation, the elite of the Toronto Curling Club remained predominantly uniform in terms of occupation and status. Members who represented the 'better class' of merchants in Toronto, for example William McMaster, Isaac Buchanan, William Proudfoot, Henry Rowsell, John Ewart and George Denholm, were tolerated due to their important connections to trade which were largely backed by *Compact* money. For instance, William Proudfoot was a long-time director of the *Family Compact's* Bank of Upper Canada,[169] Home District Savings Bank,[170] British America Fire and Life Assurance Company,[171] and the Provincial Fire Assurance Company.[172] In fact, his connections to the elite were so secure that he was included as one of the original members of the social Upper Canada Club (later the Toronto Club) in 1837.[173] Here, within the confines of the Province's first 'gentleman's club', Proudfoot rubbed shoulders with John Beverly Robinson I, R.B. Sullivan, Hon. John Elmsley, William Botsford Jarvis*, John Simcoe Macaulay, Thomas Gibbs Ridout and John Henry Dunn, all venerate members of Toronto's 'inner circle'. Interestingly, curling members, the Buchanan brothers, Isaac and Peter, were also members of the Upper Canada Club, as were many other leading merchants.[174] Thus, by allowing certain business functionaries, who were intimately tied to their business interests, to join their sport and business clubs, the elite were able to surround themselves in an insulating 'fringe' elite who would do most of the administrative work so that their mentors could have the leisure time to participate in sport activities.[175] Again, more will be mentioned on this point later in the dissertation.

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[164] Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada", Part III, p. 616.
[165] Stephen Leacock, Montreal: Seaport and City. (New York: Doubleday, 1941), pp. 141-142.
[166] Goheen, Victorian Toronto..., p. 55.
[167] Records of the Toronto Curling Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, Toronto. Also Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 26, stated that both the Milton and Toronto clubs were established in 1836. Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport ...", concurred with Lindsay that the Toronto Curling Club was established in 1836.
[168] *Ibid.*

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[169] See United Empire Loyalist, June 3, 1826, for the first mention of Proudfoot as a director.

[170] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1830.

[171] Upper Canada Gazette, November 30, 1834.

[172] *Ibid.*, February 27, 1834.

[173] Johnson, "The U.C. Club and the Upper Canadian Elite...", p. 158.

[174] For a description of the Buchanan's leading mercantile business, see Douglas McCalla.The Upper Canadian Trade, 1834-1872. A Study of the Buchanan's Business. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

[175] A general discussion of the elite and their business involvement can be seen in R.L. Fraser, "Like Eden in Her Summer Dress: Gentry, Economy and Society: Upper Canada, 1812-1840", Ph.D. dissertation University of Toronto, 1979. Also see Hugh G. Aitken. "The Family Compact and the Welland Canal Company", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 18 (1952), pp. 63-76.

Curling was a sport which was proclaimed to have had democratic tendencies. Although it was not a traditionally aristocratic sport, the upper class membership of the Toronto Curling Club declared it part of their 'official' domain. This fact was a definite colonial variation in the definition of what constituted aristocratic sport. Redmond, in stating that curling was the most democratic of sports, only played by the Scots, whether in Upper or Lower Canada, was putting forward an observation based on evidence of a match in Toronto in 1840.[176] Curling, as played in Toronto and region, was a sport closely tied to the traditional British class hierarchy. And, it was not the only sport so aligned. As has been already described in cricket, this alignment was also true for horse-racing, yachting, bowls and the fox-hunt. In fact, so class conscious was sport in Toronto from 1827 onwards, that all sports organized prior to 1870, were dominated by the elite, including many of the original *Compact* families. When the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club was formally organized in March of 1837,[177] the membership roster was almost identical to that of the Toronto Curling Club. And when the Toronto Turf Club began in 1828,[178] it, like the Cricket Club, was the absolute epitomy of Lieutenent-Governor Simcoe's band of legal wizards and governmental office holders who formed the official class of Toronto's initial society. Similarly, when the Toronto Hunt Club and Toronto Boat Club (RCYC), were later established in 1843[179] and 1852[180] respectively, their membership lists were dominated by the names of the *Family Compact* and all of their 'fringe' associates. Therefore, curling, like all the formative sports of Toronto, was organized along strict class lines. When Redmond cited a curling match taking place in Toronto on March 11, 1840, between the married men of the Toronto Curling Club and the bachelors of the Scarborough Curling Club[181] he made an understandable error in his determination of the fact that curling was democratic. He cited the following passage:

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[176] Redmond, "The Scots and Sport...", p. 123.

[177] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club. See March 12, 1837 for inaugural meeting of Club. Ontario Public Archives.

[178] United Empire Loyalist, August 16, 1828.

[179] Records of the Toronto Hunt Club. Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club and personal papers of Clifford Sifton III, Caledon.

[180] Records of the Toronto Boat Club, 1852-1854. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. It was later renamed the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1854.

[181] Redmond cited the Toronto Examiner of the same date. Also see, "The Scots and Sport...", p. 143.

> These curlers included "a noted legislator, a judge, one of Toronto's mayors, a descendant of the House of Lauderdale, a sea captain and later proprietor of the Queen's hotel, a famed Preacher, as well as a chemist, school teacher, tobaccanist, apothecary, baker, upholsterer, shipbuilder, grocer and Bank of Upper Canada clerk, together with a few men of leisure listed as gentlemen."

The problem with this quote is that at first glance it would appear that the game was indeed democratically oriented. But if one examines the historical social geography of Toronto for the period under study, an alternative impression materializes. Scarborough, in 1840, could best be described as being a farming community.[112] The town stood separately from Toronto, and had not yet moved its development toward that of the larger city. The residents of the region were mostly farmers but there were many service industry inhabitants (i.e., chemist, school teacher, tobaccanist, apothecary, baker, upolster, etc.). Thus, when we see the professionals of Toronto mixing with the service industry residents of Scarborough among whom were confidants of the *Compact*, it was understandable that the game of curling was not naturally showing its democratic qualities on "the frontier society of the New World", but rather consolidating old established social connections and serving to give two clubs, from different class backgrounds and locales, an opportunity to play a game which was starved for inter-club competition. To exemplify the assumptions of Redmond's analysis and to point out the importance of local social history in the interpretation of sport, a brief explanation of some of the personalities explained in the quote is here presented. The Mayor of Toronto referred to in the passage, was John Powell.[113] He was the grandson of Chief Justice William Dummer Powell, a Family Compact member, and on whose parcel of granted land developed the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club and hotel.[114] John Powell was an ardent curler as well as an enthusiastic bowler, fox-hunter, and cricketer. He was also a distinguished member of the

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[112] See David Boyle, The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), *passim*.

[113] Victor L. Russell, Mayors of Toronto, 1834-1899. (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1982), p. 29.

[114] See Toronto Star Weekly, June 19, 1915. Also see Toronto Daily Star. February 21, 1914.

Toronto Club, as were many of the early elite. Further, he was Mayor of Toronto from 1838 to 1840. The "noted legislator", as has been already described, was William Henry Draper, and the "sea captain and later proprietor of the Queen's Hotel" was Thomas McGaw.[115] McGaw was one of the original members of the Toronto Curling Club and it was at his Hotel that most of the Club's meetings took place prior to the construction of Toronto Curling Clubs own rink and club rooms in 1865.[116] It was plausible that for granting such a favour, the elite reciprocally allowed McGaw to be a member of their curling fraternity. Plus, the fact that he was an excellent curler and a member of the famous *Red Jackets* curling team, probably secured his inclusion among the elite ranks. The "famed Preacher" in the quote was John Strachan, the Archdeacon of the 'Established Anglican Church' of Toronto.[117] Strachan, besides Robinson I, was the singularly most important spokesman for the *Family Compact* and their conservative interests. He fought for the rights of the Anglican Church and the Clergy Reserves, and was labelled the "turn-coat" Presbyterian by William Lyon Mackenzie.[118] If anyone was readily identified with the elites of Toronto it was "the Fighting Bishop".[119] Hence, what was believed to be a democratic feature of Upper Canadian society was in fact an explainable phenomenon of class differences relative to sport. By having examined the local history of Toronto and the personalities who made up both the sport and social mosaic, a clearer, more precise analysis has been realized.

The period 1827 to 1840 was marked by a distinctive upper class involvement in sport. The sport participation by the elite reflected the original social structure of Toronto. The structure was very rigid and well-represented by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe's *Compact* grouping. His legal friends and his governmental appointees swelled the ranks of sport club members and they served, through their institutional membership, to restrict the upward mobility of individuals who strove to gain the ear of main Provincial administrator, the Lieutenant-Governor. As the template for development of the region, the English and their rigid class hierarchy, rang supreme in terms of formally organized sport. The majority of the participants were English and most were attached to the dominant religion of the town, Anglicanism. The purveyors of early sport in Toronto were the "well-bred" men of the English and Canadian public schools, who were well-acquainted with the 'gentlemanly' characteristics of such games as cricket, fox-hunting, horse-racing, curling, bowls and yachting. Sport to the elite represented more than just opportunities to compete and socialize. It signified a traditional means to enforce their class character and the status accorded those who had the time, wealth and opportunity to involve themselves in sport. And, to guarantee this status they used political measures and discriminatory laws to maintain the quasi-aristocratic nature of sport.

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[115] Toronto Daily Star, January 24, 1936.

[116] See Fillmore, For the Pleasure of the Game., p. 124. Also, The Globe, January 20, 1865.

[117] George W. Spragge, "John Strachan's Contribution to Education, 1800-1823", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 22 (1941), p. 247. Also see Talman, "The Position of the Church of England...", pp. 366-367.

[118] Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years..., p. 113.

[119] Gordon Donaldson, The Scots Overseas. (London: Robert Hale, 1966), p. 145.

Chapter XI

ELITE AND MERCANTILE INTERESTS IN TORONTO SPORT, 1841-1860

The period 1841 to 1860 was one characterized by signicant change. Great upheaval from the Rebellion of 1837-1838 had led to rethinking and reform of the colonial government in Upper Canada by those in the Home government. Lord Durham had been sent to evaluate the inequalities in the social, political and economic affairs of the colony. He had been given the task of breaking the oligarchical control of the *Compact* Tories, a task which proved harder than expected. While Durham had laid plans for reform and responsible government, his grand scheme experienced a certain impotency until the later 1840s and Lord Elgin's arrival in Canada. Although *Compact* interests were supposed to die a quick death as a result of responsible government, the elite connections established early on in Toronto's history maintained themselves well into the 1850s and beyond. Sport subsequently persisted in its upper class distinction in the 1840s and 1850s but it did experience a subtle transition, that is, a closer alignment to commercial elements of society, namely ***mercantile interests***. In order to fight against the economic and social pressures of a burgeoning trade economy and an interest toward responsible government, the elite made close acquaintances of the new ***princes***, the merchants of Toronto and region. The new ***kings of fortune*** were now readily accepted into the upper realms of the society which had been dominated for a long period by the quasi-gentry of John Graves Simcoe.

Toronto in 1841 was a city on the verge of a great growth period. Its approximately 12,000 inhabitants were still sharply divided between those who had wealth and those who did not.[1] While Toronto was gradually acquiring a merchant economy which was responsible for supplying the wares and goods to a growing hinterland populace, it still resembled a British colonial town, one still inextricably attached to traditional British values but tainted by an American influence. As Anna Jameson pointed out in her Winter Studies and Summer

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[1] Edith G. Firth. The Town of York, 1815-1834: A Further Collection of Documents of Early Toronto. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1966), p. xxxii and Canada Board of Registration and Statistics, Census of the Canada's, 1851-52, Vol. 1, p. 30.

Rambles in Canada, Toronto still clung to the institutions and the prejudices of the English Anglicans:

> A British Town on American Soil.
> I did not expect to find here in this new capital of a new country ... concentrated as it were the worst evils of our old and artificial social system at home ... Toronto is like a fourth or fifth rate provincial town, with the pretensions of a capital city ... Canada is a colony not a country ... Their love, their pride, are not for poor Canada, but for high and happy England.[2]

And as Henry Scalding pointed out in Toronto of Old, the city was developing along the lines of any American counterpart:

> Growing slowly westward from here, King Street developed in its cause, in the customary American way its hotel, its tavern, its boarding house, its wagon factory, its tinsmith shop, its bakery, its general store, its lawyer's office, its printing office, its places of worship.[3]

The indelible influence of the British-Americans and their loyalist roots, left its mark on the facade of Toronto but so did the colonial British stock. As much as the tavern was a fixture of an American town, it was an absolute and integral part of British culture. Because the tavern or pub had its origins in the Tudor and Stewart periods of English history,[4] it was not surprising to find it well entrenched in colonial settlements. It was within the initial taverns of Toronto that several sport clubs took hold. Again, this is not surprising due to the centuries old custom of holding sport club meetings in pubs and taverns.[5] Lindsay, in describing the nature of sport in Canada, prior to Confederation (1867), said:

> Numerous sporting clubs and societies had their inception at a meeting of enthusiasts held in a convivial tavern.[6]

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[2] Anna Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), pp. 74-75.

[3] Henry Scadding, Toronto of Old. Frederick H. Armstrong (ed). (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 4.

[4] Chamber's Encyclopedia. (London: Pergamon Press, 1967), pp. 664-665. Also see "The Clubs of London", National Review, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1853), p. 295 and "The Clubs of London", New Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 18 (1869), p. 134.

[5] "Club-Life", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, Vol. 4, No. 94 (October 1845), p. 241 and "On Some Clubs, and Their Ends", Temple Bar, Vol. 34 (March 1872), pp. 469-482. *passim*.

[6] Peter L. Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 13.

But, as convivial as these taverns were in the 1840s, they also bred an atmosphere of drunkenness and disorderliness, particularly among the working class, which led to disruptions of sport club meetings and to the subsequent development of private club quarters. As most of the sport clubs of the era were upper class in nature, it seemed only natural that the elite construct their own club facilities so that they could rid themselves of the "bacchanalian" influence of the working class.[7] Although there was a definite separation of the classes in the nineteenth century with respect to sport and clubs, this did not mean that the workingman was totally ignored. As will be mentioned later, the reforming and controlling spirit of both the upper and middle classes greatly impacted on the recreational activities of the labourer, artizan and mechanic.[8]

Toronto by 1850 had grown to 30,775 residents, most of whom were poor and without a job. The Irish potato famine in the 1840s had forced many individuals and their families to seek a better living in the colonies.[9] The emigrants from Britain who arrived in Canada in 1847-1848 were described by Tucker as being "probably the most diseased, destitute and shiftless that Canada has ever received".[10] The City Council of Toronto, in receiving one third of those immigrants that arrived in British North America, was faced with an immediate problem which plagued many of the urban centers of the era, overcrowding by a relatively poor population.[11] Efforts were made to provide better housing for the poor and to supply the amenities of life, but for the most part, these efforts were overtaxed and abused. The small elite of Toronto, in the Victorian philanthropic custom, could not keep up to the demand for support from the many causes which asked for their benevolence.[12] The poor, without pioneer skills or assets, could not afford to attempt an existence in the harsh hinterland. They also could not afford to live in the city where housing and food was expensive.[13] As a result, a great reliability was placed on the elite to supply the amenities of life, if they could be secured, and to supply the basic health services which would keep the city free of disease and plague.[14] Therefore, what materialized in the 1840s and 1850s was a welfare system which was manipulated and controlled by the elite of Toronto. By administering the "long purse" of a voluntary benevolence program, the elite had some influence on the social behavior of the poor and could direct opportunities for sport, recreation and leisure.

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[7] "Some Clubs, and Their Ends", p. 482.

[8] Generally, see B.J. Howe, "Clubs, Culture and Charity; Anglo-American Upper Class Activities in the Late Nineteenth Century", Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1976; David Owen, English Philanthropy, 1660-1960. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 1; Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", Victorian Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1966), p. 356; *idem*, "Drunkards and Reformers: Early Victorian Temperance Tracts", History Today, Vol. 13 (1963), p. 184; G.O. Trevelyan, "Gentility Through Patronage", in W.L. Guttsman (ed.) The English Ruling Class. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 38; M.B. Simey, Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951); M.D. Stephens and G.W. Roderick, "British Artisan Scientific and Technical Education in the Early Nineteenth Century", Annals of Science, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1954), pp. 87-97; and Edward Royle, "Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860", Historical Journal, Vol. 14 (1971), pp. 305-321.

[9] See Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 1 (February 1965), pp. 19-40. Also, Rainer Bachre, "Pauper Emigration to Upper Canada in the 1830s", Social History, Vol. 14, No. 28 (November 1981), pp. 339-367.

[10] G. Tucker, "The Famine Immigration to Canada in 1847", American Historical Review, Vol. 36 (1930-31), p. 535. Also, for reference see F. Morehouse, "Canadian Migration in the Forties", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 9 (1928), pp. 309-329 and *idem*, "The Irish Migration of the Forties". American Historical Review, Vol. 33 (1927-28), pp. 579-592.

One of the early pioneers of philanthropy in Toronto was William Botsford Jarvis*.[15]

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[11] See G.M. Young (ed), Early Victorian England. (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 153, 315 and 349. Also, C. Petrie, The Victorians. (London: White Lion Publishers, 1960), pp. 71-99.

[12] For reference to the general custom of philanthropy, see Owen, English Philanthropy..., *passim*. and Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", pp. 356-372. Also, W.T. Burn, The Age of Equipoise. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964), p. 115.

[13] P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, "Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth Century British North America", Social History, Vol. 15, No. 29 (May 1982), pp. 157-179; J.T. Cumbler, "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy, Journal of Social History, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Fall 1980), pp. 99-111; and, J. Fingard, "The Winter's Tale: The Seasonal Contours of Pre-Industrial Poverty in British North America", Canadian Historical Association Papers (1974), pp. 65-94.

[14] An excellent source for the development of social services in mid-nineteenth century Toronto was Eric J. Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto's Panic, Policy and Public Response", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979. Also see B. Dyster, "Toronto, 1840-1860: Making it in a British Protestant Town", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970; and R.B. Splane, "The Development of Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791 to 1893", 2 Vols., D.S.W. thesis, University of Toronto, 1961.

[15] He has already been discussed extensively in chapter IV.

He was not only one of the early promoters of agricultural education in Upper Canada but he also led a movement to establish in Toronto a series of "self-help" philanthropic agencies. As one of Toronto's original elite, Jarvis was one of the instigators of the Toronto Mechanics' Institutes in 1831,[16] the Toronto Athenaeum in 1845,[17] the St. George's Society in 1835,[18] the House of Industry in 1839,[19] the Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society in 1850,[20] and the Toronto Horticultural Society in 1836.[21] His motivations for starting such agencies and associations were most likely fuelled by the fact that, as Sheriff of the Home District, he was uniquely positioned to see the less attractive features of urban life in the mid-nineteenth century. He saw the lack of food, shelter, education and recreation for the poor, and he also saw a disease ridden population that, if something were not done to improve the living conditions of the less fortunate, would be severely diminished in numbers and severely affected by the mental strain of public health. Thus, he, and his elite compatriots, were practically motivated to assist the less fortunate to maintain some level of moral, mental and physical integrity in a society which had barely passed its frontier stage of development.

The Mechanics' Institutes, the Athenaeums, the Lyceums, etc., in Britain, in the early nineteenth century, were established to educate the workingman and the poor, and to enlighten them on the *moral* ways of living life. The institutions catered almost exclusively to the single urban male who was most likely to go "by way of the tavern for his amusement".[22] The elite, who patronized and administered such organizations, wished to instill in the workingman, qualities which would lead to the benefit of society as a whole and which would remove from the burgeoning urban centers the large dependence of the unemployed, poor and working class on alcohol and gambling, two large problems in the Victorian city.[23] The inculcation of intellectualism, teetolalism, sociability, self-help, religiosity and self-denial, were all elements which the elite attempted to propagate through such agencies as the Mechanics' Institutes and Athenaeums.[24] The institutions stood as an upper class symbol for reform and social control. By trying to "civilize", "refine" and "elevate" the common man, the elite sought to circumvent political uprisings from the masses due to the intolerable conditions experienced by them on a daily basis. As well, in the disguise of trying to improve the conditions of the workingmen, the elite wanted to control their recreational outlets, for fear that they might soon overpower and dominate the traditional sport practices of the upper class. The elite strove to restrict the type, quantity, and time needed for sport by the working class. As Lowerson and Myerscough discussed in their work, Time to Spare in Victorian England, sport, or the time necessary to recreate oneself,

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[16] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, 2 Vic. Cap. 12, April 15, 1835, Statutes of Upper Canada.

[17] Incorporation Act of the Toronto Athenaeum, 11 Vic. Cap. 16, March 23, 1848, Statutes of Province of Canada. Also see British Colonist, May 9, 1845.

[18] Upper Canada Gazette, December 19, 1835. Also see Incorporation Act of the St. George's Society of Toronto, 22 Vic. Cap. 72, July 24, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[19] *Ibid.*, November 12, 1840. Also see Incorporation Act of the House of Industry, 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 33, August 5, 1851, *ibid.*

[20] List of Founders, dated February 23, 1850. Church of England and Metropolitan Building Society Papers. Ontario Public Archives.

[21] R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 229 and Incorporation Act of Toronto Horticultural Society, 20 Vic. Cap. 181, June 10, 1857. Statutes of Province of Canada.

> ... became the subject of a crucial debate about how people should make use of their time, both for the good of their souls and for the good of their country. Reform and respectability came into all aspects of spare time for the Victorians, either to condemn or to encourage, and the old ways of pre-industrial England seemed coarse, brutal and pre-dominately [*sic*] vulgar.

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[22] J.J. Talman, "Life in the Pioneer Districts of Upper Canada", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1930, pp. 82-84. Also see *idem* and M.A. Garland, "Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada Prior to 1840", in Frederick H. Armstrong (ed.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 171-193.

[23] E.C. Black, Victorian Culture and Society. (London: MacMillan, 1973), p. 208.

[24] G. Crossick, "The Labour Aristocracy and Its Values; A Study of Mid-Victorian Kentish London", Victorian Studies, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1976), p. 301; Francis B. Smith. The Making of the Second Reform Bill. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1966), p. 8; Stephens and Roderick, "British Artizan, Scientific and Technical Education ...", pp. 87-93; *idem*, "Middle Class Non-Vocational Lecture and Debating Subjects in the 19th Century England", British Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. 21, No. 2 (1973), pp. 192-201; Royle, "Mechanics Institutes and the Working Classes ...", pp. 305-311; and Gosden, The Friendly Societies..., *passim*.

> Their persistence threatened the very survival of Victorian progress ... and improving leisure could be used to transform the "Swinish multitude" into the 'respectable working classes'.[25]

What the patrons of self-help groups did to increase respectability and progress among the working class was to legislate against the staging of blood sports (i.e., bear baiting) and cruel treatment of animals, which had been popular pastimes of the common man for centuries.[26] They did this for two reasons, apart from the reform and social control elements of elite social policy. Firstly, due to the changing attitude in Victorian times in terms of the theologically based anti-cruelty campaigns, blood sport was seen as a humanly defiling and debasing exercise which was non-productive to society in general.[27] It was also thought to be an assault on social morality, a prescribed morality of the elite. Volatile crowds, excessive drinking and "inflamed natural passions and tensions of gambling" were thought to be a threat to the ruling class.[28] The unpredictability and the turbulent and violent nature of the workingman's sports were also considered to be totally at variance with the new Victorian society which demanded, and got, individual and collective restraint. Thus, what the ruling class of the Victorian era tried to do was curtail, restrict and mold a behavior within the urban and rural poor by creating laws, institutions, and emulative displays of elite sport which would have the intended outcome of civilizing, refining and uplifting the character and sport of the lower social orders.

In Toronto, it was not surprising to find that social policy being implemented in England was also being followed in the largest colonial city of Upper Canada. The fact that Simcoe intended to transplant the *image and transcript* of English society to the town early in its most formative stages of development, confirmed why the social policy of the *Compact* elite was so rigid and over-bearing. To prevent the recurrence of any sport which was violent and disruptive to the society as a whole, the 'ruling' Torontonians adopted and enforced contemporary British forms of social reform and control. Sport, in Toronto, was to remain elitist in nature until such time that the upper and middle classes acquiesced in their control of sport and allowed the labouring man to partake of sport activities.

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[25] John Lowerson and John Myerscough. Time to Spare in Victorian England. (London: The Harvester Press, 1977), p. 3.
[26] D. Brailsford, Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), *passim*.
[27] James Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950. (London: Longmans, 1978), p. 9.
[28] *Ibid*.

While Jarvis was one of the early promoters of self-help institutions in Toronto, he was not alone in his quest to control, restrict and develop the nature of sport in this colonial city. Another of the *Family Compact* who contributed sizeably to the elite controlled development of sport and to the quasi-aristocratic policy of social reform in Toronto during the 1840s and 1850s was William Henry Boulton. Boulton, was one of the progeny of the original *Compact* Boultons in York. His father, D'arcy Boulton II, had arrived in York (Toronto), Upper Canada, in 1797, along with his parents. D'arcy Boulton I, Henry William's grandfather, was the patriarch of the Boultons in Simcoe's village in the late 1790s.[29] D'arcy I was appointed Solicitor-General of Upper Canada in 1805 upon the death of Robert Isaac Dey Gray. He held this post until 1814 even though, for a period of four years (1810-1814), he was in a prison in France as a result of his ship being captured by a French privateer when he was travelling to England.[30] D'arcy I was promoted to Attorney-General upon his return to York, a position he filled until 1818. Later, he became a judge of the Court of King's Bench and an associate justice of the same court only to resign in 1827 due to poor health.[31] He had built a large home on a park lot property known only as "The Grange" and there had four sons who all became prominent in one way or another in Toronto during their lives.[32] One of his sons, D'arcy II, (1785-1846) the eldest, was a merchant in early York even though he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada in 1807.[33] During the War of 1812, he held the rank of lieutenant in the militia. But, before and following the War, he owned and operated a store, first with his brother-in-law, Peter Robinson, after whom the town of Peterborough was named, and then with William Proudfoot, the later President of the *Compact*, Bank of Upper Canada.[34] In 1809, D'arcy II married Sarah Ann Robinson, daughter of another *Compact* patriarch, Christopher Robinson, and a sister of Peter (already mentioned) and John Beverly Robinson I.[35] By Sara Ann, D'arcy II had three sons and two daughters. William Henry was the eldest, then came D'arcy Edward (1814-1888), John (1829-1881), Mary Sayer, who married Clarke Gamble, and Emma Robinson, who married William Cayley. Thus, the original Boultons were typical of the *Compact* families of the era. The family patriarch was usually an appointed government official whose sons became lawyers and whose children often inter-married with other 'official class' families. While William Henry's father, D'arcy II, opted for a mercantile career rather than a legal one for which he had been trained, he did add credence to the strong social connections of the period by entering business with another *Compact* family member, namely Peter Robinson. The fact that the Boulton family owned a large part of valuable real estate in Toronto, also adds significance to the theory that such families directed considerable influence in the speculative land dealings of the period and accumulated considerable wealth as a result of shrewd land selling practices. In essence, the Boultons were one of the "well-heeled" families of early Toronto who exerted considerable control over the social, economic and political affairs of this colonial British town.

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[29] W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1978), p. 84. Mentioned in the biography of one of his sons, Henry John Boulton.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 270.

[32] John Lownsborough, The Privileged Few: The Grange and Its People in Nineteenth Century Toronto. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1980), p. 19.

[33] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 10 (1871-1880). (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 78-81.

William Henry Boulton was born on April 19, 1812 and soon after was baptized by Dr. John Strachan, the religious patriarch of the *Family Compact*.[36] He had a good head start on most young men of Upper Canada due not only to his inherited privileged place in Toronto's society, but also because of his later "pleasing appearance" and his "engaging nature".[37] Like most young men of elite Toronto families, Boulton was educated at Upper Canada College, an institution restricted to those who had built it, the *upper class*.[38] Here he learned both the classical literary works of centuries past and the traditional curricular sport of cricket.[39] Boulton, under the watchful and guiding care of George A. Barber, became a fine cricketer at Upper Canada College and perpetuated his love for the sport by becoming a member of the Toronto Cricket Club in 1834.[40] Young William Henry also had an advantage which few of his contemporaries in sport had experienced, this being a grandfather who was as accomplished at the wickets as he had been in handing down decisions in the Court of King's Bench.[41] William Henry had received cricket lessons from D'arcy Boulton I prior to entering Upper Canada College in 1829.[42] The elder Boulton, a member of the gentried Boultons of Moulton in England, had been educated in law at Middle Temple, London, where he had become familiar with the "bat and ball".[43] He was a true aristocrat and probably represented to Simcoe a perfect example of *noblesse oblige* in early York society, thus his ready acceptance as a government official. Scadding described D'arcy I as, "...an English gentleman of Wellington physique; like many of his descendants, a lover of horses and a spirited rider; a man of wit, too, and humour, fond of listening to and narrating anecdotes of the *ben trovato* class".[44] D'arcy I had been an enthusiastic participant of the game of cricket early on in York and along with the likes of William Henry Draper, Dr. W.G. Spragge, William Gwynne and John Beverly Robinson I, was interested in forming a "formal brotherhood" of cricketers. Their cumulative efforts was realized in the formation of the Toronto Cricket Club.

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[34] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 84.

[35] *Ibid*.

[36] John Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 until 1833, and of Toronto from 1834 to 1893, 8 Vols. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1956), Vol. 3, p. 379. The baptism took place June 7, 1812 and sponsors included Peter Robinson and Eliyce Jarvis.

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[37] Lownsborough, The Privileged Few..., p. 92.
[38] E.C. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada. (Toronto: Ontario Publishing, 1933), p. 321.
[39] D. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984, p. 42.
[40] List of Members, 1827-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club. Toronto.
[41] Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools ....", p. 40. He incorrectly referred to Rev. William Boulton who had no connection whatsoever to the Toronto Cricket Club. He refers to Boulton's death in 1834. This date though corresponded with the death of D'arcy Boulton I.
[42] The year of formation of Upper Canada College and two years following the establishment of the Toronto Cricket Club, a club assisted in formation by D'arcy Boulton I.
[43] Lownsborough, The Privileged Few..., p. 21. He cited Middle Temple Correspondence, dated June 10, 1980. D'arcy I was admitted to the Middle Temple on November 7, 1788.
[44] Scadding, Toronto..., p. 25.

Because the elder Boulton had instructed William Henry in the genteel game of cricket it seemed only natural that he would also teach him in the art of horsemanship. D'arcy Boulton I had teamed with William Botsford Jarvis*, John Radenhurst, Solicitor-General of Upper Canada, John Henry Dunn, and Robert Stanton, to form the Toronto Turf Club in 1828.[45] He had quickly encouraged participation from all his grandsons later in 1828 because he knew that part of a gentleman's education should be knowing how to ride a horse.[46] The training that William Henry, D'arcy Edward and John received from their grandfather made them all stalwart members of Toronto's horse-racing community. So much so in fact, that when the Garrison Race Course was closed in 1839, William Henry donated part of a Boulton's park lot to the development of the St. Leger Race Course.[47] It was not a coincidence that the St. Leger Race Course was named after the famous St. Leger Course of England. Loyal sport traditions among Toronto's elite were a reflection of what they had experienced in Britain prior to emigrating to British North America and the New England states. It is not surprising that other race courses in Upper Canada copied the titles of famous turf clubs in England, for instance, Newmarket and Carlton.[48] The sport of horse-racing in Upper Canada differed little to that already established in Britain. Primarily it was established by the elite in order to judge and evaluate the equine species which was constantly being improved.[49] As the quasi-gentry of Toronto possessed large stables of horses, it was natural that the group take-up the hobby of animal husbandry. Practically, the elite ran horses to see which breeds could withstand the strains of jumping fences, hurtling over streams, running up hills and producing maximum speed in the face of exhaustion. The tradition of horse breeding went back in historical times when the horse was the most important piece of military equipment for an advancing army.[50] The popularity of breeding hit its peak in the Victorian era, having begun in the late Georgian period, because of the larger sums of money available to the gentry as a result of their capital investments in the emerging industrial revolution of the mid-nineteenth century. Although the popularity of horse breeding apexed in the 1840s and 1850s in England, so too did criticism regarding gambling attached to the sport. Gentleman's wagering had been a long-standing custom among the gentry of England, but with the advance of new technologies in the industrial centers, bringing with it shorter work weeks and more disposable income as a result of higher wages, horse-racing and respectable wagering fell from grace with Victorian memoralists due to the unabated interest of the workingman and his notorious gambling tendencies.[51] Fraser's Magazine stated in 1863, the working class's involvement in horseracing was:

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[45] See United Empire Loyalist, October 28, 1828. Stanton was the publisher of this strongly Tory publication.

[46] For substantiation of this fact, see Stella Margetson, Victorian High Society. (London: B.T. Botsford, 1980), pp. 172-190; Walter Besant, Fifty Years Ago. (London: Chattos and Windus, 1888), pp. 214-215; and Michael Brander, The Victorian Gentleman. (London: Cremonesi Publishers, 1975), pp. 168-189.

[47] Lownsborough, The Privileged Few ..., pp. 91-92. It was located on the fringe of what was park lot thirteen. Also see Stanley Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game. (Toronto: Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, 1977), p. 75.

[48] See references to these courses in "The English Turf", Fraser's Magazine, Vol. 48, No. 408 (December 1863), pp. 806-814; "Steeplechasing", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 4, No. 173 (May 1835), p. 135; Louis H. Curzon, "The Horse as an Instrument of Gambling", The Contemporary Review, Vol. 30 (August 1877), pp. 376-392; "About Jockeys", Temple Bar, Vol. 69 (March 1877), pp. 324-334; "The Running of the Turf in America", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 61 (1870) pp. 91-97. Mentioned a Newmarket course in Charleston, South Carolina which was unaugurated

> ... one of its greatest misfortunes ... it (horse-racing) has ceased to be the recreation of the English sportsman and has become the mere commercial speculation of the turf-jobber.[52]

In Toronto, as elsewhere, gambling in British North America became the scourge of horse-racing in the mid-nineteenth century. A large proportion of the idle poor and

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[48] (cont'd) on February 19, 1760; and "The Turf", The Quarterly Review, Vol. 49, No. 98 (1833), pp. 381-449.

[49] *Ibid.*, "The English Turf", p. 808. The article stated that "...the original object of horse-racing, reduced to a system, is the propagation of the thorough-bred horse with a view to the improvement of the ordinary breeds".

[50] "The Turf", The Quarterly Review, p. 381.

[51] Curzon, "The Horse as an Instrument of Gambling", pp. 391-392.

[52] "The English Turf", p. 807.

workingmen ventured to the race track in the hopes of capitalizing on their bets.[53] The Canadian Colonist of September 7, 1841 described the problem succinctly in stating:

> The races terminated here Friday: The sport we learn was very poor, but on the other hand, there was the average number of casualties, both in men and in horses; and the broken heads and blackened eyes at the police-office, gave abundant employment to the magistrates, varied by charges of swindling, gambling, and pocket-picking. It is calculated that more than two thousand working men [*sic*] were kept idle during the two days of the races, and the pecuniary loss to the community consequent upon this must be heavy. The state of society in Canada does not seem to us to warrant horse racing, which is a luxury only suited to older and more wealthy countries than ours. The sport was introduced many years since by the military, who in general have not much occupation; it is but little encouraged by the better class among the civilians, and we are not without the hope of seeing it abandoned altogether, as the good sense of the officers of the distinguished core in garrison must convince them that the practice is not suited to a country where support for the whole year is to be earned in the few fleeting mouths of summer and autumn.[54]

While the garrison had some initial involvement in horse-racing in Toronto, the majority of the influence and interest in the sport was in the hands of the elite. As a consequence, great efforts were made to rid the race course of the rowdier elements. Grandstands were erected to allow only the members of the Toronto Turf Club to observe the races. And, although an effective measure to separate the gentleman and the "jobber", the grandstands did little to rid the race courses of gambling. Therefore, and at great expense to its members, the Toronto Turf Club erected fences around the St. Leger Race Course in 1841-1842 to offset the ignorance of the labourer who would trespass on William Henry Boulton's property on race days in order to carry out his betting ways.[55] The improvement must have worked because an "opposition" course, the Union, was formally laid out on common property below the Don Bridge in 1842.[56] The course was managed by Richard Tinning, a wharfinger, and later a champion rower.[57] The Union Race Course, as the name implies, was the workingman's option to elite St. Leger Course. Again, following in the tradition of England,[58] the labouring class sought their own amusement when restricted from participating in elite events. The Union Course of England had for many years been the gambling mecca of the workingman and the site where drunken and 'non-genteel' behavior had been tolerated.[59] William Henry Boulton, a man of elite upbringing, obviously did not shy away from race challenges from the workingman as one of his horses, Fleetwood, won the City Plate in 1842 at the Union Course.[60] He was also an individual who pushed the sport of horse-racing to the fore in Toronto in the 1840s as was indicated by his forty-one starters in May of 1844 at his St. Leger Course. This was the largest field ever gathered for a horse-race in Canada to that point in time.[61] Further, he was the person who supplied most of the stake prizes for the events run on his race course.[62] So intense was Boulton's interest in horses that later on in his life, publishers would use the unsavory character of the general horse-racing scene in an attempt to discredit his ability as a public servant.[63]

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[53] See Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", pp. 200, 208-209, 212, 214 and 219.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 209. He cited James S. Buckingham, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick. (London: Fisher and Sons, 1843), p. 248.
[55] Lowsnborough, The Privileges Few..., pp. 84-85.
[56] Montreal Gazette, June 14, 1842 as cited in Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 205. Also see British Colonist, April 19, 1844.
[57] British Colonist, September 11, 1846.

In pursuing cricket and horse-racing, William Henry Boulton was following in a family tradition. As well, he was following in family custom when he entered the profession of law, a vocation of considerable interest to both his father and his grandfather. In 1837, at the age of twenty-five, William entered into a legal partnership with Clarke Gamble, his brother-in-law.[64] The firm of Gamble and Boulton, was one which seemed particularly felicitous. Gamble, several years the senior of Boulton, had been in practice for a number of years and had developed several good social connections. He shared the commercial quarters of D'arcy Boulton I who later in his life chose a mercantile career over that as a lawyer, and who was appointed to replace William's uncle, Henry John Boulton, as solicitor of the Bank of Upper Canada when the latter departed for his new position as Chief Justice of Newfoundland in 1833.[65] Gamble was also the solicitor for the *Compact's* British American Assurance Company, inaugurated in 1834,[66] as well as being one of the first railway promoters in Upper Canada. Clarke Gamble headed a syndicate along with William Allan, William Botsford Jarvis*, Henry Sherwood, John Ewart and George Percival Ridout, to construct a railroad between Toronto and Lake Huron in 1845.[67] Besides these ventures, Gamble also represented the *Compact's* business interests by being the formative President of the Toronto, Hamilton, and Niagara Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company in 1846[68] and the first President of the Mutual Life Association of Canada in 1871.[69] Moreover, in the true fashion of a ruling class member, Gamble was one of the original members of the Upper Canada Club in 1837[70] and the first Vice-President of the Athenaeum when it was established in 1845.[71] Joining him in this latter venture were: his legal partner William Henry Boulton; Boulton's brother-in-law, William Cayley; Henry Sherwood; S.B. Harrison; William Botsford Jarvis*; John Hillyard Cameron; Dr. Lucius O'Brien; Dr. E.M. Hodder, plus other principled men of Toronto's elite society. By forming the Athenaeum it was their hope to "civilize, refine and elevate" the common and workingman. Or, as Bailey put it:

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[58] "The Turf", The Quarterly Review, p. 381.

[59] *Ibid.*, Also see "The Running Turf in America", Part I, p. 94. Referred to a Union Course at Bath, Long Island, New York which was established in 1819 to cater to the gambling lower classes.

[60] Montreal Gazette, June 14, 1842 as cited in Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 205. Also, British Colonist, April 20, 1842.

[61] British Colonist, May 14, 1844.

[62] For instance, see Toronto Herald, January 12, 1842.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Upper Canada Gazette, February 25, 1836.

> ... the general strategy of *rational recreation* was clear: New amenities would divert the workingman from the pub and provide the proper environment for his exposure to the superior example, whose values would ultimately be internalized.[72]

The Athenaeum, with its plays, lectures, libraries, billiards, and sponsored sport events, tried to instill in the workingman of Toronto a moral rectitude which would alleviate concern for social and political upheaval. Regulated amusement, it was believed, provided a "safety valve" for the eager energies of the masses.[73] "*Rational recreation*" had to be regulated for the workingman so that his interest could be channelled into a value system which aligned itself with the mores of the elite. Temperance, wholesome exercise and mental improvement were factors which the 'ruling class' felt were necessary for the camaraderie of all classes.[74] And, as Bailey explained,

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[65] Lownsborough, The Privileged Few..., p. 92. Also see *ibid.*, February 14, 1834.
[66] Upper Canada Gazette, November 20, 1834.
[67] British Colonist, June 10 and August 8, 1845.
[68] *Ibid.*, November 10, 1846.
[69] The Globe, October 14, 1871.
[70] J.K. Johnson, "The U.C. Club and The Upper Canadian Elite, 1837-1840", Ontario History, Vol. 69, No. 3 (September 1977), p. 158.
[71] British Colonist, May 9, 1845.
[72] Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 41.

> ... the idea of recreation as a safety valve whose cathartic effect justified the suspension of normal social disciplines was unacceptable to men primarily concerned to maintain control and conformity. Play (which included sport) was not to be allowed any form of special licence; rather unequivocally integrated with the rest of life and securely anchored in orthodox morality.[75]

He continued by stating:

> Ideally - *rationally* - recreation was an adjunct and complement to work. The literal implications of the word itself were repeated: "recreation is the RE-creation", the creation anew of fresh strength for tomorrow's work; and again, 'amusement' to be legitimate, wholesome, innocent, must be useful, in refitting the body and mind for its *duty*.[76]

Therefore, what the Mechanics' Institute, Athenaeum, horticultural gardens and music hall, represented to Boulton, Gamble and others, were institutional ways of controlling and improving the living conditions of the workingman and preparing him for the responsibilities of a work/rest existence.[77] By regulating, whether through legislation or in the establishment of "improving societies", the elite tried to guarantee the profitable use of the labourer's time. This was an imperative condition for the relaxing or curtailing of work hours by employers.[78] The Early Closing Movement only materialized when employers saw legitimate avenues and alternatives for their employee's leisure time. This was certainly true in Toronto in the 1840s. With the establishment of the Mechanics' Institute in 1831, the Toronto Horticultural Gardens in 1836, and the St. George's Society in 1835, the employers were willing to close their businesses early so that their employees could "improve" themselves. The British Colonist of November 18, 1840, stated the following:

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[73] *Ibid*., p. 36.

[74] For an excellent discussion of health, exercise and moral improvement, see Bruce Haley, The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978) and *idem*, "Sports and the Victorian World", Western Humanities Review, Vol. 12 (1968), pp. 115-125.

[75] Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., p. 94.

[76] *Ibid*.

[77] See Richard N. Price, "The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology", Victorian Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1971-72), pp. 117-147; John Taylor, "From Self-Help to Glamour: The Working Man's Club, 1860-1972", in History Workshop Pamphlets, No. 7 (Oxford: Ruskin College, 1972); William Weber, Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975); F.M.L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain", Economic History Review, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1980), pp. 189-208; Ian Inkster, "The Social Context of an Educational Movement: A Revisionist's Approach to the English Mechanics' Institutes, 1820-1850", Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 2 (1976), pp. 277-307; *idem*, "Science and the Mechanics' Institute, 1820-1850: The Case of Sheffield", Annals of Science, Vol. 32 (1975), pp. 451-474; Royle, "Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes...", pp. 305-323; and Thomas Kelly, "The Origin of Mechanics' Institutes", British Journal

> The Merchants of Toronto agreeable to the desire expressed by the young men in their employment, have determined to close their stores at 7 o'clock in the evenings, Saturdays excepted, to afford their clerks an *opportunity of improvement*. The rule took effect last night, and will, we understand be acted upon during winter months. The merchants of Montreal have lately made a similar regulation at the solicitation of their young men.

Similarly, when the Athenaeum was built in 1845 and the Church Society of England was formed in 1844, the employers still unanimously agreed to close their businesses early in order to facilitate "improvement". A local Toronto newspaper made a public announcement to this effect in 1849:

> Early Closing: As usual at this time of season, arrangements have been made for closing the shops at 7 o'clock in the evening - the principal object being, to allow the young men an opportunity for *intellectual improvement and recreation*.[79]

It was of interest to note that a twelve hour work day, even in winter, was still in vogue among employers in Upper Canada in mid-century. This indicates that Toronto and region was still a heavily agriculturally based society with little or no industry to speak of. The colonies were in a commercial, economic and social time lag when compared to Britain which

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[77] (cont'd) of Educational Studies, Vol. 1 (1952), pp. 1-20.

[78] Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., p. 95. When talking of the establishment of the English Y.M.C.A. in 1844, and the employees who were supposed to use it, Bailey remarked that "... their masters would naturally be whary of curtailing the hours of labour unless they could see the leisure of their young men *profitably* employed".

[79] British Colonist, October 30, 1849.

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was already experiencing significant changes in the production process as a result of technological and mechanical advances.

William Henry Boulton was part of the 'official class' of Toronto's society who forced recreational and sport conformity on the ***labourer, artizan and mechanic***, and who sought to capitalize on the need for rational recreational facilities. William evidently had the same penchant for business as had his father, D'arcy I. As an alderman for the St. Patrick's Ward of Toronto from 1838 to 1842, from 1844 to 1847, and from 1852 to 1858,[10] Boulton was well aware of the need for public baths. The overcrowding of the city, brought on by sizable immigration and the resulting increased poverty among those who could not find work, forced a commercial opportunity on the 'gentleman' lawyer in 1844. He constructed on his property, 'The Grange', a bath house which was at the forefront of bathing facilities. The editor of the British Colonist on July 19, 1844, said this of the edifice and the man who built it:

> Mr. W.H. Boulton, one of the Aldermen, of Toronto, is acknowledged to be one of the most enterprising, if not the most enterprising of our fellow citizens, in undertaking and furthering useful improvements. He is a large capitalist, and to his credit be it said, he does not lock up his money, but he employs it in a way that we trust, may be profitable to himself, as well as advantageous to the community. The extent of his investments in property in Toronto, is known to be very large; and the occasion of our noticing them at present is to call attention to the Baths that he has just had erected for the public comfort.
>
> We have much pleasure in directing attention to the notice in our columns, that the Hot and Cold Baths, nearly opposite Stone's Hotel, are now open and ready for use.
>
> Having personally inspected them, we can safely say that no expense has been spared by the proprietor to afford every possible comfort.
>
> To the Ladies' Baths, a private entrance from King Street, exclusively for the Ladies, has been made; and attached to their Bathing Rooms, a most comfortable saloon has been made and elegantly furnished. The entrance to the Gentlemen's baths is from the lane leading to the Racket Court.
>
> We would strongly urge people to go and see for themselves, feeling convinced they will agree with us that a more comfortable bathing establishment is not to be met with on this continent.

The nature of bathing and swimming in Toronto up until this time had been marked by public nudity and casual dips off the wharves and beaches at the harbour front.[11] In Victorian terms, this *bacchanalian* behavior, largely from the working class, could not be tolerated. The health and safety of the general populace necessitated some sanction by those responsible for the governance of the community.

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[10] Victor Russell, Mayors of Toronto, 1834-1890. (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1982), pp. 41-42.

The Toronto Bath Houses of Boulton, were among the first to be constructed in British North America.[12] They preceded Montreal's attempts by approximately six years and those of Quebec by five.[13] Moreover, and again thanks to Boulton, Toronto rivalled Montreal in having the first permanent racquet courts in the colony. Boulton and his *Compact* compatriots, as the quasi-gentry of the region, enjoyed racquets which had had a long history of regal patronage in England.[14] Their interest in the game spurred the "squire of the Grange" to construct courts on his property just off King Street in 1836.[15] The game of fives was regularly played at the "Racquet Courts" for a number of years but was done so on a private and informal basis among the friends and acquaintances of the Boultons. The racquet game stood as testament to another sport which was an elite activity. Unless an individual had the proper *social connections*, he was doomed to failure in his attempts to play at racquets. The sport was an enclave for the city's elite. This was also true later when the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club was formed in 1876. Exclusivity and privacy were the *modus operandi* of elite sport in Toronto well into the later nineteenth century. One of the mechanisms for sport's high degree of exclusivity and privacy was the extent to which sport facilities were relegated to, or constructed upon, a wealthy landowner's property.

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[11] See Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 185.

[12] British Colonist, June 21, 1843. Boulton's letter to the editor stressed the innovative nature of such an establishment and pointed out the healthful effects accorded regular bathing. Also see Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto:...", pp. 231-274.

[13] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", pp. 183-184. The author stated that Quebec had their baths in 1849 (Morning Chronicle, July 17, 1849) and Montreal had its baths in 1850 (Montreal Gazette, April 12, 1850).

[14] See R.R. MacGregor, "Tennis in Britain", Belgravia, Vol. 37, No. 45 (November 1878), pp. 68-69. Referred to James I (1405) having familiarity with racquets and James V being an excessive gambler on racquets. Also, Edward Jesse, "A History of Tennis", Bentley's Miscellany, Vol. 34 (1853), pp. 443-444.

[15] Lownsborough, The Privileged Few..., p. 95.

Specifically, Boulton serviced these privacy needs of the elite in several respects. Not only did he build the St. Leger Race Course on his enormous park lot, and the "Baths", and "Racquet Courts", but also furnished land upon which the Toronto Cricket Club built their crease and clubhouse,[86] the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club "framed their green" and hotel quarters,[87] and the Upper Canada College Cricket Club laid out their cricket and baseball grounds.[88] In every way, William Henry Boulton epitomized the true philanthropist of sport, even though it was largely elitist in nature. For several decades, his property acted as a preserve for elite sport which could be played without interference and objection from the common man or working class.

Prior to first becoming Mayor of Toronto in 1845,[89] William Henry Boulton, in complying with the elite social doctrine, did much to help organize and sponsor athletic games for the working class (See Figure XIV). He gave his money, time and property (i.e., Caer-Howell) to the cause as well as his able administrative direction. At the Toronto Regatta in September of 1842, Boulton, plus the likes of John Elmsley, William Botsford Jarvis*, John Henry Dunn, John Cameron and Henry Sherwood (then Mayor, 1842-1844), contributed their energy, time and money to organize a successful sport event which catered to both the gentleman amateur and the professional workingman alike. [90] The move to include the ***labourer, artizan and mechanic*** was done, not out of gratuity or open-heartedness, but rather, to fulfill the need for ***rational recreation*** for the workingman. By letting the working class observe the superior social and sport behavior of the elite, it was hoped that it would aspire to an "improved condition".[91]

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[86] Fillmore, The Pleasure of the Game., p. 75.
[87] *Ibid.*, Also see T.A. Reed, "Memoranda Re, the Crown Grant of Park Lots in the City of Toronto Based on the Records in the Registry Office", compiled in 1926. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library, and British Colonist, October 7, 1840 and Toronto Star Weekly, June 19, 1915.
[88] Minutes of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club, dated May 22, 1844. University of Toronto Archives, Toronto.
[89] Victor Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., p. 41.
[90] British Colonist, August 17, 1842.
[91] See for instance, "The Influence of Field Sports on Character", London Society, Vol. 22, No. 128 (August 1872), p. 126 and "Sporting for Men of Moderate Means", London Society, Vol. 25, No. 147 (March 1874), pp. 261-170.

Figure XIV: Advertisement for the Toronto Athletic Games

Figure Displayed the Names of Prominent Elite Individuals Who Sponsored the Games and Who Acted as Stewards for the Event.

Among the Stewards were:

W.B. Jarvis

William Allan

William H. Boulton

Allan Napier McNab

John H. Dunn

C.C. Small

William H. Draper

And, while there might have been some reluctance on behalf of the upper class to associate with the workingman, they did so in order to regulate and reform the disorderly and drunken acts which were so common among the mechanic at his recreational outings.[92] *Rational recreation* was believed to be the ideal vehicle by which to inculcate discipline, a steady work ethic, sobriety, better physical and mental health, plus tenacity in face of great hardships. These qualities, the elite believed, were ones that were needed in order to succeed in the often harsh colonial environment. Sport, in the minds of elite, served to fill the increasing hours of idleness among the poor and working class during high immigration and low employment periods, and was a socially reforming and controlling institution which sought to relieve the problems of public disorder and moral decay. The Toronto 'nobility of sport', consciously and conspicuously used games and activities, to encourage mental, physical and moral vigour among the labouring or working class. A "Fisherman's Race" in a sponsored regatta, symbolized more than just an amateur-professional conflict. It represented the meeting of two distinct classes, one the reforming and benevolent class, who utilized sport to occupy, intrigue and improve, and the other class, who participated in sport as an emulative, socially uplifting (mobility) activity and a financially rewarding experience.[93] Simply to profess that the professional athletes, or the "workingman", as they were generally characterized, entered elite sponsored events as a means of social and class intrusion would be insensitive to the dialectical distinction of sport at the time.[94] Between 1840 and 1860, there was little time away from work available to the workingmen, therefore, there were few opportunities for them to organize their own formal clubs which they had little knowledge of administering in the first place.[95] As well, there was little time for them to practice and compete in sport. The workingman was too intent on securing the amenities of life for himself and his family to bother with formal sport.[96] Hence, the workingman who most often was prominent in sport circles of the era, was the ***labourer, artizan or mechanic*** who worked at a job which was similar to the exercise of a particular sport. For instance, wharfingers and water taxis were conspicuous in many early sponsored rowing regattas. They would compete in non-amateur categories and would often secure top-prize due to their indirect, professionalized training as a result of their vocation. 'Big Black' Bob Berry and Richard Tinning stand as perfect examples of an ***labourer, artizan or mechanic***, who succeeded in winning fame due to their participation in professional rowing events which, by virtue of their occupations, were easily won due to their relatively well-trained skill level.[97] Berry acted more as a novelty to the elite Victorians but Tinning represented a wharfinger who, through robust physical exercise and mental discipline, had achieved a 'respectable status' and who had deservedly earned certain advantages because he idealized the 'reformed mechanic' to the elite. An advantage accorded Tinning, who had befriended the 'official class', was a position as a councilman on the Toronto City Council.[98] Here he could be a symbol of the elite's token efforts to "civilize refine and elevate" the workingman. Tinning was appointed to the councilship in 1841 with the support of Boulton and others, and held this position until 1876.[99] It was also plausible that the elite, particularly Boulton,[100] was instrumental in appointing Tinning, Treasurer and

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[92] Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution. (London: Croom-Helm, 1980), pp. 57-75, particularly Chapter 2, "The Defence of Custom: Work and Leisure in the Early Industrial Revolution." Also see "Noctes Ambrosianal", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. 36, No. 229 (1834), p. 839; "Noctes Ambrosianal", *ibid.*, Vol. 29, No. 109 (1826), p. 505; "Bear-Baiting and Mr. Martin's Bill", *ibid.*, Vol. 17, No. 100 (1825), pp. 600-604; and "The Game of Billiards", Temple Bar, Vol. 30 (November 1870), pp. 378-384. As well, Walvin, Leisure and Society..., p. 6, and Lowerson and Myerscough, Time to Spare..., p. 20.

[93] For a traditional discussion of the amateur-professional conflict see Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973.

[94] *Ibid.*, Cosentino's thesis leads one to believe that the working class segment of the population had their own formal frequent regimen of sport competitions which they competed in and that they only competed in elite sponsored events as a symbol of class intrusion.

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[95] See Royle, "Mechanic's Institutes and the Working Classes", *passim*. and Christopher Kent, "The Whittington Club: Bohemian Experiment in Middle Class Social Reform", Victorian Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1974), pp. 31-55.

[96] Refer to Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 9.

[97] Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism...", *passim*. Also, see Allan Cox, "Sport in Canada, 1868-1900". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 288.

[98] Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., pp. 138-151.

[99] ***Ibid.***

[100] British Colonist, September 13, 1844. The newspaper stated that "the Toronto Regatta was organized by several stewards who were assisted by the President (William H. Boulton) and the Committee of the Harbour Club".

Proprietor of the Union Race Course in 1846, due to what it believed was an excellent opportunity for displaying the talents of one of the 'reformed' mechanics.[101] His appointment probably also reflected a non-alienating threat to the workingmen who largely patronized the Union Course. Boulton, in assisting to sponsor Toronto's Regattas and "Athletic Gatherings", particularly in the early 1840s, signified his interest in planning *rational recreation* for the working class. His commitment to the ruling class's reform and social control policy was also reaffirmed in his directorships of both the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada[102] and the Home District Agricultural Society.[103] An effective knowledge level among the agricultural class was very important to the development of a good agrarian economy and the maintenance of class harmony.

The typecasting of Boulton as a typical ruling class member of Toronto's mid-century society would not be complete without referring to his other commercial and philanthropic ventures. As was characteristic of his position in society, Boulton was an interested money-maker. While he gathered large wealth through land speculation and land acquisition,[104] he also acquired considerable income from innovative investments. Boulton contributed to the capital stock of the Toronto Building Society in 1846 and also sat as a director of this benevolent firm for a number of years.[105] His intention, as it was for all the investors, including James E. Small, Charles Berczy, William Botsford Jarvis* and S.B. Harrison, was to capitalize on an urgent social need. The poor and the working class needed housing, therefore the elite lent them the money to build their residences or encouraged them to bank the money until such time as they had decided where they were going to live and what type of house they wished to construct. In return, the elite collected the interest on the principal loaned, all the while portraying an image of a concerned benefactor. Although all similar quasi-benevolent institutions were not always profit oriented, many did represent the paradoxical, undefined social and commercial policy of the elite. In essence, the elite believed in doing things which furthered its paternalistic, socially ameliorating doctrine. But if there was a chance to make a profit, it would not hesitate to exploit the opportunity. In one sense, to say the *Compact* families lacked entrepreneurial good sense during the mid to late nineteenth century would be a misleading fact. Any wealth its members did have was frequently turned over into shrewd, if not exploitive, investments. Thus, many of the families experienced a 'multiplier effect' in many of their enterprises.

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[101] See first mention of rowing in Toronto in British Colonist, July 10, 1839. Tinning rowed for purses of $10 and $4 dollars. For his involvement with the Union Race Course, see British Colonist, September 11, 1846.

[102] Incorporation Act of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada, 10 and 11 Vic. Cap. 61, July 28, 1847, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[103] British Colonist, February 12, 1847 and February 22, 1848.

[104] Lownsborough, The Privileged Few..., p. 92.

[105] The Globe, September 8, 1846.

Another Boulton investment which was both pragmatic and exploitive was the National Loan Fund Life Assurance Society.[106] It, like many other assurance societies of the period, materialized out of a need to protect the loved ones of individuals who had died. Because cholera was a significant threat to life in the heavy immigration period of the late 1840s,[107] the ruling class saw the need to develop agencies which could sell life insurance to would-be settlers in the event that the major income earner (the male) died and left little to his family. The National Loan Fund was specifically established to act as a "Savings Bank for the Benefit of the Widow and Orphan", in the event of the husband's demise.[108] To capitalize on investment interest, Boulton and the rest of the elite, appealed to the male settler's sense of ***patriachial duty*** to take care of and provide for his family. By doing so, they created an institution which served as a bank for *Compact* entrepreneurial ventures. Boulton's National,[109] William Allan and Casimir S. Gzowski's* Upper Canada Building Society,[110] and William Botsford Jarvis'* Farmer's and Mechanics' Building

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[106] *Ibid.*, October 27, 1847.
[107] During 1849, Asiatic Cholera hit Toronto as a result of immigrants contracting the disease enroute to British North America in leaky, damp, rat invested ships. The British Colonist, of August 10, 1849 reported 241 deaths on this date and it again reported the epidemic had taken an additional 364 lives on August 28, 1849. On September 7, 1849, another 435 deaths had been attributed to cholera.
[108] See *ibid.*, February 12, 1847 and The Globe, October 27, 1847. Another assurance company materialized in 1847, this being the Colonial Life Assurance Company, founded by R.B. Sullivan and William Proudfoot, both *Compact* exponents. See British Colonist, October 16, 1847.
[109] *Ibid.*, February 12, 1847.
[110] The Globe, April 26, 1848.

Society[111] all functioned to provide capital for further *Family Compact* business interests. In Boulton's case, venture capital from the building society and assurance company 'banks' was most likely turned over into projects like the Toronto Marine Railway Company, formed in 1847.[112] As well, it may have been used to *float* the Toronto Dry Dock Company in 1848,[113] which Boulton had a hand in establishing, and it could have been utilized to back any number of commercial ventures which the elite supported.[114] Therefore, by taking advantage of the new immigrants to the colony in asking for an investment of their life savings, the elite were able to fund projects which would otherwise have been shelved due to lack of adequate capital investment. In fact, much of the money may have been used to back such ventures as the Canada Landed Credit Company in 1858,[115] a company primarily established to transport settlers to the west. The Company, of which Boulton was one of the original subscribers and directors, along with the likes of William McMaster*, W.P. Howland, George W. Allan*, Casimir S. Gzowski*, John Beverly Robinson II*, and William Botsford Jarvis*, demonstrated how the original elite of Toronto capitalized on the credit needs of the new immigrant and also how they allowed the new mercantile elite to infiltrate their 'inner circle' ranks. Also, it showed the elite tendency to solidify ***business interconnections***, a factor which was very important in terms of sport club membership during this era. More will be mentioned on this point in chapter XIII.

Joining McMaster, the "mercantile prince", on the Canada Landed Credit Company's board of directors in the later 1850s, were John MacDonald, and W.P. Howland. Each man personified the successful merchant who was befriended by the old *Compact* families and who became involved in elite sport clubs. Both men possessed personal credentials and financial resources which allowed them to be absorbed by Toronto's elite. But, perhaps most importantly, these two gentlemen were fortunate enough to know William McMaster* who, through the course of his early mercantile success in Toronto, had befriended elite members like William Henry Boulton.[116] McMaster, as one of the first merchants to be wholly accepted by the old *Family Compact* into the 'squirearchy' of Toronto society, used his influence in gaining entrance for his friends into the 'inner circle' which was not always penetrable by meritocratic means. McMaster, as was typical for the 1840s and particularly the later 1850s, represented an aspect of Toronto's community which was quickly growing, this being the dry goods trade.[117] And he also represented the mercantile interests of Toronto's commercial community who were being slowly recruited and absorbed into the elite sport clubs (see Table IX in Appendix I). More will be mentioned on this point later on in the chapter.

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[111] British Colonist, July 2, 1847.
[112] *Ibid*., February 19, 1847. William Botsford Jarvis* assisted in directing this project, along with Donald Bethune.
[113] *Ibid*., January 21, 1848.
[114] For instance, the capital of the assurance and loan companies could have been used to back railway ventures of the elite, such as the Toronto and Goderick Railway. See The Globe, February 6, 1847. Included among the initial directors were Henry John Boulton, uncle of William Henry, John Cameron, Thomas Galt, William C. Gwynne, John C. Gwynne, Samuel Peters Jarvis and Joseph C. Morrison.
[115] Incorporation Act of the Canada Landed Credit Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 133, August 16, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada. Also see The Globe, September 20, 1858.

Trade goods were badly needed for the new immigrants who were settling in the northern and western reaches of Canada West's hinterland. Such goods were also required by those who wished to travel further west to land which was being opened up in southern Manitoba by the elite, and its largely exploitive, land settlement companies (i.e., Canada Landed Credit Company). The "Promise of Eden", from individuals like Lord Strathcona (Donald Smith), to settle in regions like the Red River Settlement, made Toronto and its expanding railway system, the most important initial destination for settlers.[118] Merchants, like McMaster, made considerable fortunes from a trade spurred on by immigration. The enticement of emigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland to British North America was a deliberate attempt by colonial politicians and businessmen to capitalize on perceived needs of settlement expansion and threats of attack on the sovereignty of the northwest. The government of the Canadas felt that the Oregon threat to take over land north of the 49th parallel could be quashed by settling the western prairies and by constructing a railroad to service and bridge the "Northwest Territories".[119] In believing this and in selling the idea to the voting public, politicians, like William Henry Draper, William Henry Boulton, W.P. Howland, William McMaster*, Henry Sherwood and Alexander Tillock Galt, were able to secure plans to settle the western parts of what was then Canada West.[120] Both the Canada Company and the Canada Landed Credit Company did much to organize the settlement of southern Manitoba and they also contributed a significant financial amount to aid in this settlement.[121] The formation of the North-West Transporation, Navigation and Railway Company headed by McMaster, Casimir S. Gzowski*, George W. Allan*, William Henry Boulton, William Cayley, John Beverly Robinson I, W.P. Howland and David L. MacPherson, was a direct example of how money was spent in order to develop an efficient system of settling the West.[122] The railways as much as anything, were spurred on in their rapid growth after the Guarantee Act of 1849, by the constant influx of settlers destined for the western regions of Canada West. So too, were the financial institutions which grew, as they had in the late 1840s, to supply the much needed capital for building and development. McMaster's* Freehold Permanent Building and Savings Company[123] and George W. Allan*'s

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[116] William Henry Boulton and William McMaster first met as members of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club in 1846. Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, dated June 13, 1846. Ontario Public Archives.

[117] See Goheen, Victorian Toronto..., pp. 50-51. Also, Charles Dickens, American Notes for General Circulation and Pictures From Italy. (London: Denton, 1910), p. 244; D. Creighton, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937), pp. 382-384; Dyster, "Making It in a British Protestant Town...", p. 52; Jarvis, "Mid Victorian Toronto...", pp. 3-4; and D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), pp. 56-59.

[118] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 56. The term "Promise of Eden" comes from Douglas Owram's, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

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[119] See The Globe, April 19, 1858 and October 15, 1858.

[120] Owram, Promise of Eden..., p. 46 and J.M.S. Careless, The Pre-Confederation Premiers: Ontario Government Leaders, 1841-1867. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 79. The latter author stated that "...in 1857 John A. MacDonald, then co-premier of the province, chose Draper for a task well suited to the latter's legal and diplomatic talents: to attend the imperial inquiry by a select committee of the House of Commons into the Hudson's Bay Company's rule over the Northwest".

[121] Thelma Coleman, The Canada Company. (Perth: County of Perth and Cummings Publishers, 1978), pp. 52-53.

[122] SeeThe Globe, October 15, 1858 and Incorporation Act of the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 122 August 16, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[123] *Ibid.*, June 8, 1865.

Western Canada Building Society[124] were two such examples of commercial ventures initiated in the 1860s as a result of the push for settlement in the prairie region. Commercial men who possessed insight, tenacity, money and *friendly connections*, often were the financial victors of the immigration surge in the 1840s and 1850s. Sport clubs assisted in connecting the men of commerce and were the establishments where McMaster and others made contact with Toronto's elite. McMaster because of his connections to the political *Compact* of Draper, Boulton, and Sherwood, partly made through the sport club, was privy to many important political decisions that were made concerning the financial, social and political development of the west. The very fact that a close friend, second generation Compact member, George W. Allan*, was Commissioner of the Canada Company in 1864,[125] led McMaster and other men of substance, to 'bank' on the success of western settlement.

For all intents and purposes, the marriage of the original elite of Toronto, the *Family Compact*, and the rising mercantile capitalists of the region, was one of necessity and practicality. Politically, and to a certain extent financially, the *Compact* members were able to supply the political infrastructure for the development of plans to exploit potential commercial avenues, while the merchants and financiers were able to organize and administer large campaigns and businesses to take advantage of these opportunities. Hence, what evolved between the 'inner circle' elite, of which Boulton was a member, and the mercantile elite, of which McMaster was a member, was a marriage of financial and commercial convenience. It was a union which was almost inevitable due to the economic forces which were at work at the time. Canada lacked 'true' industry or large scale manufacturing well into the late 1870s and 1880s, therefore the economy during most of the mid-century was driven by immigration, railway expansion, settlement, the financing of settlement, and the support services of increased settlement.[126] Canal building, ship building, banking, retailing, hospital construction, benevolent institutional establishment, and local essential services, were all derivative features, either directly or indirectly, attached to the settlement of Canada West.[127] While the economic depressions of 1849[128] and 1856-57,[129] were partly attributable to protectionist legislation and poor crop conditions, the fact that Upper Canada experienced significant growth as a consequence of immigration,[130] dug sharply into the colony's ability to support a burgeoning population. Therefore, great pressure and reliance on the mercantile interests to 'shore-up', and in some cases, administer the colony, led to the increasing acceptance by the elite of persons like McMaster and his friends, John MacDonald and W.P. Howland. Thus, it was not surprising to observe sport playing a significant role in *connecting* the original and mercantile elite.

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[124] *Ibid*., February 7, 1868.

[125] *Ibid*., December 29, 1864. George W. Allan* took over from Frederick Widder who resigned as the long-standing Commissioner of the Canada Company.

[126] See Owram, Promise of Eden..., *passim*. and Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 58.

McMaster's entrenchment in the elite's financial and commercial machinery led to many favours and concessions. Because McMaster was prominent in projects which benefitted both elite financial interests and those of the western province, he was trusted by the original elite as to whom he chose to be part of his commercial and social environment. In the case of John MacDonald and W.P. Howland, they were both part of the Canada

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[127] For instance, William McMaster* was involved in the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company; the Great Western Railway; the Freehold Permanent Building Society; the Canada Landed Credit Company; the Inter-Colonial Steamship Company; the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal Company; the Toronto and Nipissing Railway; and the Dominion Telegraph Company. Truly his intentions, as were the intentions of most of the Toronto merchants, were on the development of the trade routes to the North-West.

[128] See Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, January 19, 1849. Toronto Public Library. A "short crop" in the Upper Canadian hinterland farming region brought about a shortfall in export grain, causing merchants in Toronto problems in cash flow with which to buy dry goods stock from agents in Montreal. As well, the cholera epidemic in Toronto in 1849, severely affected the quantity of business which could be carried on. Toronto Public Library.

[129] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., pp. 54-56. He believed the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States had both a good and a bad effect. As long as the export market to the south was tariff free and the produce of Upper Canada was plentiful, conditions were ultimately good for both regions but as soon as tariffs were imposed and crops failed, trade with the southern neighbour would seriously hurt Canadian trade. The fluctuation in crop prices as stipulated by the Corn Laws made the United States an attractive trading partner, See Marr and Patterson, Canada: An Economic History..., pp. 87-89.

[130] Upper Canada had 1,396,000 inhabitants in 1861 as opposed to 432,000 in 1840, surpassing Lower Canada who had 1,112,000 residents in 1861 and 560,000 in 1840

Landed Credit Company,[131] an elite institution, due to the fact McMaster lobbied for their inclusion. McMaster had had several business ventures with each of gentleman and was a friend to both and, therefore, was willing to speak on their behalf when it came to inclusion among the *Family Compact*. He also later sponsored these two gentlemen in several social and sport institutions. MacDonald, a Scotsman, born in Perth, on December 27, 1824, was a life-long associate of McMaster. MacDonald, who in his own right, was one of the larger wholesalers in Toronto during the 1850s, served with McMaster on the executive of the Toronto Board of Trade for almost twenty years[132] and also became a director of McMaster's Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1867.[133] He held this latter position until the late 1880s when poor health forced him to retire. MacDonald was also an associate of McMaster's in the Rossin House Hotel,[134] a hostelry for Toronto's elite, and the Upper Canada Bible Society.[135] They were joined in these ventures by many of their friends and 'ruling' elite, such as, Casimir S. Gzowski*, David L. MacPherson, James Gooderham Worts*, Robert Baldwin, William C. Gwynne, John Beverly Robinson I and II*, George W. Allan*, William Augustus Baldwin, and Charles Coxwell Small. Hence, it appears that an oligarchy of some description was in place early on in the relationship of McMaster and MacDonald, and others. Further, MacDonald helped McMaster form the Upper Canada Tract Society in 1869[136] and served as a director of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway in the mid to late 1860s along with McMaster, George Gooderham*, James Gooderham Worts*, John Sheddon and George Laidlaw.[137] And, while MacDonald shared several business concerns with McMaster, they also believed philosophically in assisting and reforming their fellow man, an ascribed quality taken from the elite philosophical outlook. To this end, and expanding on the point of shared interest in the "civilizing, refining and elevating" of the workingman, MacDonald, with the assistance of John Beverly Robinson II• and George W. Allan•, established the Young Men's Christian Association in Toronto in 1866.[138] This organization represented the formal development of an institution which had previously served as its prototype, the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society formed in Toronto in 1848.[139] MacDonald also served with McMaster as a federal member of Parliament from 1875 to the mid 1880s, representing Toronto Centre, and later served with him as a Senator for one year in 1887.[140] To say the least, John MacDonald and William McMaster• were closely tied by commercial, political and *rational recreation* enterprises. And as will be shown later they were connected by sport and business club membership. The same could be said for McMaster and W.P. Howland.

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[131] Incorporation Act of the Canada Landed Credit Company, *loc. cit.*.
[132] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, *passim*. Toronto Public Library. Their mutual tenures with the Board of Trade began in the mid 1850s and continued well into the 1870s.
[133] The Globe, April 19, 1867. Also see Victor Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. 2 Vols. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1922), Vol. 1, pp. 20-21.
[134] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1864. As well, see the Incorporation Act of the Rossin House Hotel, 29 and 30 Vic. Cap. 124, August 15, 1866, Statutes of Province of Canada.
[135] Incorporation Act of the Upper Canada Bible Society, 18 Vic. Cap. 229, May 19, 1855, *ibid*.
[136] The Globe, July 21, 1869.
[137] Incorporation Act of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway Company. 31 Vic. Cap. 40, March 4, 1868, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

Howland, a merchant who made a considerable fortune as a result of an early impact on the dry goods trade of Toronto, was born in Paulings, New York, on May 29, 1811.[141] Although an American by birth, Howland was from an English lineage. His forefathers, Quakers, had arrived in New England in 1620 aboard the Mayflower from England.[142] From his father's farm, both he and his brother, Henry Stark Howland, emigrated to Canada in 1830. At the age of nineteen, he and his brother opened up a small general store in Cooksville, just west of York (Toronto). The business must have proven successful as the brothers bought the Lambton Mills in York County in 1840.[143] Just about the time McMaster was establishing himself in the dry goods business, so too was Howland. This must have been one reason why they empathized so closely with each another in social and commercial matters. McMaster and Howland first met in connection with the Toronto Board of Trade in the early 1840s.[144] This association they shared with John MacDonald. As well, McMaster and Howland, as new members of Toronto's ruling class, served on the reforming and socially controlling board of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute,[145] an organization long-known for its educative practices to the workingman. Further, McMaster and Howland, as shrewd commercial financiers, were both involved in the early development of William Gooderham's, Toronto Bank,[146] the collaborative merchant's bank, the Ontario Bank,[147] and eventually, the Canadian Bank of Commerce.[148] Moreover, in keeping with the theory of westward expansion and in the reality of the period in doing business with friends, McMaster and Howland struck-out in establishing the Inter-Colonial Steamship Company,[149] which hoped to ply steamboats between Collingwood, Chicago and routes west, and the North-West Transporation, Navigation and Railway Company, which hoped to be the first consortium to exploit the Manitoba territory and the region north of Lake Superior.[150] They were assisted in the first venture by James Gooderham Worts* and in the second by Casimir S. Gzowski*, George W. Allan*, William Cayley, John Beverly Robinson I, and David L. MacPherson. They also teamed with MacDonald again in originating plans for the erection of the Rossin House Hotel[151] and then served as the exclusive agents in Canada for the Consols Life

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[138] The Globe, November 12, 1866. Also see Murray Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), pp. 14-16.

[139] *Ibid.*, November 11, 1848. Interestingly, A.R. McMaster, William McMaster•'s nephew, was one of the originators of the scheme. For further reference on mutual improvement societies as related to young men see, "The Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 9, No. 209, New Series 1 (1848), pp. 13-15 and J.C. Weaver, "Approaches to the History of Urban Reform", Urban History Review, Vol. 2 (1976), pp. 3-12.

[140] Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce..., pp. 20-21.

[141] H.J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 481.

[142] J.C. Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery. 4 Vols. (Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1881), Vol. 3, p. 123.

[143] Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women..., p. 481.

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[144] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, 1840-1881, *passim*. Toronto Public Library. Howland first sat on the board of directors in 1857. He joined McMaster who had been on the board since 1846. John MacDonald subsequently joined them on the executive in 1858.

[145] Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, 1836-1881, *passim*. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Interestingly, both became members in 1854.

[146] Incorporation Act of the Bank of Toronto, 18 Vic. Cap. 205, May 19, 1855, Statutes of Province of Canada

[147] The Globe, April 4, 1864.

[148] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1867. W.P. Howland subscribed $20,000 in stock in the Commerce.

[149] *Ibid.*, December 7, 1866. James Gooderham Worts*, a major promoter of railways also backed this venture from the start.

[150] Incorporation Act of the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company, *loc. cit.* Also see The Globe, October 15, 1858.

[151] Incorporation Act of the Rossin House Hotel, *loc. cit.* and Masters, The Rise of

Insurance Association.[152] Experience from the latter association threw them into partnership in originating the Confederation Life Association (Insurance) in 1877.[153] McMaster and Howland also went on to originate the Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto in 1877,[154] which was for the purposes of allowing the *labourer, artizan and mechanic* to display his workings from his trade or craft, and they also partnered in their membership of both the National[155] and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club,[156] not to mention their association through federal politics. Howland, as a western territory advocate, most likely passed on economic development secrets of the west when he was Minister of Internal Revenue from 1867 to 1868 under Sir John A. MacDonald's first government.[157] Interestingly, Howland had the distinction of being the only American "Father of Confederation".[158] Howland, like McMaster, was the rising star in mercantile political interests and a prime recruit for the *Compact*. From a period from 1850 to the late 1870s, mercantile interests in politics affecting Upper Canada and the west were of paramount importance. In recognition of this fact, the once strong *Compact* element of Toronto allowed the most prominent merchants to strive for election. It is of interest to note that only merchants who had strong social, economic, educational, fraternal and religious ties to the elite (See Tables X-XIV in Appendix I), were the ones to represent the region during the mid-nineteenth century. Many of the merchants who held sport and business club membership between 1840 and 1860 were local, provincial and federal politicians. Their ascription to elite institutions, like the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, most likely made this a reality due to the social networking which was prevalent within the clubs. As a result, this bodes well for the theory that even among the merchants, who

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[151](cont'd) Toronto..., p. 99.

[152]The Globe, August 2, 1860.

[153]*Ibid.*, September 18, 1871.

[154]Incorporation Act of the Industrial Exhibition Company, 40 Vic. Cap. 68, March 7, 1877, Statutes of Dominion of Canada.

[155]List of members, 1876-1881, Records of the National Club. Archives of the National Club. Toronto.

[156]List of members, 1852-1881. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

[157]W.S. Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 370.

[158]Toronto Star, December 28, 1974.

were befriended by the original ruling families, a hierarchy existed. This was poignantly shown in the letter of nomination of George P. Ridout, a *Compact* sympathizer and a prominent merchant of Toronto, in the British Colonist of Novermber 28, 1851. In being put forward for nomination by George Taylor Denison I (another prominent sportsman of Toronto) and others of the 'inner circle', Ridout was being selectively chosen to represent both the interests of the merchants, but also the interests of the *Compact*.

> Taking into consideration the undeniable fact that the onward prosperity of this city is intimately associated with the advancement of its commercial relations, and the extension of its means of intercourse with other parts of the province, we unhesitatingly affirm the opinion that the time has arrived when almost daily increasing importance of its business transactions demands that Toronto should be represented by a Merchant, so as to ensure to the mercantile community that particular attention to their wants and wishes which the numerous interests concerned naturally require when questions affecting Trade and Commerce are brought forward in Parliament.

Interestingly, Ridout and *Compact* member, William Henry Boulton, were elected and returned to the Legislature of Parliament at the same time in 1851.[159] While the elite (represented by Boulton) were willing to advance the mercantile cause for selfish economic reasons, they were not quite ready to relinquish all elected control to the merchants. Apparently, the Torys still felt they had certain vested interests in the affairs of Upper Canada. This was evidently true as George W. Allan*, and John Beverly Robinson II*, later lobbied strongly in Parliament for traditional commercial interests. Howland, even as a member of the Reform Party, had Tory sympathies. He was elected, as a merchant confidant of the *Compact*, in 1857 to the Assembly of the Canadas.[160] Even from his early days of supporting the *Compact* controlled Agricultural Association of Upper Canada,[161] the Toronto and Guelph Railway project,[162] and the Toronto Turf Club,[163] Howland knew some mild reform was necessary if Canada West was to develop economically and rival Montreal for the dominance of the Canadian trade. This he certainly attempted to do. Howland represented West York from 1857 until 1868, whereupon he retired from federal politics.[164] But, before his retirement he served as Minister of Finance in the Sandfield MacDonald-Sicotte government from 1862 to 1863,[165] then as Receiver-General from 1863 to 1864, in the administration[166] of Sandfield MacDonald and Dorion. In November of 1864, he entered the "Great Coalition" government of George Brown and John A. MacDonald, with the portfolio of Postmaster-General, succeeding later Ontario Premier, Oliver Mowat, who had been given a posting on the Court of Queen's Bench.[167] In 1866, Howland's portfolio changed to Minister of Finance, a position relinquished by his friend and fellow sportsman, Alexander Tilloch Galt.[168] Prior to his appointment as Minister of Inland Revenue in 1867, Howland was chosen as one of three individuals, among whom was Christopher Robinson, brother of John Beverly Robinson II*, to represent Canada at two monumental conferences. The first in 1866, was at Washington, D.C., in which he was the chief signatory to the Reciprocal Trade Agreement with the United States[169] and the second, was at Westminster, London, England, in 1867, to set out the terms of the British North America Act, which gave Canada its economic independence from Britain and set the stage for Confederation.[170] The responsibility he carried with him was significant in two respects; one, he demonstrated his knowledge and understanding of commercial affairs relating to Canada; and second, he also displayed the developing influence which the upper strata of the mercantile sector exhibited in commercial affairs of the Canadas during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s. To say he, McMaster and MacDonald were representative of all merchants would be a falsehood. These three men, as selected members of Toronto's highest social and sport circles, were merchants who could benefit the interests and causes of the elite most capably.

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[159] British Colonist, December 26, 1851.
[160] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary...., p. 370.
[161] Incorporation Act of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada, *passim*.
[162] Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Guelph Railway Company. 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 148, August 30, 1851, Statutes of Province of Canada. John MacDonald was also an instigator of this scheme along with Compact members William Charles Gwynne, Samuel Peters Jarvis and James McGill Strachan.
[163] List of Members, 1836-1881, Records of Toronto Turf Club held partly in the Denison Papers and the Records of the Ontario Jockey Club.

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[164] Dent, The Canadian Men and Women...., p. 127.
[165] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[166] The Globe, May 27, 1863. Oliver Mowat was promoted from Receiver-General to Postmaster General.
[167] *Ibid.*, February 15, 1866.
[168] William Notman, Portraits of British Americans with Biographical Sketches. 3 Vols. (Montreal: William Notman Publishing, 1865), Vol. 2, p. 226.
[169] Toronto Star, December 28, 1974.
[170] Dent, The Canadian Men and Women...., p. 128.

Even in sport and philanthropy related to recreation, these men, as part of the upper strata of the mercantile community, symbolized the "movers and shakers". They were the ones who started rowing clubs, gymnasium companies, rifle corps, naval brigades, athletic gatherings, ploughing matches, and young men's improvement agencies. In all respects, the elite merchant was a valuable compromise for the 'ruling class' of Toronto. The merchants filled the need of the elite for leadership in commercial expansion, plus they were often called upon to direct the financial and political development of important colonial schemes. Howland, in the eyes of the original elite, was a purveyor of a dream to make Upper Canada and the west the "Golden Fleece" of economic development. As much as Howland, McMaster and MacDonald wished to be coveted by the elite and given the advantages and concessions only reserved for the ruling class, the elite wished to exploit the respective expertise of each man. To them, the merchants of sizable fortune and ability were good *social* investments. Investments, which hopefully, in the decades to come, would serve to assist and perpetuate the elite's relative societal positioning, and would function to maintain the status of their original designation as "God's Chosen People".[171] Membership of the rising merchants in sport clubs and other fraternal orders of the *Compact*, only signified the elite's willingness to assimilate certain individuals who could be of benefit to them. The social restrictiveness which always had characterized elite sport in Toronto from 1793 onwards, persisted in its ability to maintain exclusivity. Only where an individual could be of significant value, but who lacked the proper social, ethnic educational, religious and remunerative qualities, would the elite soften their membership edicts. Although, as the century progressed, some homogeneity may have been lost in the ruling elite due to the acceptance of several upper middle class merchants, the social exclusivity of sport, and the people who played it within the formal club structure, maintained a largely uniform social characterization. Most of the elite membership continued to be of English descent, Anglican in religion, college educated, lawyers, professionals or businessman, who pursued multiple business and social interests, and who strove to be involved in both local and national politics. The fact that William McMaster*, John MacDonald and W.P. Howland were included in such *Compact* business ventures of the Canada Landed Credit Company, was not at all surprising. They were the elite among the merchants of Toronto during the mid-nineteenth century and as such, they easily moved into the established realm of the local ruling class. By no means did merchants like these gentlemen ever overthrow the traditional authority of the *Family Compact* nor did they usurp the customary social practices of the elite. Rather, concessions were passed out from the original elite to men of substantial money and ability. Thus, even in the assimilation of numerous members of the mercantile community, status attributable to money and potential upward mobility were key qualities which were looked for by the elite in their selection of ruling class recruits, yet they were not the absolute mobility criteria. Finally, a merchant needed to be not only financially solvent and wholly acquisitive in his business interests but he also had to have already been well-placed among the mercantile hierarchy, in order to warrant membership in the institutions of the elite. Sport then, in terms of club membership and class association, lost little in exclusivity during the 1840s and 1850s. It remained elite in nature as did the majority of the business development during this era. Business *inter-connections* were vital to social and commercial acceptability.

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[171] See R. Burns, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1973), pp. 214-228.

The elite, from Toronto's earliest beginnings, were always interested in the mercantile aspect of society because they recognized that in a colony of such rich natural resources and an abundance of land for settlement, a merchant economy would eventually materialize to cater to the needs of exports and immigration. With this in mind, plus the fact that there were limited numbers of individuals to draw from relative to recruitment into their hegemonic group in the early part of the century, the elite, William Henry Boulton, George W. Allan*, William Botsford Jarvis* and John Beverly Robinson II*, as examples, moved to include several merchants who aspired to win the respect of the *Family Compact* and who, if necessary, would ascribe to the policies and conventions of the ruling class. Sport, as a very early, yet integral part, of the elite's way of life, reflected this mercantile absorption, but only in a very small respect. The few upper strata merchants who won the confidence of the elite only did so by emulating their traits, forwarding their institutions (i.e., sport clubs) and by exercising their reforming and controlling tendencies. In essence, the early mercantile elite of Toronto up to 1870, resembled the elite themselves. Meritocracy in upward mobility was something only talked of but rarely put into practice during this period. Therefore, what was considered merchant/middle class representation among the upper class, was really an elite characterization among the middle class.[172] Thus, sport even with its pseudo-middle class involvement was, for all intents and purposes, an elite institution. The rarifying effect of the upwardly mobile merchant did little to take away from the well-established quasi-aristocratic sport complexion of the city. Sport, as was reflected by elite societal membership at the time, was more a matter of whom one knew, than of independent aspiration for the development of sport. It formed and evolved in Toronto, not as an independently backed fragmented movement, but rather, as a consciously unified attempt to impose exclusivity on the games and pastimes of the era. As much as McMaster, MacDonald and Howland signified middle class involvement in sport, they really were part of an elite institution which imposed a moral and behavioral credo upon the rest of society. Sport was not an independent middle class movement in Toronto prior to 1870. It was, by elite practice and by elite sponsorship, a movement which directly reflected the exclusive practices of the period.

Just as McMaster, MacDonald, Howland and even Gzowski, were adopted by the elite for their unique abilities and characteristics, others were offered elite sanctity by their rapid adoption of upper class principles and practices. And, many were absorbed into the highest social circles because they were able to recognize routes or avenues which would allow them to rise in the social structure of Toronto's society. Several gentlemen were in the right place, at the right time, and used their elite connections to benefit their careers and social lives. Plus, they used the sport club to make initial contact with the elite and to develop *interlocking* relationships. Two such individuals were Peter and Isaac Buchanan.[173] The Buchanans were brothers, who founded a dry goods export business in 1834 which was spred between Hamilton, Toronto and Glasgow. By 1856, the business had grown to be one of Upper Canada's most prosperous, rivalling those of McMaster, Macdonald and Howland. It had annual sales of $2,000,000 and a capital approaching $1,500,000.[174] Like most wholesale businesses of the period, the colonial stores in Toronto were supplied by a major trading house in Britain. Whereas McMaster had one of his nephews represent him in Manchester, England, the Buchanans had Peter initially represent them in Glasgow while Isaac operated the business in Toronto. Originally, Isaac had partnered with William Guild in Montreal and Toronto, but because Guild found the long-credit business of forwarding goods from Britain too risky to wager an expansion of trade, he sold his share of the enterprise to Isaac.[175] Due to the fact Isaac and William Guild had developed a good business reputation in Scotland from their Lower and Upper Canadian trade, Peter decided to join his brother as a co-partner. This he did on October 22, 1834, in the same year Toronto was incorporated as a city. In several respects, the Buchanans followed the "venturesome" tradition of Glasgow's Chesapeake traders; they centered their business in a small, relatively remote community, far from the sea, almost on the frontier, and operated primarily on their own account and on a long-credit system.[176] The business was risky and this was perhaps why they sought the confidence of the Toronto elite. In fact, the largely *Compact* controlled Bank of Upper

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[172] A constant theme in sport history has been that as the industrial revolution had a great impact on society in general, sport lost its aristocratic custom and became more closely associated with the middle class emphasis on team sports. Great credit in the discipline's body of knowledge has been given to the middle class reform of the English public schools and to the technological interest of time, rules, group cooperation, unselfishness, common good, etc.. In Toronto, with its elite heritage, this phenomenon was pushed back in time, only making itself felt in the late 1870s and 1880s. Sport in Toronto up to the mid 1870s, was largely aristocratic.

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[173] See Douglas McCalla, The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).
[174] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[175] *Ibid*., pp. 22-23. Also see, Upper Canada Gazette, January 1, 1835.
[176] *Ibid*., Their business differed slightly to that of the Chesapeake's in that they only sold wholesale so as to avoid a wholesale-retail price conflict and hopefully to gain a good reputation with retailers.

Canada extended the Buchanan's business "a substantial discount line of credit" shortly after they opened for business.[177] This may have been a result of younger Isaac's attempts at infiltrating the 'provincial society' of Toronto.

Isaac, born in Glasgow on July 21, 1810, first tried to win recognition from the elite in 1834, two years after his arrival in York (Toronto).[178] Buchanan, as a man of business and a man of capital, saw an opportunity for entrance into both the social and economic spheres of the *Family Compact* when the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company was begun in this year.[179] He, along with William Allan, Christopher A. Hagerman, William Henry Draper, William Botsford Jarvis*, George P. Ridout, William Proudfoot, William Gamble, and John Henry Dunn, were all appointed directors of the company and it was likely that each subscribed a substantial amount to form the business.[180] It was the first attempt by the *Compact* to exploit the savings dollars of the new immigrants. Isaac maintained his directorship of the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company until such time as new opportunities presented themselves in which to affiliate with the elite. When the highly exclusive Upper Canada Club (Toronto Club) was founded in 1837,[181] it was not surprising to find Isaac among the initial members.[182] Nor was it surprising to find his older brother Peter listed among the exclusive group. Apparently, Isaac had distinguished himself in the business and social circles of Toronto's early society well enough to warrant inclusion among the elite, at least on a tentative basis.[183] The members of the Upper Canada Club were the same individuals he had been associating with in the British-America Fire and Life Assurance Company and the Bank of Upper Canada for the past three years.[114] And, it was a fraternal association which was carried over into the membership of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club when it formed in March of 1837.[115] Peter, now a part-time resident business partner in Toronto, was, not unexpectedly, also a member of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club when it was first formed. Within the Caer-Howell, the Buchanans were able to secure more business contacts, just as McMaster was able to do by his membership, and they were able to share a social activity which was paramount in cementing friendly *interlocking* relationships within the elite. This fact also carried over into Isaac and Peters' memberships in the Toronto Curling[116] and Toronto Turf Clubs,[117] both exclusive bastions of the ruling class. It was apparent that because sport was so strictly social at this time, that the exercise of curling and the attendance at horse races, was more a matter of being seen and known, than it was of individually excelling at a particular sport. Excellence through competition had yet to be grasped as an important factor in sport participation. And as long as sport remained aristocratic in its intent, personal status attached to being an excellent player, was of a minor priority. Sociability was the prime element of the early quasi-aristocratic sport clubs. The Buchanan's involvement in curling, as loyal Scots, may have come by way of custom as much as by social inclusion. Yet, their participation in the game showed how friendships of a social and sport nature led to favours and concessions. Lindsay,[118] in recounting how cold weather travel served as a deterent to teams wanting to travel to other centers, struck on a story of

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[177] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[178] For date of birth, see H. Morgan, Sketches of Celebrated Canadians and Persons Connected With Canada. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), pp. 553-554.

[179] Upper Canada Gazette, November 30, 1834.

[180] This was a common practice among businessmen at the time. See R.C.B. Risk, "The Nineteenth Century Foundations of the Business Corporation in Ontario", University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. 23 (1973), pp. 270-306 and P.A. Baskerville, "Donald Bethune's Steamboat Business: A Study of Upper Canadian Commercial and Financial Practice", Ontario History, Vol. 67 (1975), pp. 135-149.

[181] Johnson, "The U.C. Club...", p. 158.

[182] From an elite conspiracy standpoint, it is of interest to note that Isaac Buchanan was excluded or black-balled from the membership of the Upper Canada Club and several other clubs after the catastrophic downfall of his business in 1857. His resulting impoverished financial state served to remove him from elite club acceptability.

[183] See previous footnote.

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[114] Individuals such as William Allan, William Henry Draper, James Newbigging, William Botsford Jarvis*, William Cayley, William Gamble, William Proudfoot, etc., were all directors of the Upper Canada Club, the British America Fire and Life Assurance Company and the Bank of Upper Canada.

[115] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, dated March 23, 1837. Ontario Public Archives.

[116] Lists of Members, 1835-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Curling Club. Archives of the Toronto Curling Club. Toronto.

[117] Lists of members, 1828-1881. Records of the Toronto Turf Club. Records partly held by the Denison Papers, the Ontario Jockey Club and Clifford Sifton III, Caledon.

[118] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 32. He quoted the Globe, January 20, 1855.

Toronto curlers in 1855:

> ... but a group from the Toronto Club partially solved the problem for a trip to Hamilton in January, 1855. The Lord Mayor's carriage and four was obtained, and the party, consisting of Angus Marrison, J. (John) Hutchinson, J. (John) Helliwell, J. (John) Ewart, J. (Thomas) Dick, D. (Duncan) McBride, A. (Alex) McPherson, and G. (George) Ewart, travelled in grand style to Burlington Bay.

The fact that the Toronto curlers were able to garner the use of the Lord Mayor's carriage was not an accident or coincidence. The Mayor of Toronto at this time (1855) was George W. Allan*, a noted philanthropist and a second generation member of the *Family Compact*.[189] Allan, a curler himself, knew Angus Morrison not only by family connections, Angus being a nephew of the influential Joseph C. Morrison, but also by business and club connections. Besides having attended Upper Canada College together[190] Allan knew Morrison through their association in the Ontario, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway,[191] the Northern Railway,[192] the Toronto Club,[193] the Toronto Union Passenger Station,[194] and the Toronto City Council.[195] Morrison served as an alderman in 1853 and 1854. Similarly, John Hutchison knew Allan as a result of being an alderman on Toronto City Council from 1853 to 1857, the last year also being his year as Mayor of the City,[196] a position Morrison filled in 1876-1878.[197] Hence, to assume that the Lord Mayor's coach was given the Toronto Curling Club's curlers in 1855 by anything other than a favour would be incorrect. As a former "Old Boy" of Upper Canada College and a distinguished long-time President of the Toronto Curling Club (1846-1854), plus as an alderman serving on the City Council at the time of Allan's Mayoralty, Morrison probably found it quite easy to secure the use of the carriage for the trip to Burlington Bay. Such a favour or concession within the elite was explainable due to previous associations through school, business, politics or sport. The fact that the Buchanans belonged to such organizations was easily comprehensible. In another case, when the first Queen's Plate was held in Toronto in June 27, 1860,[198] a special train, which was arranged for by Casimir S. Gzowski, the Chief Engineer of the Grand Trunk Railway, was run to the Carleton Course, (somewhat removed from the city to eliminate some of the "rowdier elements" from the events). The train was restricted to the ladies and gentlemen of the Toronto Turf Club. A notice in the Globe announced Casimir S. Gzowski's direct involvement in the Queen's Plate.

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[189] Henry Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women...., p. 14.

[190] See William G. Gooderham (ed.), Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College. (Toronto: Old Boys Association, 1929), *passim*.

[191] The Globe, December 16, 1852.

[192] British Colonist, June 7, 1853.

[193] List of members, 1837-1881. Minutes of the Toronto Club, Archives of the Toronto Club. Toronto.

[194] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", p. 217.

[195] Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., p. 98.

[196] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[197] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

> The Toronto Spring Races commenced yesterday over the Carleton Race course. The day was fine and there could not have been fewer than three thousand persons on the ground. C.S. Gzowski, Esq., President of the Toronto Turf Club, acted as Judge; R.L. Denison, Esq., as Starter, and John Boulton, (William H. Boulton's brother) as Clerk of the Course.[199]

Therefore, because Gzowski was intimately connected to both the Grand Trunk Railway and the Toronto Turf Club, as Chief Engineer and President, respectively, it only stands to reason that he arranged for a special train to transport elite passengers to the event as a function of his ability to do so more than as a result of a randomly gratutitous act or a business arrangement. Gzowski's favour to the elite was a result of his status and position within the upper class. There is no doubt he probably won great admiration from his Toronto Turf Club members for his gratuitous action, an action most likely supported by member Peter Buchanan. Unfortunately, Peter's support was short-lived as he died on November 5, 1860.[200]

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[198] A fact first referred to in Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 216.
[199] The Globe, June 28, 1860.
[200] *Ibid.*, November 23, 1860. In recording the untimely passing of Peter Buchanan the newspaper reported, "This gentleman, well known in Canada as a partner in the firm of Buchanan, Harris (R.W.) and Co., and brother of Mr. Isaac Buchanan, has met with his death in Scotland from a gunshot wound. It is understood that Mr. Isaac Buchanan receives a large accession of fortune by the decease of his brother, who was a bachelor".

Both Peter and Isaac Buchanan as members of the Toronto Curling Club, the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, the Toronto Turf Club, the Toronto Hunt Club and the Upper Canada Club, were men driven to acceptance by the elite because they saw how membership in the ruling class institutions could benefit their social, commercial, financial and political careers. By ascribing to elite sport and social values, both men sought to juxtapose themselves between the reality of succeeding in a society dominated by a small oligarchy and the fantasy of capitalizing on undeterminable opportunities for business. They were smart to recognize this right away as it eased the burden of beginning a new enterprise in a hostile and unforgiving commercial environment. This was also true for the likes of Thomas Dennie Harris and E.F. Whittmore, although both men chose different courses to elite acceptance. They are illustrated here to show the diversity and originality of attempts at elite acceptance by the upwardly aspiring mercantile class. Both men were merchants and both arrived in Toronto during the early 1820s, at a high point of *Family Compact* societal control. Harris, of English descent, but born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1803,[201] was the first of the two gain acceptance from the elite. While working in the wholesale dry goods business, Harris, like the Buchanans, invested in business projects which the elite were trying to initiate. As a consequence, Harris was named as a trustee of the Home District Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1836.[202] William Warren Baldwin was his *Compact* mentor in this project, along with Francis Hincks, later Minister of Finance under Sir John A. MacDonald's Confederation government. Harris, again like the Buchanans, was an original member of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club in 1837.[203] It was an effort to surround himself in social acquaintances who could open up business opportunities for him or who could introduce him to individuals who could make use of his commercial skills. While these opportunities did materialize in later years, Harris' major break in infiltrating the ranks of the *Compact* came during the Rebellion of Upper Canada. Harris, along with Edward Rutherford, a partner of E.F. Whittemore in the wholesale merchant business of Whittemore, Rutherford and Company; Thomas Galt, son of John Galt and brother of Alexander Tilloch Galt; Sir Francis Bond Head, later Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada; George Taylor Denison II, son of original *Compact* member, George Taylor Denison; were all made recruits in the Toronto Bank Guards.[204] While the social composition of the Guards was a disputed matter[205] they did represent an "unusual" mix of people. As Johnson pointed out,

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[201] Dictionary of Canadian Biography., Vol. 10, p. 335. Also see The Globe, January 20, 1873.

[202] Upper Canada Gazette, December 11, 1836.

[203] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, March 23, 1837. Ontario Public Archives.

> ... the bank guards have a considerable collective distinction. Any group which contained (at the rank of private) five future Knights, five future judges (three of them Chief Justices) the future Senator and one future Prime Minister was no mere random collection of "rustics" or "mechanics" pressed into service on the spur of the moment. They have more the appearance, in fact, of an elite corps.[206]

Indeed, Harris was appointed a Captain in the Toronto Bank Guards and barked orders at persons like Sir John A. MacDonald (then a lawyer in Toronto) and Sir Adam Wilson (later, President of the University of Toronto). For his loyalty to the cause, the doors opened much wider for him in terms of elite social and sport acceptance. At the rank of Captain in the Militia General Order, opposite the likes of William Botsford Jarvis* (Captain), Joseph C. Morrison (Lieutenant), George Duggan (Colonel), John W. Gamble (Lieutenant-Colonel), James Nation (Major) and John Playter (Captain), Thomas Dennis Harris was certainly rubbing shoulders with individuals who would help his career in later life.[207] By having helped the *Compact* quell MacKenzie's forces in the Rebellion of Upper Canada, Harris almost got immediate acceptance into the 'inner circle'. He, more than the Buchanans, to the elite's way of thinking, was justified in being selected as an elite recruit. Although it never came to that point, Harris was willing to place his life on the line to protect *Compact* policies on such issues as the Clergy Reserves and the 'Established Church'. No greater sacrifice could have been asked for from an aspiring elite recruit. As a reward, Thomas Dennie Harris was absorbed into the directorships of such elite institutions as the Athenaeum,[208] the Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company (later the Toronto, Hamilton and St. Catherine's),[209] the Colonial Life Assurance Company,[210] the British America Assurance Company,[211] the Toronto Dry-Dock Company,[212] the Toronto Permanent Building Society,[213] the St. James Church,[214] the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company,[215] the Northern Railway,[216] the Canada Landed Credit Company,[217] the Toronto Horticultural Society,[218] and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[219] To say the least, his military association with the elite in 1837-1838, did much to spring-board his social life and commercial career forward. But still, in return, Harris had to ascribe to the reform and control doctrines of the elite. He, along with Peter Buchanan, William Botsford Jarvis* and William Henry Boulton, to name a few, organized, financed and generally sponsored athletic games and regattas for the workingman so as to provide a rational means of recreation and an outlet through which to improve the moral, mental and physical qualities of the *labourer, artizan and mechanic*.[220] Harris even assisted organizing the Commercial News Room in 1844[221] so that young, urban men could be encouraged to leave the pubs and taverns and enter the environment of reading, lectures and displays. The latter elements were all geared to improve the workingman. Such was even the case when William Henry Draper organized the Toronto Literary and Historical Society in 1843.[222] The Toronto Horticultural Society, of which Harris was a member, also had the long-established tradition of improving the working class man so that he may learn and be a more productive and viable citizen.[223] In essence, Thomas Dennis Harris, like Isaac and Peter Buchanan, was a man with a well-defined goal: try to be accepted by the ruling class and try to make the most of commercial opportunities afforded by the friendship of the elite. Yet, unlike the Buchanans, he ascended into the confidence of the elite through the loyal cause of the military.

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[204] J.K. Johnson, "The Social Composition of the Toronto Bank Guards, 1836-1838", Ontario History, Vol. 69 (1972), pp. 100-101.
[205] *Ibid.*, p. 95. See speculation about elite nature of the Toronto Bank Guards.
[206] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[207] See Militia General Order, as published in the Upper Canada Gazette, January 4, 1838.

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[208] British Colonist, May 9, 1845. Harris was the initial Treasurer of the Athenaeum.
[209] *Ibid.*, November 10, 1846. Clarke Gamble was the inaugural President.
[210] *Ibid.*, October 26, 1847. The Hon. R.B. Sullivan, Q.C., was Chairman and William Proudfoot, President of the Bank of Upper Canada, was Vice-Chairman.
[211] The Globe, September 7, 1858. George P. Ridout was Governor and William Proudfoot was Deputy Governor. Other directors included James Lukin Robinson, Joseph Beckett, and William Cayley.
[212] British Colonist, January 21, 1848.
[213] *Ibid.*, February 18, 1860.
[214] *Ibid.*, April 20, 1858.
[215] Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Georgian Bay Canal Company, 19 and 20 Vic. Cap. 118, July 1, 1856, Statutes of Province of Canada
[216] The Globe, February 18, 1858. Directors included; Joseph C. Morrison, President, John Hillyard Cameron, John Beverly Robinson II*, F.W. Cumberland and Adam Wilson.
[217] The Globe, February 4, 1864.
[218] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1864. George W. Allan* was President in this year.
[219] List of members, 1852-1881. Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.
[220] See various reports of sponsored athletic games and regattas in: British Colonist, August 29, 1839; September 9, 1840; August 25, 1841; August 17, 1842; May 10, 1843; September 6, 1844; and The Globe, August 12, 1848; April 25, 1849; and September 8, 1849.
[221] British Colonist, January 26, 1844.

E.F. Whittemore had a similar goal in mind but unlike the Buchanans and Harris, he achieved his umbilical connection to the womb of social acceptance through local politics and sport. Born in England in 1818, he emigrated to Canada with his friend E.H. Rutherford in the 1820s. As merchants in the firm of E.F. Whittemore, Rutherford and Company both men became intimately involved with the Toronto Board of Trade. E.F. Whittemore sat on the committee of management for the Board of Trade from 1845 to 1854, whereupon he became Vice-President in 1855 and served in this capacity to 1858.[224] In 1859, he was elected President of the Toronto Board of Trade. While sitting on the committee of management between 1847 and 1852, Rutherford entered local politics. Thomas Dennis Harris had also acquired the influential position as a member of the board of directors of the Toronto Board of Trade.[225] He sat on the committee of management of the Board of Trade from 1840 to 1859 whereupon he became Vice-President to Whittemore. He served in this position until

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[222] *Ibid.*, January 11,. 1843.

[223] See Stephen Constantine, "Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Century", Journal of Social History, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1981), pp. 387-395 and "Gardens for the Working Classes", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 4, No. 201 (December 1835), p. 359.

[224] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, *passim*.

[225] Douglas McCalla, "The Commercial Politics of the Toronto Board of Trade, 1850-1860", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1969), pp. 51-67.

1862 after which time he became President in 1863-1864.[226] He also served on the committee of management from 1865 to 1869. It was here, on the board of directors, that Whittemore became well acquainted with the leading commercial figures of Toronto, a fact which did not detract from his political career. Whittemore, with the support of many fellow Board of Trade members, was elected Councilman on the Toronto City Council in 1848.[227] He held the position until 1851 when he was elected an alderman. He served on the Council for the City at a time when John George Bowes was Mayor.[228] Bowes, a merchant by profession too, was one of the first commercial men in the position as Mayor. He, along with his brother-in-law, John Hall, had purchased the well-established firm of Buchanan, Harris and Company in 1840.[229] E.F. Whittemore, along with Bowes, was instrumental in ushering in the railway era of Toronto, an effort well supported by the *Family Compact* in not only the Ontario, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railway but also in such ventures as the Toronto and Guelph Railway,[230] the Grand Trunk,[231] and the Great Western.[232] Whittemore had been an incorporator of the Toronto and Guelph Railway along with the Buchanans, and was also a director of Gzowski's Grand Trunk. It was through the railways and city hall that Whittemore met the likes of William Henry Boulton, John Beverly Robinson II* and George W. Allan*. This being the case, and in view of the fact he rose quickly in the Toronto Board of Trade and pushed for the expansion of railways, a loyal item on the *Compact's* list of economic priorities, Whittemore became well ensconced in social trappings of the elite. Not only was he a member of the elite Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club[233] but he was also an invited director of the elite's Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company,[234] the

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[226] Minutes of the Toronto Board of Trade, *passim*. Also see The Globe, February 13, 1858.

[227] Russell, Mayors of Toronto..., p. 141.

[228] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[229] *Ibid.*

[230] Incorporation Act of the Toronto and Guelph Railway Company, *loc. cit.*

[231] Incorporation Act of the Grand Trunk Railway Company. 16 Vic. Cap. 37, November 10, 1852, The Statutes of Province of Canada.

[232] British Colonist, February 13, 1846.

[233] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, *passim*.

[234] British Colonist, November 10, 1846.

Provincial Mutual and General Insurance Company,[235] the Toronto Permanent Building Society,[236] and the Toronto Mechanics' Institute.[237] Unlike the Buchanans and Harris, Whittemore rose to recognition of the elite due to his political involvement with the city and his interest in pushing the railways forward in their development. Both were aspects of Toronto society in the late 1840s and early 1850s, which were dominated by the elite. Upon his untimely death in 1859, Whittemore was shown the respect of a man who had been in residence in Toronto for a much longer time. His death was publicly mourned and many thousands viewed his funeral procession. Adam Wilson (Sir), Mayor of Toronto, in 1859, asked residents of businesses along Yonge and King Streets to close their stores until such time as the cortege passed.[238] Whittemore was a man "highly trusted" by both the mercantile community and the original ruling class. He was a man who, through politics and through membership in elite institutions, such as the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, made himself a valued person to the elite. While his prime aim was acceptance by the elite oligarchy, his secondary motivation was to secure investments and directorships which would pay dividends to his mercantile career. Like the Buchanans and Harris, Whittemore needed the acceptance of the elite to further his own business interests. Arriving in Toronto with little to his name, he was forced to make inroads in the social hierarchy in order to get ahead. In ascribing to the prevalent elite institutions of the period, Whittemore, like Isaac and Peter Buchanan and Thomas Dennie Harris, was showing his willingness to loyally socialize among the elite and ascribe to the enforcement doctrine of the ruling class. Only through ascription could each man have a chance of forwarding his own commercial interests. Sport, as it had for decades before, served as both a vehicle for social acceptance and as a discriminator for membership among the elite. Due to its highly social nature, sport did little to promote the player who excelled at any one sport. To play sport during the 1840s and 1850s meant that an individual first had to be socially acceptable and then later possibly acquire some expertise in a game. But, to play sport well was not a high priority in elite sport. In fact, it was almost valid to say that sport epitomized the social dynamics which were occurring outside of the sport clubs in Toronto's society. Or, in other words, to become a member of elite society in general, was the most important step toward becoming an important player within society. Through a sports club many aspiring merchants were able to gather support for their upwardly mobility aspirations. This is why, McMaster, MacDonald, Howland, the Buchanans, Harris and Whittemore, all utilized the sport club in some respect, to obtain, to maintain, and further their interlocking friendships with the elite of Toronto's society.

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[235] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1850.
[236] The Globe, May 8, 1852.
[237] Minutes of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *passim*. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library.
[238] The Globe, February 22, 1859.

Chapter XII

PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL OLIGARCHICAL CONTROL OF SPORT, 1861-1881

The period of 1861 to 1881 was one of tremendous growth and transition for both sport and society in Toronto. Confederation was to give Canadians a new sense of national pride and a unique feeling for things that were truly Canadian. The bonds with Britain, which had so tightly held the attention of Upper Canadians and most British North Americans prior to 1867, were slowly giving away to a new national identity. Canadians, after 1867, "...wanted national champions, partly out of community pride, partly out of the strong belief that their games were their own and that they played them superlatively well".[1] Never before had the people of Canada had such a rallying point from which to develop a national frame of mind. While the railway boom of the 1850s had given Canadians a greater sense of connection with other parts of eastern Canada and the United States, a feeling which would resurface after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885,[2] Confederation gave the people of the Dominion a political, economic and social autonomy, with which to grow and develop.

Sport, in this milieu, changed to accommodate the times. Its largely strict adherence to stolid, British practices, namely the participation in the aristocratic sports of horse-racing, fox-hunting, cricket and yachting, moved aside to let other less gentrified sports emerge.[3] Canadians were searching for a sport identity. They wished to participate in sports which were associated with the new Dominion. Therefore, what emerged in the two decades immediately following Confederation was a push to introduce new sports, or ones already known to native Canadians but yet unheralded, and to pay tribute to the heroes of these sports which represented true national characteristics. Thus, what materialized was an interest in games such as lacrosse, rowing, bicycling, canoeing, ice hockey, and rugby-football.[4] As much as these sports symbolized a new outlook for a new Canada, they also signified the beginning to a greater middle class involvement in sport. The elite, quasi-aristocratic games and pastimes persisted in their importance to the small group who involved themselves in them, but generally, the professional middle class was responsible for promoting the growth and expansion of the new games. Like most of aspects of society at the time, sport was being led by a group of Canadians who were the emerging elite of the new commercial empire. As Sidney Wise stated in his article on "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec";

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[1] S.F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec", in W.H. Heick (ed.), His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), p. 115.

[2] Pierre Burton, The Last Spike: The Great Railway, 1881-1885. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), pp. 6-10.

[3] Allan Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1868-1900", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, pp. 15-41.

> In their adept organization of athletic leagues and federations to bridge gaps between communities and provinces, the Canadians of this era demonstrated the same capacity for skillful corporate leadership as they had in confronting the challenges of a vast country in commerce, industry, and transportation. Since the people who were leaders in public and business affairs were frequently the leaders in athletics and recreation as well, the attitudes they displayed towards sport, far from being signs of moral decay, were those also valued in society at large.[5]

Although "organized sport" may have originally arisen from aristocratic roots in a relatively small colonial setting, it flourished during the 1870s and 1880s due to a weakening aristocratic stranglehold on sport, and a society which was becoming increasingly more urban, more differentiated, and, at the same time, more integrated.[6] Business, as a reflection of the diversification, in the late 1870s and 1880s, experienced a significant growth period due to the protectionist legislation of John A. MacDonald's National Policy.[7] The program stimulated significant growth in the Dominion due to several factors such as: expansion of settlement in the west brought on by the idea of an intercolonial railway,[8] the financial stability of the national economy as a result of the several amending Bank and Currency Acts,[9] and the increase in technological development of the manufacturing sector of the economy.[10] As a result, as commerce became more nationally oriented, so too did the outlook toward sport. What evolved in the late 1870s and 1880s in sport was a direct push toward making sport a national institution. Besides new sports making their presence felt in many aspects of society, organizers encouraged the development of provincial and national sport organizations and associations. To be able to crown national champions as a consequence of national championships would be of significant value to a nation struggling for its own identity. The rapid growth of sports and the development of these national sport governing bodies was primarily attributable to the emerging elite, *the middle class professional*.[11]

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[4] For an excellent discussion of emerging nationalism and sport, see Peter L. Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept. A Behavioral Approach", Proceedings of the 2nd Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education October 1972, pp. 27-44.

[5] Wise, "Sport and Class Values...", p. 100.

[6] Organized sport was meant to mean sport which had its origins connected to a formal club structure. The term was later used in terms of broad provincial and national organization.

[7] See Michael Bliss' discussion of the impact of the National Policy in "A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972.

[8] Pierre Berton, The National Dream: The Great Railway, 1871-1881. (Toronto:

In Toronto in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, sport evolved along middle class lines more slowly than in other parts of the country. Due to its strong, elite British origins and its largely uniform ruling class of English and English-Canadian ancestry, Toronto more begrudgingly relinquished its hold on the aristocratic complexion of sport. The large, well-knit inter-connections between the elite and a selective upper middle class, served to perpetuate the loyalty to certain sports and traditions. While sports such as rowing, lacrosse, golf, canoeing, bicycling and tennis made inroads in popularity during this period, they did so with an abnormally strong interest from the elite, who were accustomed to dominating all aspects of society. Such sports experienced more limited development and proliferation due to

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[8] (cont'd) McClelland and Stewart, 1970), *passim*.

[9] See R.M. Breckenridge, "Banking Reforms, 1867-1871", Part VII. Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1895), pp. 334-363 and B.E. Walker, "Banking in Canada", *ibid*., Vol. 1, No. 1 (September 1893), pp. 1-24.

[10] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 2.

[11] Although lawyers as a profession had always been considered part of Toronto's upper class, a new class category was emerging for this group in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. The new legal professionals, rather than being considered part of the old law fraternity who received their education and articling experience through the protege system, were now being educated in the universities of the region and as a consequence were considered part of the new breed of professions which were emerging in the later part of the century. While the inherited status of being a lawyer remained influential in the period, the university educated legal professionals, who were not from a long line of lawyers, were relegated to this new class categoization.

the continued noble presence and patronage of the original elite, who clung to its more genteel pastimes and games. It was interesting to note how sports in other parts of the country evolved more rapidly than they did in Toronto. As Montreal boasted of a lacrosse team in 1844 in the form of the Olympic Club, which was under the patronage of the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe,[12] Toronto's original lacrosse club, the Toronto Lacrosse Club, was not formed until 1867.[13] Even the formation of the Montreal Lacrosse Club (1856) predated that of the Toronto Lacrosse Club.[14] And, Toronto's second formal lacrosse club, the Ontario, did not evolve until 1870,[15] well after the popular crescendo of lacrosse at Confederation.[16] Even in bicycling, Toronto was slow to develop. The Toronto Bicycle Club was formed in 1881,[17] some three years after the Montreal Bicycle Club had come into existence in 1878.[18] And further, Toronto's first formally constituted athletic club, the Toronto Athletic Club, established by John Beverly Robinson II*, in 1890,[19] followed the organization of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (1881) by some nine years.[20] Definitely, social importance attached to class values heavily influenced the introduction of sport to certain cities like Toronto.

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[12] Peter Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 116. He cited A. Weyand and M. Roberts, The Lacrosse Story. (Baltimore: H. and A. Herman, 1965), p. 13.

[13] Minutes of the Toronto Lacrosse Club, dated June 19, 1867. Toronto Public Library. Toronto.

[14] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 117.

[15] Minutes of the Ontario Lacrosse Club, dated June 2, 1870, as partially contained by the Records of the Toronto Lacrosse Club, Toronto Public Library. Toronto.

[16] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 123. He cited the Globe of October 26, 1867, where he said there were no less than thirteen clubs playing within the city. Of the thirteen, only one was formally constituted, the Toronto Lacrosse Club. Interestingly, of the thirteen clubs, only the Maple Leaf Club could have been considered a non-elite club. The rest being either military, educational or well-established sports clubs. For the most part, all were the preserve of some form of the elite.

[17] The Globe, April 20, 1881.

[18] Don Morrow, A Sporting Evolution: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881-1981. (Montreal: Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and Don Morrow, 1981), p. 37.

[19] Prospectus to the formation of the Toronto Athletic Club, dated 1890. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Toronto. Also see Rules, Regulations, By-Laws and Constitution of the Toronto Athletic Club. (Toronto: Brough and Caswell, 1891).

[20] Morrow, A Sporting Evolution..., p. 5.

In snowshoeing, for example, little if any development occurred in Toronto or Canada West because of two factors: firstly, the elite associated snowshoeing with the heathen practices of the Indians, who in all aspects of their lifestyle displayed the antithesis of the refined, gentlemanly components of elite sport; and secondly, the French influence was lacking for the promotion and social integration of snowshoeing into the British colonial culture of Upper Canada.[21] The absence of tradition in snowshoeing for the British elite in Toronto served to almost eliminate the activity from the sport vocabulary of Ontarians. Toronto even lacked the economy of fur-trading which may have made the difference in the practical acceptance of the pastime. The clubs which sprang up in Montreal in the 1840s[22] were indicative of the true cultural and class differences related to snowshoeing and sport in the regional geography of Canada. While some sports survived nicely in Canada West and Ontario due to long-standing British class connections (i.e., cricket), some were rejected due to their characteristically non-loyal attachment to customary British institutions of class and privilege. Although snowshoeing, weight-lifting, wrestling, and other sports of venerative power, muscularity and endurance, went through their development in near obscurity in the urban towns of Canada West, certain sports did make their impact felt.

Sports which aligned themselves to the elite and to the traditional sport practices of England flourished in Toronto and other urban centers in Canada West and Ontario. Tennis and golf, for instance, were two sports which easily made the transition from British to Canadian society. Tennis had a tradition in England which dated back to James I in 1405.[23] It had always been a sport preserved for the nobles and upper classes, whether it was played in its birthplace, France, or whether it was participated in by Britains.[24] Tennis, as a sport institution, was a natural choice for transplantation in Toronto. The fact that it had always received promotion and development within a club structure catered to the reforming and socially controlling needs of Toronto's elite. A sport which could be started and carefully monitored as to who played it, would prove to be a valuable asset to an elite who were gradually losing hold of general sport development among the working class in the later nineteenth century.[25] Sports which protected the urban gentleman from the "mass of his countrymen", would prove to be the ones most coveted by the elite. They allowed the urban upper class to pursue them and to meet, as one authority stated, "on terms of equality ... [and] jolly good fellowship" but without intrusion from the working class.[26] Golf, like tennis, became a successful import to Toronto, and many other Canadian cities, because it too had a tradition of development among the elite and within a club atmosphere.[27] Both tennis and golf, in the form of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club and the Toronto Golf Club, which were formally established in 1876,[28] stood as testaments to the elite's continued policy of making sport exclusive. While the *mechanic* sports of baseball, soccer, and to a certain extent athletics, rose in popularity, and while such sports as rowing, bicycling, boxing, lacrosse and snowshoe racing became increasingly the perogative of the workingman *professional* in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the elite made efforts to preserve and insulate the sanctity of their sport clubs from the 'unmanly' and 'morally deprecated' professional athlete.[29] The impression of social retraction from sport development after 1880 by the elite due to the popular rise of professional sport is somewhat misleading. Although the elite did remove themselves almost fully from the directorships of workingmen's sports clubs due to the money-earning professional emphasis on sport in the latter two decades of the nineteenth century, they did not stop their organizing ways or their interest in starting up new associations and clubs. In fact, the elite redirected their energies away from workingmen's clubs directorships and into directorships of provincial and national sport regulating bodies. By doing so, the elite were able to retain and enforce their 'ever-so-traditional' Victorian policy of reform and social control.[30] The impact of its decisions with regards to the development of any particular sport could be most felt from its executive positions within the provincial and national associations.

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[21] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 67.

[22] *Ibid.*, Lindsay reported that Quebec and Montreal had snowshoe clubs in 1845 and 1843, respectively. He cited Hugh W. Becket, The Montreal Snowshoe Club, 1840-1881. (Montreal: Becket Brothers, 1882).

[23] See R.R. MacGregor, "Tennis in Britain", Belgravia, Vol. 37, No. 45 (November 1878), pp. 68-69.

[24] R.D. Osborn, "Lawn Tennis and its Players", The Contemporary Review, Vol. 40 (August 1881), pp. 326-336; Edward Jesse, "A History of Tennis", Bentley's Miscellany, Vol. 34 (1853), pp. 443-451; and "Lusio Pilaris and Lawn Tennis", Edinburgh Review, Vol. 141, No. 237 (1875), pp. 52-88.

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[25] R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: The Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975. See "Summary and Conclusions".

[26] Sport for the working class started to gain impetus after 1860 due to fewer working hours, higher wages, expanded recreational opportunities (often brought to bear by employers of the workingman) and an increased interest in spectatorism and professional sport.

[27] "Canoeing", *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, Vol. 5 (August 1890), p. 87.

[28] "The Royal Game of Golf", *Chamber's Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 292, New Series 3 (August 1859), pp. 92-95; "A Chapter on Golf", *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. 50, No. 296 (August 1854), pp. 204-209; "The Game of Golf - Its Introduction Into England", *Chamber's Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, New Series 4 (1865), p. 208; and "Golf as Imported", *Chamber's Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 471, New Series 3 (January 1863), pp. 29-31.

[29] See Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973, particularly pp. 48-78; Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada...", pp. 46, 287, 365 and 460; Morris Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans, Settlement Days to World War I", Ph.D. dissertation,

When the Canadian Amateur Rowing Association was formed in 1880, it was of interest to note who made up the executive board. It was composed of the new upper middle class elite who were lawyers, doctors, and merchants.[31] Henry O'Brien, the President of the Association, was a lawyer. His father, Edward O'Brien, had been a lawyer as well and later became a Court of Queen's Bench Judge in Toronto. Harold Lambe, the Vice-President, was

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[29](cont'd) Queen's University, 1980; Frank Cosentino, "Ned Hanlan - Canada's Premier Oarsman. A Case Study in 19th Century Professionalism", Ontario History, Vol. 66 (1974), pp. 241-250; Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", pp. 80, 88 and 326; and Keith Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1971.

[30]For general discussions of this ideology, see Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England; Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); H.E. Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1945. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution. (London: Croom-Helm, 1980); Gareth S. Jones, "Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure", History Workshop, No. 4 (1977), pp. 163-170; James Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950. (London: Longmans, 1978); Keith Sandiford, "The Victorians at Play: Problems in Historiographical Methodology", Journal of Social History, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Winter 1981), pp. 271-288; and Anthony Delves, "Popular Recreation and Social Conflict in Derby, 1800-1850", in E. Yeo and S. Yeo (eds), Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure. (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1981), pp. 89-127.

[31]The Globe, April 10, 1880. Also see Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada...", p. 296.

also a lawyer. He would later become President of the new national regulating body, the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen in 1881.[32] It was this later Association which attempted to restrict the participation of the *labourer, artizan and mechanic* in amateur rowing events in the last two decades of the century.[33] Both Lambe and O'Brien, who were earlier members of McMaster's Toronto Rowing Club, were directly responsible for initiating the Argonaut Rowing Club of Toronto in 1872.[34] It was the dissatisfaction of both gentlemen with the socially controlling and paternalistic policy of sponsored professional events in the Toronto Rowing Club's "Regattas" which sparked them to form a truly amateur rowing organization, the Argonaut Rowing Club.[35] They disagreed that the elite should in anyway be associated with professional (working class) sport. Although Lambe and O'Brien were still devoted members of the elite themselves, both represented the extreme faction which wanted nothing to do with the promotion of working class sport. Hence, the Argonaut Rowing Club, and the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen, were hardline, anti-professional institutions. They would rather exclude the working class than make any effort to reform or control. Thus, the Argonaut Rowing Club epitomized the more intolerant aspect of elite sport which was materializing in the later century due to the interest being shown in athleticism. Pure athletics, in the Victorian frame of mind, had no room for the 'sham-amateur' behaviors of the working class professional. Other associations which regulated sport provincially and nationally followed the same line of thinking.

When the Canadian Wheelman's Association was formed in 1882, it was controlled by men who again represented the upper middle class segment of the sport population.[36] People like James B. Boustead, an alderman on Toronto City Council and a legal professional, and P.E. Doolittle, a doctor, were involved in not only the establishment of the Canadian Wheelman's Association but also in the Toronto Bicycle Club which was formed in 1881.[37] Similarly, when the Ontario Cricket Association was formed in April of 1881, the Governor-General of Canada, Marquis of Lorne, was appointed President, due to his long-standing interest in the game both as an observer and as a competent player.[38] The fact that he had *interlocking* connections to the Toronto Cricket Club and the elite of the City of Toronto, certainly did not detract from his nomination to the Presidency. Nor did it detract from the appointment of Frederick W. Cumberland, long-time friend of fellow cricketer and *Family Compact* member, John Beverly Robinson II*, to the posts of joint Vice-President. The Secretary-Treasurer of the Ontario Cricket Association in this year was William Hamilton Merritt II, a son of one of the *Compact's* most trusted proteges.[39] Also, William Cayley, a perpetual manager of the elite's cricket and business interests, and a long-standing member of the Toronto Cricket Club, was appointed to the original committee of management. Young Merritt II's organizing contributions as a member of the elite did not end with the Ontario Cricket Association. When the Ontario Rugby Union was formed in 1883, Merritt II was appointed its President.[40] Merritt had learned his administrative and sport capabilities while he was a student at the elitist school, Upper Canada College.[41] The fact that Merritt had been educated at a *public school* did much to reinforce the fact that the promoters and organizers of provincial and national organizations were elite.

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[32] The Globe, April 4, 1881. Cox, *ibid.*, p. 304, had incorrectly stated that the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen was formed in 1880. In fact, it was the Canadian Amateur Rowing Association, which was formed in 1880, and served as Ontario's forerunner to C.A.A.O.

[33] See Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada...", *passim.*, for a discussion of the various amateur athletic codes.

[34] Records of the Toronto Argonaut Rowing Club. Archives of the Argonaut Rowing Club, Toronto. Also see The Globe, June 15, 1972.

[35] The Globe, August 14, 1876.

[36] *Ibid.*, September 3, 1882. Also see "Canadian Wheelman's Association", Athletic Life, Vol. 1 (1895), p. 169.

In 1890, when the Canadian Lawn Tennis Association was formed, its first President was C.S. Hyman,[42] a member in long-standing with the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. He too had attended Upper Canada College and was a graduate of Osgoode Hall, the legal elite factory.[43] Hyman was representative of the type of leadership which the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club exerted during the era. The Club sponsored the first Canadian Lawn Tennis Championships in 1883[44] and also organized the first Junior National Championships at Upper Canada College in 1890.[45] Significantly, these championships were only open to elite clubs and therefore, only open to amateur players. Players from such elite visiting organizations as the New York Athletic Club and the Brookline Club of Boston attended these championships and served to reaffirm the upper class and upper middle class connection to tennis in the late nineteenth century.

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[37] *Ibid.*, April 20, 1881. The Captain of the Club was Harold Goulding, a superlative athlete in Toronto in the late century. "Lieutenants" of the Club, included B. Hock, H.M. McBride, Harold Blackburn and T.H. Gilmour.

[38] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1881.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*, January 8, 1883. See Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada...", p. 102.

[41] W.G. Gooderham (ed.), Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College. (Toronto: Old Boys Association, 1929), p. 104.

[42] Records of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Toronto.

When the Ontario Jockey Club was formed in Toronto in 1881,[46] it too showed the earmarks of elite administration. Casimir S. Gzowski* was its first President and remained so for the first three years. His career in engineering and commerce had long been associated with the *Family Compact* of Toronto. Gzowski had been the President of the Toronto Turf Club from 1861 to 1868.[47] He was joined on the Ontario Jockey Club's board of directors by T.C. Patteson and William Hendrie. Patteson was a *well-bred* Toronto man who was an all-round enthusiastic sportsman. In addition to having been "an excellent bat" at cricket at Upper Canada College in the late 1860s and early 1870s,[48] and a member of several international cricket teams in the late century,[49] Patteson was also a moving force behind the administration of the Argonaut Rowing Club.[50] Hendrie, a lawyer by profession, but railway promoter by trade, had had a long association with horse-racing in Upper Canada. He had joined the Toronto Hunt Club in 1866 and had been a steward for many of Toronto's horse-racing events up until 1881.[51] His son, John, was one of the best amateur 'gentlemen' jockeys in Toronto during mid-century,[52] in addition to being the Master of the Toronto Hunt Club in 1869-1870.[53] In this latter institution, he made very good friends with George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts*. John Hendrie too was educated at Upper Canada College and later became the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.[54] Gzowski's organizing talents did not stop with horse-racing. He was the chief mover in the establishment of the Toronto Rifle Association in 1864[55] plus, he was the primary architect for the founding of the Canadian Volunteer Militia.[56] Further, he assisted in establishing the Ontario Rifle Association in 1869[57] and the Dominion Rifle Association in 1873.[58] Gzowski also assisted in sport development when he assisted William McMaster* in forming the Toronto Rifle Club in 1864.[59] Of all organizers of provincial and national sport regulating bodies, Gzowski possibly epitomized the elite character which was so closely associated with their directorships. Not only was he "well-connected" to the original *Family Compact* of Toronto but he was also closely associated with elites throughout Canada who had the same interests in sport and its development. A national network of elites who controlled sport prior to the turn of the century was, in all likelihood, a practical reality. By forming national associations which liaised with provincial regulatory bodies, the elites were able to solidify its control of the way in which sport developed and who it allowed to be important developers in the organization and administration of sport.

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[43] Gooderham. Roll of Pupils..., p. 87.
[44] Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada...", p. 171.
[45] Tournament Records of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Archives of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. Toronto. Also see B. Jory and M. Jory, A Love of Tennis: A History of the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club. (Toronto: L.H. Best Printing, 1981), p. 9 and H.G. MacKenzie, "History of Lawn Tennis in Canada", Athletic Life, Vol. 2 (1895), pp. 16-18.
[46] "The Ontario Jockey Club", Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. 8 (July 1893), p. 276.
[47] See previous biographical chapter on Casimir S. Gzowski*. Supra. p. ??.
[48] "The Ontario Jockey Club", p. 276.
[49] John Weiler, "The Idea of Sport in Late Victorian Canada: Organized Sport and Athletics in Toronto, 1880-1900", A Paper Presented at the Canadian Historical Association Meetings, Kingston, Ontario, 1973, p. 7.
[50] Henry O'Brien, "The Argonaut Rowing Club", Athletic Life, Vol. 2 (1895), p. 260.

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[51] Aemileus Irving, "A History of the Toronto Hunt Club", A paper in the possession of the Toronto Hunt Club Archives. Newcastle, Ontario.

[52] W.S. Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1978), p. 51. Also see Henry Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 525.

[53] Records of the Toronto Hunt Club. Archives of the Toronto Hunt Club. Newcastle, Ontario.

[54] Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time., p. 525.

[55] The Globe, August 8, 1864.

[56] L.K.R. Zubkowski and W.E. Greening, Sir Casimir Gzowski. (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1958), p. 132.

[57] The Globe, June 28, 1869.

[58] J.C. Dent, The Canadian Portrait Gallery. 4 Vols. (Toronto: John B. Maquire, 1881), Vol. 2, p. 96. Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 255, incorrectly stated that the Canadian Rifle Association was formed in 1861.

[59] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 260. In citing reference to the Toronto Rifle Club in the Globe, March 7, 1864, Lindsay stated "... a group of rifle enthusiasts sought the freedom of a private club, and formed the Toronto Rifle Club...."

The national regulatory bodies for lacrosse were some of the earliest ever established in Canada. Dr. George Beers, a dentist from Montreal, was the game's most fervent promoter in the 1860s.[60] In a editorial devised by Beers, which appeared in the Globe, September 19, 1867, the mast-head called "Lacrossists [*sic*] from thru-out [*sic*] the Dominion ... to Kingston to firmly establish and consolidate the game". Beers, the author of The Game of Lacrosse, the first book to set out the rules and regulations of the game, was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the new National Lacrosse Association in 1867.[61] He was joined on the executive by William D. Otter of the Toronto Lacrosse Club. Otter, a professional military officer and an Upper Canada College graduate,[62] served as Vice-President of the National Lacrosse Association from 1867 to 1869, whereupon he assumed the Presidency for one year.[63] He had also assisted William McMaster* in organizing both the Toronto Rowing Club in 1865[64] and the Toronto Gymnasium Company in 1872.[65] In 1876, when lacrosse was being inundated with professional players, a reorganization of the national regulating associations materialized. The National Amateur Lacrosse Association was formed in 1876, with William K. McNaught as its first President.[66] McNaught stood as a sterling example of how sport was moving with the times. In business, as in other aspects of society, national associations were appearing to regulate the conduct of its members and to direct the development of its principal interests by incorporating well-trained, professional managers in positions of responsibilty. McNaught, as one of these managers, was the one-time President of the

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[62] Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time., p. 876.
[63] The Globe, August 13, 1869.
[64] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1865.
[65] *Ibid.*, February 28, 1872.
[66] B.W. Collison and John K. Munro, "Lacrosse in Canada", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 19 (1902), p. 413.

Canadian Manufacturer's Association and had served as its Chairman for the Tariff Committee which dealt directly with the Canadian government.[67] Hence, how sport regulated itself nationally was the same way that business and other segments of society were controlling their development. The need to control national aspects of institutional growth were not restricted to sport alone. And, as was indicative of the period as well, not so much from an elite standpoint, but rather from a business point of view, good leadership in sport was crucial to success. In suggesting that elite lacrosse players be elected to club offices, McNaught felt that they had the "best interests of the club at heart".[68] Furthermore, he contended that the club's President, who was responsible for administering and overseeing all affairs of the club, should be "a man of good social standing".[69] McNaught believed that by being *a man of good social standing*, the individual would be more than adequately prepared to make decisions relative to financing, policy and rule development. Therefore, McNaught considered active and reputable administrative officers as necessary ingredients in any successful organization. Vigorous and effective promotion of the group's interest were keys to success no matter whether it was for lacrosse or for commerce. Thus, national sport regulation not only became a vehicle for the perpetuation of class interests relative to sport but it also became an institution which recognized good management skills. The degree to which national and provincial sport regulatory bodies absorbed the upper middle class professional was only indicative of the need of better managers who could promote the interests of a specific sport most capably.

Sport, in the late 1870s and 1880s, outwardly reflected this state of affairs in society. Competency within the upper middle class aspects of commercial and professional life, meant a chance for acceptance into the realm of elite sport. It also meant the exclusion of the working class from the board of directors of numerous national sport regulatory bodies. The administration of sport during the last three decades of the nineteenth century was the continued preserve of the old original elite and the newly emerging professional elites. Though it was no longer absolutely controlled by the quasi-gentry class of society who formed a tight oligarchical compact, national sport administration remained in the hands of a well-connected group of aspiring middle class professionals.

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[67] Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time., p. 788.

[68] W.K. McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play It. (Toronto: R. Marshal, 1873), pp. 18-20.

[69] Collison and Munro, "Lacrosse in Canada", p. 413.

The rise of the upper middle class professionals into powerful positions within sport clubs and associations was reflective of the changes which were occurring in society at the time. Canada by the last quarter of the century was becoming a nation of transformation. Improved forms of communication, expansion of the railway systems, a national mentality to economic and social development, plus a desire to incorporate the latest technology in all phases of life and commerce made the country 'spin' with fast moving improvements. Business, as a result of the quick-paced changes, was expanding rapidly and forced managers of commercial enterprises to be competent, insightful and imbued with a vision of limitless opportunity. The 1870s saw the rapid growth of branch railways,[70] national telegraph networks,[71] first order manufacturing,[72] steam printing presses,[73] banks,[74] insurance companies,[75] and stock exchanges,[76] to name a few. The depression of the mid-1860s, brought on largely as a result of the non-shipment of exports to the United States because of the American Civil War,[77] gave way to an age of expanded trade and commerce. The late 1860s also saw Toronto's trade grow to the point where it rivalled that of Montreal's trade. The two cities, during this period, were in a "life and death" struggle to exist commercially and feelings between them were mutually ones of competition and mistrust. In a published editorial in the Monetary Times of July 2, 1868, one developed a feeling for the revival of commercial progress in Toronto and an indication of the trade rivalry which existed between Toronto and Montreal.

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[70] Two railways which did much to expand the trade regions for Toronto businessmen were the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway and the Toronto and Nipissing Railway. Each enterprise, developments of the forward-looking pair of George Gooderham and James Gooderham Worts*, were intended to siphon trade business away from Hamilton and Port Hope who were mounting considerable commercial opposition to Toronto in the late 1860s. See *The Globe*, January 6, 1869 and January 34, 1870. Also, Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*..., pp. 109-111 and Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development in South-Central Ontario*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), pp. 110-115.

[71] William Cayley's enterprise was the first of its kind to suggest a national telegraph network. See the Prospectus for the Dominion Telegraph Company in the *Monetary Times*, August 27, 1868 and September 10, 1868.

[72] Casimir S. Gzowski* was an innovator to first order manufacturing in Toronto. His Toronto Rolling Mills for steel production was a first, see B. Dyster, "Toronto, 1840-1860: Making it in a British Protestant Town", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970, pp. 258-259. Gzowski's Cotton Mills were also a first in Canadian manufacturing history, see Eric Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto: Panic, Policy and Public Response, 1857-1873", Ph.D. disseration, University of Toronto, 1978, pp. 298-301.

[73] For the impact of steam presses on society and sport, see Ian Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Changes on its Development", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970, pp. 102-111.

[74] See variously, Victor Ross, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*. 2 Vols. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1922), Vol. 2, pp. 553-554; Incorporation Act of the Dominion Bank, 32-33 Vic. Cap. 60, June 22, 1869, *Statutes of Dominion of Canada*.; and Joseph Schull, *100 Years of Banking in Canada: A*

> Everyday we are receiving new evidences of what is now a generally admitted fact, that Toronto is making marked progress as a centre of trade and commerce. A few successive years of good trade have made many of our long established business men [*sic*] take a decided step in the way of improvement and the expansion of their facilities, resulting in a general movement in the way of painting, rebuilding and refitting. This itself has made a great difference in appearances. But, more important is the fact that we have by some means acquired the power of attracting the business of other Canadian cities hitherward. One of the best firms in Hamilton (Buchanan & Co.), or even in the West, has recently opened up here; a number of important establishments from Montreal have hung out their signs, and declare themselves ready to try to do better in Toronto than in Montreal, and we learn that a good many more would make the same move if suitable building accommodations were provided. Some that are not inclined to move would at least open branch houses here, in the hope of getting a share of the Toronto trade. These circumstances have given rise to a demand for warehouse accommodation, and have stimulated building to a gratifying extent. At least a half dozen of first-class warehouses are now in course of erection, and are being pushed rapidly forward, and probably as many more are projected, and will be gone on with unless some untoward event forbids....
>
> We are glad to note these unmistakable evidences of progress, coupled with the fact that trade here is good, while in Montreal it is represented as excessively dull, they are highly suggestive. There seems reason to expect that Toronto may yet cope in commercial importance with Montreal, notwithstanding the many advantages the latter is supposed to possess.

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[74](cont'd) History of the Toronto Dominion Bank. (Toronto: Copp-Clark Publishing, 1958).

[75]See the Monetary Times. August 15, 1867; August 29, 1867; January 16, 1868; April 2, 1868; May 7, 1868; August 6, 1868; February 18, 1869; September 8, 1871; and January 9, 1874.

[76]See Incorporation Act of the Toronto Corn Exchange, 35 Vic. Cap 45, June 14, 1872, *ibid*. and Incorporation Act of the Toronto Stock Exchange, 41 Vic. Cap 65. March 7, 1878, Statutes of Ontario.

[77]The Globe, January 30, 1862 and January 31, 1862. Also, Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto:...", pp. 281-283.

Although the period was a continual struggle between Montreal and Toronto for commercial, as well as sport supremacy, the former town quickly realized that because Toronto lay further to west, where trade opportunities were the greatest with both the United States and the prairie region of Canada, it should do something to offset the inevitable trade imbalance. Therefore, men like Hugh Allan and George Drummond,[78] important commercial men of Montreal, began lobbying for the rights to build railways to the western reaches of the country. Their efforts were met by those of some of Toronto's leading businessmen, who had earlier invested in their right to stake claim to trade in the west. The Northern Railroad, for instance, was built in the early 1850s to facilitate the removal and transport of staple goods from the hinterland to Toronto and the return delivery of merchant wares to the settlers in the far reaches of Canada West. It served these needs well but it was not long before it was improved to exploit the trade to the west. In announcing improvements to the line, the Globe in 1858 stated:

> The Northern Railroad having procured the services of four first-class screw steamers - Montgomery, Evergreen City, Hunter and Ontonogon, is well-prepared to forward passengers and freight between the seaboard and the west. By arrangements with the Grand Trunk, wheat can be taken on the *same* cars, from their elevators at Collingwood, to Montreal, Quebec and Portland and goods and emigrants, vice versa.[79]

To complement this development, individuals like William McMaster*, who fought the Bank of Montreal as to credit extension in Canada West, proposed further railway development. The North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company was an attempt by McMaster and his associates to capitalize on the vast trade opportunities in the prairies.[80] The formation of such a venture marked the first time that the idea for a transcontinental railway had been coveted among the merchants and the elite of Toronto. In postulating about the benefits of such a project, a guest editorialist, possibly McMaster himself, wrote:

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[78] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1858.
[79] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1858.
[80] For an excellent discussion of the expanionist movement to the west, see Douglas R. Owram, The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

> This Company has been incorporated by an Act passed during the late Session of Parliament, which, as may be seen, confers the peculiar privileges and extraordinary powers necessary to enable them to extend their control according to the increase of the trade and the development of the resources of the country where their operations are to be carried on.
>
> The first object of the Company have [*sic*] in view is to open out the route from Lake Superior to the fertile prairies of the Red River and the Saskatchewan. The present trade of these countries is carried on by two opposite routes, the one passing some eight hundred miles, nearly due north of York Factory on Hudson's Bay and the other about seven hundred miles, nearly due south to St. Paul in the State of Minnesota, both at right angles to the general course and ultimate destination of the trade, while the Lake Superior route passes between the other two, almost in a straight line into the centre of the country.[11]

The Montreal merchants must have been envious of the efforts Toronto businessmen were making to tap the western trade market. Unfortunately, for the entrepreneurs of the Upper St. Lawrence town, the barren Canadian Shield to the north and the limited trade possibilities of the east, made them attempt to pursue and capture some of Toronto's western trade. This may explain in part why the Bank of Montreal and E.H. King tried so desperately hard to strangle the banking economy of Toronto in the late 1860s.[12] Nevertheless, trade possibilities for Toronto during the 1870s were excellent due in part to the far-sightedness of people like William McMaster* and to the geographical location of the city relative to the trading routes in the west. The vision of men like McMaster in opening up the trade in the prairies and controlling the economic resources of the region, was also indicative of the men who came to regulate provincial and national sport associations in the late nineteenth century. Controlled management of national sport followed closely on the heels of national commercial expansion. In essence, as elite control of business expanded, so too did sport regulation.

During the late 1860s and the 1870s, Toronto became the main debarkation and transhipment point for immigrants headed to the prairies. In 1866, it was reported that some

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[11] *Ibid.*, October 15, 1858. Also see Act of Incorporation of the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company, 22 Vic. Cap. 122, August 16, 1858, Statutes of Province of Canada.

[12] See previous chapter on William McMaster*, *supra.*, pp. 199-225. E.H. King of the Bank of Montreal called in the credit notices of several banks causing the failure of the Bank of Upper Canada in 1866, the Commercial Bank of Canada in 1867, Brown's Bank in 1869, the Royal Canadian Bank in 1869, and the Gore Bank in 1869.

23,373 immigrants had arrived in Canada.[13] A sizable proportion of these people were Germans and Norwegians. The Canada Land Company, the largest immigration firm in British North America at this time, felt that these two ethnic groups would be good settlers because they were both hard working and, at one time or another, had been forced to farm in conditions similar to those found on the prairies. In 1871, large numbers of immigrants were still crossing the docks of Toronto's harbour. Nearly 25,000 were reported to have landed in this year and the majority were of Scandinavian or German descent.[14] For the next several years, immigrants continued to appear in Toronto and the influx was only checked by the depression of the later 1870s.[15] Toronto's population in 1870-1871 was 56,092, of whom 21,205 were English, 24,107 were Irish, and 8,212 were Scottish.[16] In 1881, Toronto had 86,415 inhabitants, the majority of whom were again Irish.[17] An indication of Toronto's fast growth in this era is in the fact that between 1860 and 1881, the city's population approximately doubled.[18] And, while the immigration of several different ethnic groups continued to grow during the last half of the nineteenth century, the majority of the stock in Toronto remained British and/or of British or Irish heritage. The relevance of large scale immigration into Toronto with regards to sport was that increased pressure came to bear on the exclusivity of sport. Specifically, the elite paranoia over working class intrusion manifest itself in tighter controls of club membership and in rational recreation enforcement. In all likelihood, provincial and national sport regulatory bodies arose not so much as a function of inevitable voluntary organization but rather, they probably evolved in direct response to the increased need for social control within working class sport in the heavily stressed Victorian city. The threat of working class intrusion into sport was greater in the 1870s than at any other time during the century.

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[13] The Globe, October 5, 1866.
[14] *Ibid.*, January 20, 1871.
[15] Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 124.
[16] Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada, 1870-1871, Vol. 1, pp. 16-17.
[17] *Ibid.*, Census, 1880-1881, Vol. 1, p. 73.
[18] Peter G. Goheen, Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 66.

Because of large immigration, the commerce and trade of Toronto fared well when compared to Montreal. The new immigrants into the city demanded dry goods and wares, plus they spent large sums of money securing the amenities of life. Food, housing and clothing became the main manufacturing concerns during the 1870s in Toronto.[89] The production of consumer goods for a metropolitan market was fairly typical of most cities of the province in the mid-Victorian period.[90] Large, expansive industries which employed sizable numbers of people had failed to materialize prior to 1880.[91] The largest manufacturing firm in Toronto during this period was the Gooderham and Worts distillery.[92] It was perhaps ironic that the two sportsmen, who stood as prime examples of how the professional upper middle class infiltrated the ranks of the elite, should have the most flourishing of all manufacturing ventures. Yet, most businesses primarily concerned with manufacturing consumer goods in Toronto at this time, were graded anywhere from a cottage industry (in the home) to a factory employing an average of twenty or thirty workers.[93] None, apart from that owned by Gooderham and Worts, employed more than 1,000 workers. It was difficult to understand how Palmer,[94] Kealey,[95] and Katz[96] have suggested that manufacturing was widespread in

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[89] Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto:...", p. 291.

[90] See Spelt, Urban Development in South-Central Ontario., pp. 125-130; R.C. Harris and J. Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 142-147; James M. Gilmour, Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing: Southern Ontario, 1851-1891. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), especially chapter 3; and John R. McNab, "Toronto's Industrial Growth in 1891", Ontario History, Vol. 66, No. 2 (1955), pp. 63-78.

[91] Edward J. Chambers and Gordon W. Bertram, "Urbanization and Manufacturing in Central Canada, 1870-1890", in S. Ostry and T.K. Rymes (eds.), Papers on Regional Statistical Studies. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp. 225-258.

[92] See The Globe, January 25, 1860; February 7, 1862; February 12, 1866; and January 31, 1867. Also, E.B. Shuttleworth, The Windmill and Its Time. (Toronto: n.p., 1924), *passim*. and Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 61. Masters statement that Gooderham and Worts turned out 7,500 gallons of whiskey a year, should actually have read 7,500 gallons per day.

[93] McNab, "Toronto's Industrial Growth...", p. 65.

[94] See Brian Palmer. A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

[95] Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

[96] Michael B. Katz. The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

Toronto and region during this period and that significant heavy industrial manufacturing resulted in the exploitation of the workforce. This did not appear to be the case. Toronto had as yet not moved into the heavy industrial phase of economic development. That phase did not materialize until after the introduction of the National Policy.[97] Usually businesses involved in manufacturing were also involved in the wholesale and retail trade.[98] Very few manufacturers were just exclusive processors of raw materials.[99] While it would be impossible to list all consumer manufactories of the period, a sampling of the firms mentioned in the "Annual Review of Trade" in the Globe between 1865 and 1875, should indicate the type, size, and sophistication level of factories in Toronto:[100]

billard table manufacturer
bookbinder
brass works
breweries
brickmakers
broom manufacturers
candlemakers
carriage makers
cigar makers
coal oil refinery
comb factory
cooperages
French stay and surgical belt maker
gilding and enamelling of porcelain
gunsmiths
hatters
hoop-skirt manufacturer
linseed oil mill
maker of artificial limbs
marble cutters
melodeon manufacturers

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[97] Bliss, "A Living Profit:...", *passim*.
[98] Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto:...", p. 295. This fact was also supported in Gerald J. Tulchinsky, "Studies of Businessmen in the Development of Transportation and Industry in Montreal, 1837 to 1853", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971, *passim*.; Keith A. Parker, "The Staple Industries and Canadian Economic Development, 1841-1867", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1966, *passim*; and D.A. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax: A Commercial Class in Pursuit of Metropolitan Status, 1815-1850", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, *passim*.
[99] See Toronto Telegraph, October 24, 1868; The Globe, February 12, 1866, and Masters, The Rise of Toronto..., p. 62.
[100] The Globe, January 27, 28 and 29, 1865; January 17, 1866; January 24, 25, 26 and 31, 1867; January 22 and 24, 1868; January 6, 7 and 8, 1869; February 21, 1871; January 16, 1872; January 20, 1873; and January 24, 1875.

millers
musical instrument manufacturer (Samual & Abraham Nordheimer)
oil refinery
paper page and floursack manufacturer
piano maker (Theodore Heintzman)
rock oil manufacturer
room paper manufacturer
rope walks
saddlers
sail makers
sheep skin factory
slaughter houses
soap manufacturing
spice mills
stain glass works
tanneries
tinsmiths
trunk manufacturer
umbrella and parasol manufacturer
velocipede (Bicycle) manufacturer
vinegar manufacturer

Few of the above manufactories could be classifed as heavy industry. In all, then, it can be surmised that there was a wide variety of industries in Toronto during this period, some which were usual for a city the size of 60,000 to 70,000 but others which were very specialized, indicating the growing sophistication of Toronto and the size of the hinterland it supplied. As an interesting note, most sporting goods still had to be imported to Toronto. As yet, domestic manufacturing of sport related equipment was not a commercial priority. The reality of this phenomenon did not come about until the late 1880s and 1890s when increased spectatorism, participation and commercial, professional sport created a demand for various kinds of sporting equipment.

As a reflection of this blossoming commercial development and expanded trade economy, there was concomitant increase in the number of upper middle class professionals needed to administer, organize and generally manage all aspects of business growth. Also, sport in its complementary growth pattern and development was called upon to recruit more capable managers so as to affect the elite reform and social control movements which were in vogue during this era. The "recruits" came from the plethora of new managerial professionals which were emerging at the time. Bankers, financiers, engineers, entrepreneurs and even, the university educated lawyers, merged with the old quasi-aristocracy to form a new rising elite (see Table XVII in Appendix I). The second and third generational elite of the original *Compact* families of Toronto maintained, or persisted, in their attempts to control most aspects of sport and society. The middle class, or 'upper middle class', now clung to a new founded respectability associated with the old families due to the *need characteristic* to control and regulate the expanding economy and society. Educational concessions to the middle class to school their children within the confines of original elite institutions, such as Upper Canada College, gave an added level of prestige and status to those most directly involved in running the city's and country's economy[101] (see Table XVIII and Table XIX). Moreover, the education received by the upwardly mobile middle class allowed them to take on the traditional and customary characteristics of the original elite.[102] Not only did the middle class learn to ascribe to local political connections in the societal milieu (see Table XX) but they also quickly learned to understand the advantages of belonging to the elite fraternal and benevolent organizations (see Table XXI and Table XXII), elite religious denominations (primarily Anglican as shown in Table XXIII) and elite sport organizations. Although ethnicity was an apparently important factor in the determination of elite recruitment and acceptance (see Table XXIV), it was probably more a reflection of the general ethnic picture of the community. Though the English, and Canadians born of English ancestry, tended to predominate during the 1860s and 1870s in sport and business club common or joint membership, recruitment was most likely explainable in the fact of sport tradition and class mobility as it was practiced in England at the time. "Middle class destitution" and emphasis on rising in the social order of society was a contemporary issue in Britain.[103] Because commercial expansion demanded more middle class managers, society suddenly found itself with an overabundance of managerial and financial professionals. Hence, England's, and consequently Toronto's, society became increasingly more stratified in terms of middle class occupations.[104] And, it was only the 'cream' of the middle class who moved into the potential realm of elite recruitment and sport club acceptance. Therefore, while the middle class grew substantially in response to the growing need for "managers of society", only a select few of this group were able to infiltrate the ranks of the *ruling class*. The *cream* were generally regarded as members of the upper middle class. Consequently, sport, during the latter half of the century, tended to endure in its quasi-gentry character. The select upper middle class professionals who moved into the fraternity of sport clubs and multi-faceted directorships of several different types of organizations, were then, an elite in their own right. The original elite, while outnumbered and diffused to a certain extent by the increased numbers of upper middle class professionals among them, lost little in the social make-up of their oligarchical cloister. In fact, the 'old elite' remained dominant in the social hierarchy of Toronto with the 'cream' of the middle class just below in terms of prestige. But, collectively each group exercised a common policy of reform and social control which spread not only to society in general but also to sport. Whereas, middle class recruitment in early periods had been based upon social connections, and to a lesser extent on merit, recruitment during the later 1870s, because of competition for fewer elite openings relative to the overall population, remained tightly bound to business success and to friendly *interlocking* associations. Thus, recruitment into the elite and into sport club membership, continued to perpetuate the adage of *its a matter of who one knows*.

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[101] See both Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Upper Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977) and J.D. Purdy, "The English Public School in Nineteenth Ontario", in Frederick H. Armstrong (ed.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), for thematic discussions of the importance of educating all children so that the country's economy could prosper.

[102] Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto...", pp. 232-233.

[103] The Globe, February 25, 1878. Quoted from both the London Spectator newspaper and the Dublin University Mazagine.

Sport in the 1860s, 1870s and early 1880s, maintained its customary paternal characteristics. The elite, as a consequence of their dominant control of most societal institutions, continued to preach or exercise their policy of rational recreation for the working

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[104] See D.A. Sutherland, "Gentlemen vs. Shopkeepers; Municipal Reform in Nineteenth Century Halifax", Canadian Historical Association Papers (1972), pp. 23-48 and J. MacGregor, British Americans. 2 Vols. (Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1932), Vol. 1, pp. 80-92. Also William S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of a Colonial Society, 1712-1857. Canadian Centenary Series IX (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), pp. 129-212, and Masters, The Rise of Toronto...., p. 124.

class. Due to the large growth in the cities of working class inhabitants, a result of added immigration and increased small manufactory employment, the upper and upper midddle classes displayed greater uneasiness with regards to social unrest and moral decay. They felt that overcrowding of the city by the working class and poor would lead to excessive drunkenness, ignorance, and "sensual habits".[105] They also felt that such behavior would later result in collective apathy and an unenterprising segment of the population, and in accordance with what Lord Elgin spoke of in 1849 when addressing the Toronto University Convocation, it would culminate in an "uneducated and uncivilized", or "ignorant" population.[106] Progress, which was a dominant world view to the elite Victorians, would not be served by allowing the working class to wallow in the recesses of the pub or race track. The commoner and workingman had to reformed, whether it was through the schools, the mechanics' institutes, sport, or other benevolent institutions. He had to be educated and civilized in order to make a positive contribution toward the prosperity of the colony. Possibly William Henry Draper's Assistant Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson, phrased it well when he said,

> It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the mind, that it is on Canadian self-reliance, skill and enterprise in a word, on Canadian patriotism - that depends Canadian prosperity, elevation and happiness.[107]

The reforming *raison d' etre* for the elite was multi-purposeful. Opportunities in sport and in other educative institutions had to be constructed into *improving* activities in order that the workingman be "civilized", morally purified, made to be family oriented, intellectually competent, thrifty, temperant, industrious, and law abiding.[108] If this was accomplished the elite reasoned, not only would selfish motivations to have a cooperative workforce be realized but the society as a whole would be much easier to manage and to control in accordance with its domineering wishes. Just as *service* to the elite was a *modus operandi* of the middle class, it also became a significant factor in the reform curriculum for the working class.[109] To impress his superiors, a workingman had to be loyal in his service and attentive to his assigned duties. Therefore, rational recreation in sport, became another device by which to inculcate and educate in the workingman the values of *duty and service*. Contentment within one's class or "station in life" was an often expressed phrase seen in the elite press of the period.[110] This fact would later have repercussions in sport due to the cross-class participation of professional athletes in elite sport.[111] More will be mentioned on this point later in the chapter.

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[105] Prentice, The School Promoters..., pp. 49-50.

[106] "Lord Elgin at the Toronto University Convocation of 1849", 20 Vols. Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada. (King's Printer, 1908), Vol. 8, p. 263.

[107] Annual Report for 1847, as cited in J. George Hodgins (ed.), Ryerson Memorial Volume. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889), p. 91.

[108] See variously, David Owen, English Philanthropy, 1660-1960. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958); Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", Victorian Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1966), p. 356-358; *idem*, "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England", Past and Present, No. 38 (1967), pp. 98-99; *idem*, "Drunkards and Reformers: Early Victorian Temperance Tracts", History Today, Vol. 13 (1963), p. 104; F.M.L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain", Economic History Review, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1981), pp. 189-208; and M.B. Simey,

In Toronto during the last half of the nineteenth century, sport for the working class continued to be elite controlled and of a distinct rational or prescribed nature. Athletic games were still sponsored by the elite for the workingman, in order to "elevate", "civilize" and "refine". Whereas the *Family Compact* and their close associates had organized such athletic games in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s for the common man,[112] the second generation *Compact* members and their middle class recruits administered these events in the 1860s and 1870s. And, as the more sophisticated and complex society of the 1870s materialized, so too did the diversified approach to organizing athletic games. The sponsored events appeared to reflect the increased middle class professional specialization which was evolving at the time. Mention was made of "Bank's Athletic Games",[113] "Osgoode Athletic

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[108](cont'd) Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951).

[109] P. Elliot, The Sociology of the Professions. (London: MacMillan, 1972); J. Ben-David, "Professions in the Class System of Present-Day Societies", Current Sociology, Vol. 12 (1963-64), pp. 247-298; and W.E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957).

[110] See articles, "Society and Commerce in England", The Globe, February 26, 1866; "Trade Unions", *ibid.*, February 7, 1867; and "Socialism", *ibid.*, December 13, 1878.

[111] Weiler, "The Idea of Sport...", pp. 11-32.

[112] See chapter X and chapter XI, *supra.*, pp. 302-341 and 342-392.

[113] The Globe, June 3, 1876 and October 5, 1878. The venue for these games was the Toronto Cricket Ground gratuitously loaned for the occasions.

Games",[114] "Upper Canada College Games",[115] "Athletic Sports of Hughes and Bros.",[116] "Soho Foundry Athletics",[117] "Queen's Own Athletic Games",[118] and "Lawyer's Athletic Games".[119] The athletic games of the workingman were no longer just in the jurisdiction of the *Family Compact* elite. They were now in the hands of the second and third generation *Compact*, like John Beverly Robinson II* and Richard L. Denison, and they were also being sponsored and administered by the upper middle class professionals who, most often times, represented elite interests. As has been alluded to earlier, ascription to elite rational recreation values by the upwardly mobile middle class demonstrated a loyalty to the acceptance of upper class social characteristics.[120] The claim of acquisition of upper class *Compact* traits (i.e., club membership or athletic sponsorship) often brought the aspiring middle class close to the threshold of elite acceptance. By juxtaposing themselves between the social institutions of the elite, the middle class professionals were hoping to gain the ear of the people who composed the most prestigous part of Toronto's society and who were the ones to regulate admission to the elite.[121] Sport acted as a forceful and persuasive institution by which the middle class could create support for their loyal cause of upward mobility.[122] A case in point would be the growth of athletic games sponsorsed by individuals who were dedicated to their own entrepreneurial rise in business during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and who aspired to be closely associated with the 'cream' of Toronto's social order. Specifically, when middle class professionals began sponsoring their own athletic games, under the watchful eye of the elite, George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts* were at the forefront of the movement.[123] The highly successful distillers of "no small fortune" were among the first to organize a factory athletic club.[124] While it was reported that the club competed in cricket in 1886, it can be surmized that the workers also competed in athletics, soccer, baseball, and rugby, to name a few. Because George Gooderham* had attended Upper Canada College, where he had been exposed to the mandatory curriculum of athletic games and sports, which were intended to improve the character of the man, it can be implied that he incorporated this line of thinking into the Gooderham and Worts Athletic Club's Constitution.[125] The generation of moral rectitude, mental vitality and physical energy among the workers must have gone a long way toward improving the *esprit de corps* of company employees. Like the "manly games" of Upper Canada College, the "factory games" of Gooderham and Worts were aimed at the improvement of personal character. But, rather than refine the manners and tastes of the workingman and give him a respectability which was modest, honest and kind,[126] the factory games movement was aimed at making the employee more mindful of such elements as time, rules, cooperation and tenacity during difficult periods.[127] These were elements not only important in the factory process, but they were factors which could be assimilated into the lifestyles of the worker. Therefore, as much as the elite schools assisted in passing on genteel qualities of character to the upper and middle classes, the principles of athletic games were used to help pass on behaviorial characteristics to the workingman in order to make him a more conscientious and disciplined employee.[128] It was not surprising that two men like Gooderham and Worts should be among the first to include such a program in their company's affairs. Both were active sportsmen and both knew of the accrued benefits gained through sport. And, it was gentlemen like them who promoted the athleticism movement of the public schools not so much for its direct impact on sport development but rather, for its ability to assist in delivering a reform movement which was constantly striving for social order amid a rapidly expanding and diversifying urban society. Sport, to persons like George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts*, was a microcism of society itself. It strove to teach its participants that if one wished to succeed in the increasingly more complex urban life of the late nineteenth century, then mental and moral discipline were the *prime* elements to this end. To succeed became a test of body, brain and will. But, as Wise pointed out,[129] Canadians were not just content to play a game well.

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[114] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1876, October 9, 1877 and October 4, 1880. John Beverly Robinson II*, Hugh O'Brien and Dr. J.E. Spragge acted as sponsors and judges on the latter date.

[115] *Ibid.*, October 16, 1868. The "Managers and Patrons" of the athletics games in this year were; Lieutenant-Governor, W.P. Howland, Justice Joseph C. Morrison, Adam Crooks, Angus Morrison, John Beverly Robinson II*, Christopher Robinson, William Henry Boulton, Colonel Richard L. Denison, E.H. Rutherford, and Thomas Dennie Harris.

[116] *Ibid.*, October 25, 1875.

[117] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1870.

[118] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1867. Once again the Toronto Cricket Club Grounds were donated for the event and Lieutenant-Colonel William Durie, Captains William D. Otter, William Ramsay and Frederick Starr Jarvis were the organizers.

[119] Toronto Telegram, June 27, 1876. John Beverly Robinson II*, Rusk Harris, Angus Morrison, Adam Wilson and George W. Allan* were sponsors and administrators of the event.

[120] For reference to this "article of faith" by the middle class, see Peter Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure", Victorian Studies, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1977), p. 8; Walter E. Arnstein, "The Myth of the Triumphant Victorian Middle Class", Historian, Vol. 37, No.2 (1974-75), pp. 205-221; L.H. Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Policy", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 5, (1939), pp. 325-340; E. Robson, "Purchase and Promotion in the British Army in the Eighteenth Century England", History, Vol. 36 (1951), pp. 57-72; N.D. Jewson, "Medical Knowledge and the Patronage System in Eighteenth Century England", Sociology, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1974), pp. 369-385; M.J. Peterson, "Kinship, Status, and Social Mobility in the Mid-Victorian Medical Profession", Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1972; R.K. Kelsall, "Self-Recruitment in Four Professions", in D.V. Glass (ed.) Social Mobility in Britain. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), pp. 308-338; and F.F. Mendels, "Social Mobility and Phases of Industrialization", Journal Interdisciplinary History, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1976), pp. 193-216.

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[121] See Ridout Papers. Thomas Ridout to Thomas Gibbs Ridout, July 16, 1811, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Toronto. As a part of his determined effort to advance his sons, Family Compact member Thomas Ridout advised Thomas Gibbs to: "... place yourself, if you can, in the Eye of Government and you will not be forgotten", and "... a situation in a public office will make you known, - and give you the independence of a gentleman. It will give you their society too". As cited in R. Wayne Simpson, "Toronto's Early Sport Clubs: A *Compact* History". Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. (Toronto; University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 199-204. Also see Richard S. Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society" in Richard J. Ossenberg (ed.), Power and Change in Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), pp. 146-194, for an excellent theoretical discussion of class values among the elite and how these related to sport.

[122] C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 61. He referred to the importance of "acquired" or "borrowed" status among the aspiring middle class. Also, see E. Digby Baltzell, Philadephia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press Publishing, 1958), pp. 335-363; Anthony Giddens, The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies. (London: Hutchison, 1976), particularly Chapter 10; W.D. Rubenstein, "The Victorian Middle Classes; Wealth, Occupation and Geography", Economic Historical Review, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1977), pp. 602-622; and J.N. Ingram, "Elite and Upper Class in the Iron and Steel Industry, 1874 to 1965", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1973.

[123] See previous mention of these two individuals in chapter 9.

[124] The Globe, October 7, 1886.

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[125] Cox, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 89. The author stated that the Gooderham and Worts Athletic Club was "a forerunner" to the many industrial sport clubs of the Dominion which appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

[126] Prentice, The School Promoters..., p. 68. Prentice believed the educational system to be highly discriminatory with respect to certain classes of society. What distinguished one class from another were a set of values; values which served as a "class signature". Respectability which was modest, honest and kind plus, refined in manners and taste, respectable religion, proper speech and the ability to read and write proper English, were values which separated the middle and upper classes from the working classes in nineteenth century Toronto.

[127] Hugh Cunningham. Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1880. (London: Croom-Helm, 1980), p. 99. Also see S. Pollard, "Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution", Economic History Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1963-64), p. 269.

[128] See Purdy, "The English Public School...", pp. 237-252 and John Lowerson and John Myerscough, Time to Spare in Victorian England. (London: The Harvester Press, 1977), pp. 7-8.

> They had an ineradicable itch for order. In nearly every sport in which middle-class Canadians were deeply involved, they sought to rationalize it, to reduce it to its fundamentals, to eliminate confusions, to make it conform to rules and regulations. Not only did this pertain with respect to the process of play itself, but the environment surrounding play must also be tidy and respectable. Sport was not a rebellion against established verities. It was their very lust for order and pattern that made Canadians innovators. Anything savouring of hippodromes, bread and circuses was to be rejected; sport was to be integrated into the rhythms of Canadian life.

Sport became a totally integrated aspect of late nineteenth century society. The ingredients for success in business also became the ingredients for success in sport. Work was the dominant Victorian social ideal for the middle class.[130] To have employment and to work hard at it was deemed the next closest thing to godliness. Because the middle class lacked landed gentry status and burgeoning wealth, they were most influential in changing attitudes towards work. Although it was socially acceptable to gain large wealth through hard work, it was also acceptable to continue to expand one's fortune once significant wealth had been achieved. The mentality of the middle class was that Canada had limitless commercial opportunities and if there were chances to exploit several different aspects of the economy, then they should be made the most of. The middle class frowned upon the non-work ethics of the gentry class due to the fact it felt it bred "idleness through emulation" from the lower orders of society. As one set of experts explained:

> An easy and luxurious existence does not train men to effort or encounter with difficulty, nor does it awaken that consciousness of power which is so

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[129] Wise, "Sport and Class Values...", p. 114.

[130] Lowerson and Myerscough, Time to Spare..., p. 7.

> necessary to energetic and effective action in life.[131]

But the middle class tolerated association with the non-working quasi-gentry because they were the ones who most often held the keys to success and social acceptance. Hence, the new "*industrial frame of mind*" became a dialectic battle between the original elite and the upper middle class professionals. Sport reflected this dualism. As much as athleticism, with its attention to rules, time, cooperation, and team games, became an expression of the middle class in the later nineteenth century, continued strict adherence to class discrimination in sport became the signature of the elite. In Toronto, sport retained its staid, conservative complexion due to the close connections which the middle class had with the original elite. Athleticism in the public school environment was only successful up to the point where the middle class were being inculcated with the benefits of organized games.[132] But, for all intents and purposes, sport remained elistist due to the original ruling class's stranglehold on social acceptability. Though competition expanded for team games in Toronto in the 1870s, it did so along strict class lines. In rowing for instance, the Toronto Rowing Club, founded by middle class business scion, William McMaster, in 1865, held sponsored regattas annually for the amateur rowers of the city. But, it also had open events for professionals. As exclusive and as restrictive as the Toronto Rowing Club's membership was, it tolerated the working class professional only as a function of providing a rational recreational outlet. Sponsorship of professional events was a mere matter of involving the working class in an *emulatively improving sport opportunity*. It was not a freely given social concession. Moral, mental and physical improvement among the working class was the objective of these sponsored professional events. To "elevate", "civilize" and "refine" the professional working class in sport was the most important object of the middle class in the late nineteenth century. Thus, the direct responsibility for enforcing rational recreation had passed from the old upper class to the new upper middle class. It was up to the aspiring professionals to exercise rational recreational reform policy which had traditionally been the concern of the original elite.

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[131] *Ibid*.

[132] See reference to middle class reform in the public schools in J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideal. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Herbert Spencer, Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical. (New York: Appleton, 1896); I. Weinberg, The Sociology of Elite Education. (New York: Atherton Press, 1967); R. Wilkinson, The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); M.B. Katz and P.H. Mattingly (eds.), Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past. (New York: New York University Press, 1975); Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days. (London: MacMillan, 1974, reprint); T. Chandler, "Some Historical Influences of the English Public Schools on the Development of Sport and the 'Games Playing' Tradition in Canadian Private Schools - A Comparative Perspective", Comparative Physical Education and Sport, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1980), pp. 20-17; J.R. Mallea, "The Victorian Sporting Legacy", McGill Journal of Education, Vol. 10 (1975), pp. 184-195; J.A. Mangan, "Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education", Stadion, Vol. 6 (Autumn 1982), pp. 92-115; Morris Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1980), pp. 25-36.

"Physical cultufre" among the working classes became the almost exclusive enforcement right of the middle class. In an announcement of a Toronto Rowing Club Regatta in 1867, reported in the Globe on August 17th of this year, it stated that "physical culture" could be beneficial in two respects: "... as giving us a hardier race of citizens, and a class of people (working class) prepared to undertake to meet the country's needs as the occasion demands it", and "... a love in the sport (rowing) encouraged to such an extent that Canada united may be still better prepared to throw down the gauntlet to the world". Physical culture propaganda from the middle and upper classes filled the pages of the press media at this time. By encouraging the working classes to read more at the atheneaums, mechanics' institutes and fraternal societies' libraries, the ruling class were able to include "articles of faith", or reform doctrine, within the pages of the contemporary newspapers and periodicals. Much of the doctrine was directed to sport. In a subtle and coercive fashion, the elite doctrine was fed to the working class through its reforming press of the period. One example was when, upon the completion of the new Y.M.C.A. gymnasium in 1877 in Toronto, the Globe reported that the new facility was built because the management "... recognized the importance of providing healthful amusement and exercise free from a contaminated moral atmosphere...".[133] As much as upstanding morals in sport were advanced, criticisms of poor habits and of immoral acts were also written about. Such an example appeared as an editorial in 1869, entitled, "About Amusements":

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[133] The Globe, April 11, 1877.

> There is no need for arguing in favour of amusements of some kind or other. The old proverb about "all work and no play", has become sufficiently stale; still its truth is unquestionable and undeniable, and the more pressing the demands of work, so much greater the need for play, in order to counteract the exhausting influences of continued effort and unremitting toil. On this, all are agreed. The difficulty is about the kind of amusements, and the extent to which they can be carried on, not only without injury, but with positive profit. It is very easy to say that it is all a matter of taste, and that what is one man's meat is another man's poison. ... Driven from the race-course from sheer shame, men who have some idea of propriety and honour still left, but feel the uneasy craving for the injurious stimulous of betting too strong to be resisted, are now doing their best to bring other means of healthy relaxation and amusement into disrepute by associating with them, as a chief and indispensable ingredient, this pernicious habit which has made horse-racing synonomous with all that is dishonourable, and handed it over as almost the undisputed sphere of unprincipled blacklegs and characterless adventurers. With increasing numbers a Lacrosse match would be a dull, lifeless affair, were it not the "thing" to "back" this side or that, and make a "pile" out of the folly or mistake of one's neighbours; while regattas, rifle matches, and even cattle shows, to say nothing of operations in the stocks, follow suit, and are all made the occasion for turning innocent relaxation or legitimate business into bare-faced gambling.... Respectable people give their countenance to it in various supposed innocent forms. The consequence is that our youth are *demoralized*, and the community suffer a greivous loss. ...it is simply for fun. Yes, it is fun; but thousands besides the Duke of Newcastle, and thousands who never risked a sixpence on a horse-race, are finding out when it is too late, that it is dreadfully expensive fun, and a very poor affair even at that.[134]

The praise of good morals and the condemnation of bad morals abounded during this era[135] but it was all aimed at reforming the people who lacked wealth, status and respectability.[136] In fact, many of the criticisms, like the ones mentioned in the editorial above, led the more "respectable" classes to form national associations which could regulate and enforce "moral" sport policy. The rise of such associations as the Ontario Jockey Club, the National Lacrosse Association, the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen and the Dominion Rifle Association, were all efforts to restrict the type, mode, method and rules of play, plus, they were attempts to regulate *who* could participate. Therefore, as much as these bodies arose to regulate play within any particular sport, they also materialized as a class conscious effort to discriminate against those who were connected to the demoralizing aspects of contemporary sport (i.e., gambling).

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[134] *Ibid.*, August 14, 1869.

[135] See Keith Sandiford, "Cricket and the Victorian Society", Journal of Social History, Vol. 17 (Winter 1983), pp. 303-319; Bailey, "Minded Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures...", pp. 7-28; Bruce Haley, "Sports and the Victorian World", Western Humanities Review, Vol. 12, (1968), pp. 111-125; P. Scott, "Cricket and the Religious World in the Victorian Period", Church Quarterly, Vol. 3 (1970), pp. 134-144; "Arnold and His School", North British Review, Vol. 128 (1858), p. 138; E. Lyttletown, "Athleticism in the Public Schools", Nineteenth Century, Vol. 7 (1880), p. 45; L. Stephen, "Athletic Sports and University Studies", Fraser's Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 12 (November 1870), pp. 691-704; "Athletics", The Contemporary Review, Vol. 3 (December 1866), pp. 374-391; "The Morale of Cricket", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 14, No. 698 (May 1877), pp. 298-301; "Sporting for Men of Moderate Means", London Society, Vol. 25, No. 147 (March 1874), pp. 261-270; "The Influence of Field Sports on Character", *ibid.*, Vol. 22, No. 128 (August 1872), pp. 126-134; and "Cricket Reform", *ibid.*, Vol. 21, No. 124 (April 1872), pp. 319-329.

[136] Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., p. 5; Walvin, Leisure and

Interestingly, and in keeping with the idea of general societal impact, other non-sport organizations strove to restrict their professional practices and memberships at the same time. For instance, the founding of the Canadian Medical Association in 1869[137] with E.M. Hodder, long-time Commodore of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club[138] as its President, signified this movement to greater regulatory control of certain aspects of society. Similarly, the establishment of the Dominion Board of Trade in 1874[139] and the Ontario Manufacturer's Association in 1877[140] with William H. Howland as President in both cases,[141] drives home

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[136] (cont'd) Society..., p. 9; Lowerson and Myerscough, Time to Spare..., *passim*; R.W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850. (London: Kegan Paul, 1973), *passim*; Harrison, "Religion and Recreation...", pp. 98-125; R. McKibbin, "Working Class Gambling in Britain, 1880-1939", Past and Present, No. 82 (1979), pp. 147-178; W.F. Mandle, "Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century", Historical Studies, Vol. 15 (1973), pp. 511-535; *idem*, "The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century", Labour History, No. 23 (1972), pp. 1-16; L.L. Shimon, "The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working Class Children", Victorian Studies, Vol. 18 (1973), pp. 49-74; E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebian Culture", Journal of Social History, Vol. 7 (1974), pp. 285-312; and *idem*, "The Working Class and Leisure Class Expression and/or Social Control: Conference Report", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 32 (Spring 1976), pp. 5-18.

[137] The Globe, March 19, 1869.

[138] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 177. The author stated "Dr. Hodder, Toronto physician and city coroner, and a foundation member of the club (R.C.Y.C.), was elected Commodore in 1856 and held the position nineteen times in the period to 1877".

[139] The Globe, July 17, 1874.

[140] *Ibid.*, October 26, 1877.

[141] William Henry Howland was the youngest son of W.P. Howland, who has already

the point that what was occurring in sport with regards to regulatory control, was also occurring in commerce and many other facets of society within Canada. Thus, regulatory control and social control of sport and other elements of society was a contrived plan of the middle and upper classes. It was intended to wrest and stabilize control of several social movements for the elite. As Weiler stated in his article, "The Idea of Sport in Late Victorian Canada...", national sport governing bodies were formed by, "... manufacturers, merchants, doctors and lawyers", in order to "... enhance the security and prosperity of their respective social group."[142]

While both the theory and practice of national sport associations were rooted in business and professional managerial experience, practical reasons for their formation were at the core of their existence. As has already been discussed, reform of certain "moral" abuses in the sporting world stimulated regulatory control. An outstanding example of this fact was shown in the formation of the Ontario Jockey Club in 1881. "The main purpose in the establishment of the Jockey Club", stated Colonel Casimir S. Gzowski*,[143] its first President, "... was to lift horse-racing out of the debasing and degrading influences (of the mechanic) and the mire it was in at the time".[144] T.C. Patteson,[145] a friend of Gzowski's and another prime mover of the Jockey Club in 1881, put the argument even more articulately:

> (The club was established) to put down all nefarious practice with a strong hand and establish such a discipline as would include owners, trainers, jockeys and the betting fraternity ... nothing could be worse than ... the rottenness of the whole racing business in Canada. The open robberies committed through

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[141](cont'd) been discussed. A member of the Toronto Turf Club, Howland (W.H.) often was one of the stewards and sponsors of athletic games and regattas in Toronto. Educated at Upper Canada College, he was familiar with the traditional compulsory sport curriculum of the English public schools. Besides being an entrepreneur of wide skills, he was also a competent politician, being Mayor of Toronto from 1886-1887. His brother, O.A. Howland also served as Toronto's Mayor in 1901-1902. W.H. Howland was not only President of the Dominion Board of Trade in 1874, but he also served as President of the Toronto Board of Trade in 1874-1875. See Russell, Mayors of Toronto...., pp. 113-116, for a brief biography of the man.

[142]Weiler, "The Idea of Sport...", p. 12.

[143]See previous biographical chapter on Casimir S. Gzowski*, *supra.*, pp. 226-253.

[144]"The Ontario Jockey Club", p. 275.

[145]See the previous mention of T.C. Patteson, in chapter X, *supra.*, p. 335.

> the pool box were notorious ... sport it could not be called.[146]

No doubt, the moral indignation of men like Gzowski and Patteson, and their desire to clean up horse-racing, was motivated in part by both pecuniary interests and a class movement for moral reform. Both gentlemen were involved in the breeding, selling and racing of thoroughbreds and rivalled Joseph E. Seagram's stables of thoroughbreds,[147] and both were a part of Toronto's elite who strove to control through institutional leadership, most aspects of the city's society. It was not at all unusual to find a pronounced "moral tone" in the founding purposes of national sport organizations. For instance, when the Canadian Golf Association was formed in the late 1880s, it was done in order to keep the rowdier elements of society from playing and competing in important events. As Kerr recalled in his article, "Golf in Canada",

> ... so many clubs were springing into existence, it was soon apparent that if the sport (golf) was to be kept pure and in good repute it was essential that some sort of organization be formed for the government of the game.[148]

Moral purpose in sport also ranged locally in Toronto and was the motivating factor in several elite clubs. The moral crusade, "for the welfare of the younger generation" was especially evident when the Toronto Athletic Club was formed.[149] Its founder, John Beverly Robinson II*, initiated the "great crusade" for "moral sport" among the young men of the City due to the fact he had been well-acquainted with athletics while a student at Upper Canada College. But, perhaps the best example of the "moral crusade" was expressed upon the founding of the Argonaut Rowing Club in 1872. The Club's first President, lawyer Henry O'Brien, explained that; "... it was in fact the desire that the club should be a place where parents might feel that their lads were safe from harm, moral or physical".[150] In fact, it was the Argonaut's original desire to break free from the elite Toronto Rowing Club because of what it believed was the degrading influence of the professional events in their regattas.[151] The Argonaut Rowing Club wished to be a truly and wholly amateur athletic association,[152] and one not feeling compelled to sponsor morally reforming professional events, or own their own boats, an aspect of elite rowing club membership at the time. In explaining this general reasoning, O'Brien stated:

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[146] T.C. Patteson Papers, Reminiscences, p. 29. Ontario Public Archives.

[147] Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada...", p. 363. The author stated that "Joseph E. Seagram, a wealthy distiller and politician, did more than any other individual to develop the sport (horse-racing) during the nineteenth century". Seagram was a close friend in business and in sport with both George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts*. They all belonged to the Ontario Jockey Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Toronto Turf Club, the Albany Club and the Toronto Club.

[148] W.A.H. Kerr, "Golf in Canada", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 17 (1901), p. 349.

[149] See both "The Toronto Athletic Club", Athletic Life, Vol. 3 (1896), p. 67 and J.P. Murray, "Thoughts on Athletics", Athletic Life, Vol. 3 (1896), p. 160.

> In those days, ..., boats were owned by the crews who rowed them; such a thing as a Club owning a racing boat for the use of its members, as in England, was unknown. In fact, it was an effort to make a change in this respect that first originated the thought of a rowing club which should be, par excellence, a rowing club, rather than a boat club of a semi-social character, or a convenient place to keep private boats, a centre for organizing regattas, and as a place of resort for those who made it a lounging place and talked rather than did row. Some of those in the old Toronto Club said that the suggested new departure was impracticable, and it was prophesied that not a dozen men could be found to support it. There were some, however, who thought differently, and determined to try the experiment.[153]

And as O'Brien further pointed out:

> It (Argonaut Rowing Club) was to be a rallying point for men who wanted hard and healthful exercise, and not a place to lounge away an idle hour. Whilst being careful not to admit those who could not pleasantly associate together, the social element was to be subordinate to the rowing.[154]

Thus, morally, clubs and associations, strove to eliminate "contaminating influences", like the Argonaut Club did, by separating themselves from the "non-manly" or "non-gentlemanly" professional aspects of sport. If anything, sport became more class conscious in the 1880s due to the ever emerging amateur/professional conflict and because of the push by a new generation of middle class elites toward 'moral' athleticism and manly sports.[155]

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[150] O'Brien, "The Argonaut Rowing Club", p. 259.

[151] Minutes of the Argonaut Rowing Club, dated June 12, 1892. Archives of the Argonaut Rowing Club, Toronto.

[152] O'Brien, "The Argonaut Rowing Club", p. 260.

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] *Ibid.*

[155] See Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans...", *passim* and *idem*, "One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914", Urban History Review, Vol. 12, No. 2 (October 1983), pp. 57-71. Mott described "manly sports"

During the 1870s and 1880s, clubs sprang up which were increasingly more interested in the non-gentlemanly ideals of sport rather than in the old reform ethic of the traditional elite sport clubs. In essence, these clubs were working class or professional sport clubs. Many lacked sound administrative support and therefore only lived very short existences but they did provide a competitive venue for the truly devoted professional athlete. For instance, when the New Dominion and Don Rowing Clubs were formed in the late 1870s, they were neither elite in their membership nor truly amateur. In truth, these two clubs were for the professionals. Thomas and Richard Tinning, both prominent professional rowers of the period due to their occupation as wharfingers, both belonged to the New Dominion Club, as did another prominent professional, Thomas Louden.[156] The club's initial regattas were devoid of elite participation. Not one member of the Toronto Rowing Club was entered in any of the events. Only monied prizes were offered to the winners[157] and not the symbolic "plate" or trophy which was customarilly associated with the elite regattas. Apparently sport was developing along very strict class lines even though odd concessions were made. Even the Hanlan Rowing Club, when it was founded in 1874, had as its directors men who were considered professional "sharps" or managers. John F. Scholes, one of Hanlan's managers, was himself a professional rower who at one time was a "Champion of the Bay of Toronto".[158] Moreover D. Ward, J. Davis, R. Harper, J.M. Munro and P.S. Spohn, as other Hanlan Club directors, were nowhere to be found in the memberships or directorships of any prominent Toronto business, sport, fraternal, educational, military, benevolent or political organizations. In essence, they were workingmen themselves and only interested in the profit which could be raised from Edward Hanlan's rowing exploits.[159] In fact, Hanlan himself, after winning the professional sculls event in the Toronto Rowing Club's Regatta of

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[155](cont'd) as ones which had physical vitality, courage, decisiveness, clear-headedness, loyalty, determination, discipline a sense of charity, moral strength and service of God and of Right.

[156] The Globe, June 30, 1873 and September 9, 1873.

[157] *Ibid.*

[158] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1878.

[159] See Cosentino, "Ned Hanlan, Canada's Premier Oarsman...", *passim*. and *idem*, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism...", pp. 84-114.

1876, was rewarded with *only* a honourary membership in the Club due to his professional standing.[160] At no time apparently, was he ever honoured with full, exclusive membership in the Toronto Rowing Club.[161] Although he remained outside the boundaries of elite acceptability, Hanlan was able to muster an elite following in his many rowing exploits worldwide. No person was more enamoured with Hanlan's athletic ability than was George Gooderham*. After Hanlan defeated Elliot on the Tyne in England for the undisputed world championship, Gooderham, in a traditional act of charity, donated $30,000 toward a homestead fund for Edward Hanlan.[162] The donated amount was an unprecedented sum to be given to a professional athlete at the time and probably signified Gooderham's respect for Hanlan's abilities as a rower. It also exemplified the elite's attempts to be associated with a winner. This latter point was most likely exploited, in that Gooderham and his elite associates probably laid claim to knowing Hanlan as a function of displaying to all *labourers, artizans and mechanics* that a workingman (Hanlan's occupation was that of a water taxi) could make it in life if he were willing to work hard and diligently. What better way was there to exploit the effectiveness of a social reform and a rational recreation program? Hanlan stood as a major selling point for the reform movement in sport during the 1870s and 1880s. Thus, sport required more moral observancy from its participants in the latter nineteenth century and it also demanded more recognition of class differences. Further, it also was more oriented toward athleticism and the amateur ideal.

Sport also became more administratively efficient and more concerned about the scientific aspects of participation. Both factors were again a sign of the times. The infusion of the middle classes into any number of professions served to inject a well-educated group of administrators into the organization and management of not only local sport clubs but also provincial and national sport associations. As well, greater attention to the scientific aspects of sport was a mirroring of society's move toward greater technological diversification and a reflection of the general population's demand for well-played, non-violent games and pastimes. Again, one of the reasons why the upper middle class elite became involved in organizing sport associations was their explicit interest in order and discipline within society generally.[163] This Victorian elitist mentality, which had fuelled reform campaigns since the early 1830s, still persisted in its impact on sport in the 1870s and 1880s because, more than ever, rules were needed to regulate competition and to classify who was eligible to play. A particularly apt illustration of this point was afforded in the formation of the Lake Yacht Racing Association, founded by George Gooderham* in 1884.[164] The Yachting Association viewed its major purposes as formulating a standard rule of measurement classification (i.e., Seawanhaka Rule) and the devising of sailing regulations with which to govern all regattas.[165] This sort of regulatory motive was common to virtually every national sport association of the period. The reason for this was, as R. Tait McKenzie succinctly characterized it:

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[160] The Globe, September 14, 1876.

[161] A survey of the membership lists from 1865 to 1885 of the Toronto Rowing Club revealed no membership status for Edward Hanlan.

[162] The Globe, July 1, 1879.

> The prominence given to rules and regulations in athletic games is one of the most marked characteristics of the last decades ... Learned committees, composed of delegates from distant cities, have sat upon rules and constitutions and bylaws and amendments and footnotes till now every game worthy of name has its code with definitions of teams and its memoranda.[166]

Competitive sporting activities were viewed as legitimate pursuits only if they were administered and controlled by effective organizations. And to be effective, most organizations naturally cultivated the organizational influence of the elite upper and middle classes. In essence, the will of the elite continued to be imposed upon sport development due to the need of the "ruling class" to sanction social activities. In a period marked by increased professionalism and working class involvement in sport, the elite were able to persist in their ability to exert regulatory control upon the evolution of sport. Sport development remained in the hands of those who socially controlled most aspects of society, these individuals being the merchants, doctors, lawyers and to a large extent, the financiers and small manufacturers. The motivation of these persons to introduce the scientific aspects of competition into sport may be seen not only as a sign of the times but also, as an attempt to make sport more legitimate, particularly as it related to who competed in various games. For one thing, sport organizers insisted that sport be "gentlemanly".[167] The late nineteenth century witnessed a growing preference for physical contact in sports. Lacrosse, rugby-football and hockey quickly surpassed games like cricket in popular appeal. The increased spectatorism of the sports was largely a consequence of the violence associated with them. Though the unofficial doctrine of Victorian sporting pursuits was that sport should produce amicable relationships among competitors, sport organizers soon came to realize that bodily contact games could lead to quite the opposite. Brute force, therefore, became a highly censored component of sport and was denigrated as "unmanly".[168] Unharnessed demonstrations of strength and the absence of respect for fellow competitors were thought to be representative elements of the working class.[169] It was an educated strength, manifested in speed and agility, which signified the "true gentleman sportsman".[170] These qualities were aspects of "manly" organized games taught at the public schools of the elite and aspects which were most familiar to the national sport association's directors during this era. In an article entitled, "Canadian and United States Rugby", the author and renowned athlete, George W. Orton, compared the game within the two countries. He seemed convinced that the Canadian game was more exciting and pleasurable to watch because of the fact that the "gentlemen" Canadian players were more agile, better tacklers than their American cousins "...in other words mere brute force does not play so important a part in the Canadian as in the United States' game".[171] The largely working class appeal of rugby-football in the United States contrasted sharply with the game of the Canadians which was still limited to the universities and colleges which were the preserve of the upper and middle classes.[172] For Orton anyway, the consequences of the comparison was that "Canadian players have more real sport than their United States cousins because, although the game is rough enough to suit the most hardy, still it cannot be called dangerous and on this account the element of pleasure is more pronounced".[173]

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[163] See R.J. Evans, The Victorian Age, 1815-1914. (London: Edward Arnold, 1950), pp. 234-235; Charles Petrie, The Victorians. (London: White Lion Publishers, 1976), pp. 13-39; and Asa Briggs, Victorian People: Some Reassessments of People, Institutions, Ideas and Events, 1851-1867. (London: Odhams Press, 1954), see particularly Chapter 9, "Robert Lowe and the Fear of Democracy", pp. 244-275.

[164] Rules and Regulations of the Lake Yacht Racing Association, dated August 17, 1884. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Toronto.

[165] *Ibid.*, Also see G.B. Evans, "Yachting on Lake Ontario", Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. 7 (July 1892), pp. 371-372.

[166] R.T. McKenzie, "Hockey in Eastern Canada", Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. 8 (February 1893), p. 57.

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[167] Charles Tennyson, "They Taught the World to Play", Victorian Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1959), pp. 271-222: Mott, "The British Protest Pioneers...", pp. 25-36; and J.A. Mangan, "Play Up and Play the Game: Victorian and Edwardian Public School Vocabularies of Motive", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 23, No. 3 (October 1975), pp. 324-335.

[168] Weiler, "The Idea of Sport...", p. 15. Also see Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1840-1880", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 1-19. The value of strength was one which the working class man carried into sport at the time. Brute strength or force were thought to be representative of the working class participation in sport.

[169] See Minutes of the Toronto Lacrosse Club, particularly September 19, 1878, April 26, 1879, August 7, 1879, and March 13, 1880, for evidence pertaining to violence in the game and to the use of professionals in the National Lacrosse Association of Canada. The Toronto Lacrosse Club, a true amateur team of gentlemen, withdrew from the N.L.A.C. and eventually were instrumental in founding the all-amateur Lacrosse Association of Canada and still later the Canadian Association of Lacrosse Clubs. The Toronto Lacrosse Club joined the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada on March 13, 1880. Minutes held in Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Toronto.

[170] Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers...", pp. 25-28.

Rough play was continually associated with yet another evil in sport - *ineffectiveness.* "Roughness", said one authority of the period, "... almost invariably detracts from rather than increases the effectiveness of a player's work".[174] Effectiveness, in its most literal sense in sport meant - *scientific play*. Scientific stood as a word with admirable qualities in the late nineteenth century. It gave legitimacy to nearly any undertaking. Sport organizers of the era really meant "scientific" to be educated skill; that which would separate the intelligent gentleman from the "ignorant" brute.[175] W.K. McNaught, while a director with the National

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[171] George W. Orton, "Canadian and United States Rugby", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 10 (1897), pp. 59-60.

[172] For example, see the Minutes of the University College Football Club (University of Toronto), 1879 to 1888, *passim*. Held in the Archives of the University of Toronto, Robarts Library. Toronto. Also see T.A. Reed, The Blue and White. A Record of Fifty Years of Athletic Endeavor at the University of Toronto. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944).

[173] Orton, "Canadian and United States Rugby", p. 60.

[174] A.H. Beaton, "National Sport; A Talk on Hockey". Canadian Magazine, Vol. 10 (April 1898), p. 555.

[175] The term "ignorant" was a favourite term with the elite Victorians. It was usually associated with the deprived lower classes. See Prentice, The School Promoters..., pp. 49-51.

Amateur Lacrosse Association in the 1880s, published an instructional booklet, Lacrosse and How to Play It, which told aspiring lacrosse enthusiasts of the "art of the game".[176] Throughout the work, McNaught emphasized the fact that any man who was healthy could play the game as long as he was willing to learn its scientific components. Science, to McNaught, meant carefully studied and often practiced skills, as opposed to just brute strength. In his description of how to play the goal position, McNaught explained that "... it is a science that can only be acquired by long practice, careful study and minute attention to the details of the game".[177] For McNaught, the man who did not study the intricacies of the game was "...generally a vain, selfish egotistical upstart who is more distinguished for muscle than brains".[178] Thus, for the national sport organizers and others of middle class sport persuasion, the only way to ensure that sport was scientific, and therefore fit for gentlemen, was for local sport clubs and various associations to legislate rules designed strictly to control violence and the "class" of player. In lauding the efforts of the National Amateur Lacrosse Association in restricting "violent brutes" from playing the game, J.P. Roche, felt "...scientific development has been wonderful; it requires more than mere physical ability, it must now be played with the head as well as with the arms and legs...".[179] And even the Canadian Hockey Union of 1886 went so far as to explicitly outlaw "unmanly methods" in its original constitution. Article III of the organization's Constitution stated:

> No club which shall admit, or retain a person, a member thereof, who has been censured or punished by his Association for foul play, or reprehensible conduct, or who shall hence forth be convicted under the laws of the country of a criminal charge, shall be entitled to continue as a member of this Association.[180]

Another means for sport associations to restrict competition for gentlemen only was to inculcate in its members the "manly" fact, and attitude, that *winning at all cost* was an evil to be avoided. Gentlemen should strive for excellence in competition for recreation and health reasons, not merely on the hope of winning a financial reward. This point was aptly made by W.A.H. Kerr, when speaking of the regulatory responsibilities of the Ontario Hockey Association. He stated that "...a friendly spirit of the most undoubted kind should be fostered by its members toward their competitors and the game should be played for its own sake and not entirely for the sake of winning".[111] Where the 'professional' and working class emphasis was on winning, and the capturing of a monetary stake or prize, the elite middle class preferred to compete for other ultruistic reasons, namely health and exercise. Orton articulated this in an article entitled, "University Athletics" which appeared in the Canadian Magazine of 1897:[112]

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[176] McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play It., *loc. cit.*.
[177] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[178] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[179] G.P. Roche, "Canada's National Game", Massey's Magazine, Vol. 3 (July 1896), p. 53.
[180] McKenzie, "Hockey in Eastern Canada", p. 3.

> ... we cannot understand at all why defeat should necessarily mean disgrace and we uphold the view that recreation and exercise should be the end striven for in all our games.

In consequence, the "organizing class" of individuals who sat on the board of directors of various provincial and national sport associations utilized arguments of administrative ability, morality, scientific play and aspects of winning, to transmit their ideas that sport should remain the preserve of those persons most capable of managing sport's affairs. Though the original elite of Toronto was traditionally quite colloquial in its strangehold of sport development, the rise of the middle class to social prominence in the popular professions of the period, allowed its reform and social control policy to emanate to wider and more diverse plateaus of enforcement. Control of national sport governing bodies and provincial regulatory associations allowed the elite to continue their efforts to regulate the class aspects of sport. While the "rude" mechanical and artizan may have been making inroads in their participation levels in sport during the later 1800s, particularly the monetarilly rewarding professional aspects of sport, games evolvement was still being directed and managed by the ruling class. The elite's efforts to regulate sport were conspicuous, cohesive and, at times, coercive. Social reform and the development of "civilized" "manly" games was a uniform ideology among the middle and upper class elements of Toronto's society. Although the economic and commercial complexion of Canada changed drastically in the late nineteenth century, sport and indeed social policy, were not left in a wake. They moved coincidently with the overall developmental shifts in society. Sport, throughout the majority of the Victorian period was closely attached to class. Its growth beyond the local club did little to disturb the social restrictiveness of its participation.

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[111] W.A.H. Kerr, "Hockey in Ontario", Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. 11 (January 1896), p. 107.

[112] George W. Orton, "University Athletics", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 9 (1897), p. 397. Also see "Athletics in the Public Schools", pp. 53-57; "The Risks of Athletic Work", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 58, No. 348 (1879), pp. 923-929; "Athletics", The Contemporary Review, Vol. 3 (December 1866), pp. 374-391; and Stephen, "Athletic Sports and University Studies", p. 694.

To exemplify the upper and upper middle class attachment to sport during the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, and to show the traditional elements of class membership during this era, a short, biography of one of the typical elite middle class sport enthusiasts, Henry Pellatt, is included herewith. Particular attention has been given to his social relationships as these were instrumental in solidifying and propagating the elite mentality toward sport and society in this period. The nature of this individual's many *interlocking* connections to other elite sport club members epitomized the shared lifestyle of the upper class and upper middle class and showed the value structure of the classes toward sport, commerce and society in general.

Henry Mill Pellatt, was born in Kingston, Ontario on January 16, 1860.[113] He was the oldest son of Henry Pellatt, a real estate account supervisor with the Bank of Upper Canada and later, an independent financier and notary public. Young Pellatt, as was characteristic of the children of the aspiring middle class, was educated first at the Model Grammar School of Toronto, then at Upper Canada College.[114] He had been exposed both to Egerton Ryerson's curriculum of gymnastic exercise[115] and the traditional elite athletic curriculum of Upper Canada College.[116] These experiences not only influenced his later athletic prowess as a runner but they also assisted in producing a man who was the epitomy of a "gentleman" sportsman. Throughout his life, Mill Pellatt, was reputed to have been a sober, charitable, respectful and courageous man, plus, he was also known for his religiosity, his distinguished bearing and his loyalty to everything British.[187] In fact, his personal attributes differed little to those of the original elite of Toronto.[188] He was educated at an institution which prepared leading middle class children "for the political and military spheres, the professions, and later in the century, the proconsuls of the new empire".[189] The public school gave Pellatt a "particular accent" and "certain mannerisms and habits of thinking" which in themselves constituted an "elite shorthand".[190] As well, he was a member of the "Established Anglican Church of Toronto", St. James Cathedral.[191] And, like any other member of the elite, Pellatt was a respected constituent of several sport, fraternal, military, benevolent and educational clubs and associations.[192] His father had passed on many of his associational memberships to him in the 1880s. Inherited membership was a fact not wholly uncommon to the elite and one which aided in maintaining a lineage of elite association.

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[113] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 656.

[114] Gooderham, The Roll of Pupils..., p. 58.

[115] The Globe, June 19, 1868.

[116] See D.W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian private Schools For Boys to 1918", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984, *passim*.

Henry Mill Pellatt was an outstanding athlete during his teenage years. He competed in almost all sports offered at Upper Canada College and won several of the contests organized in the school between 1874 and 1878.[193] He was also a star player for the Toronto Wellington Lacrosse Club in 1877[194] and the Toronto Cricket Club from 1876 to 1881.[195] But, Pellatt's success in athletics was probably highlighted, when in 1878 and 1879, he became one of Canada's, and North America's, premier runners. In October of 1878, he won the Dominion mile championship in Montreal in a respectable time of four minutes, forty-two seconds beating out E. Merritt of the New York Athletic Club.[196] A friend of his, A. Telfer Arthurs, a later companion in the Queen's Own Rifles, was also an outstanding track and field athlete of the era.[197] It was Arthurs, in fact, who convinced Pellatt to run against an American named Duffy for the North American mile title in 1879.[198] Arthurs felt "Harry" was "the only man that can do it". The race was run at the Mott Haven Athletic Grounds in New York under the auspices of the National Association of Amateur Athletics.[199] Pellatt was up against not only Duffy, the American champion, but also top-rated milers of the era, McDonald and Doyle. All three of the Americans evidently worked against Pellatt in the race but in the last hundred yards, Henry dug deep down into his inner strength and won the event going away.[200] His time of four minutes, forty-two and two-fifths seconds was a record time for the North American title and a time very close to his personal best. Henry Pellatt had done something which few Canadians equalled in the late nineteenth century, that being the defeat of an American in a running race on the track. Henry's heralded win was the last of his career prior to entering his father's brokerage house at the end of 1879.[201] As was indicated in 1879, Pellatt was a man constantly looking for new challenges.

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[187] Toronto Star, October 12, 1974 and July 7, 1979.

[188] For a description of Pellatt and his contemporaries in the context of Canadian industrial growth, see T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of Canada's Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", Business History Review, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Summer 1973), pp. 211-226.

[189] Purdy, "The English Public School...", p. 237.

[190] T.J.H. Bishop, Winchester and the Public School Elite. (London: Longmans, 1967), p. 17.

[191] Toronto Star, and The Globe and Mail, March 9, 1939. As well, The Telegram, March 10, 1939.

[192] Toronto Star, October 12, 1974.

[193] Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary..., p. 656.

[194] The Globe, July 23, 1877.

[195] Tournament Score Books. Records of the Toronto Cricket Club. Archives of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club. Toronto.

Henry, at the age of twenty, was given the occupation as clerk in the prominent brokerage firm of Pellatt and Osler. The firm had been in existence for ten years and had accumulated a list of clients which was almost the *image and transcript* of the *Family*

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[196] See Cox, "History of Sport in Canada...", p. 184. Also see Montreal Gazette, October 19, 1878.
[197] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[198] Toronto Public Library's Biographical Scrapbooks, Vol. 2, p. 76. Also The Globe, February 9, 1912.
[199] Frank G. Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports. (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1963), p. 986.
[200] *Ibid.*
[201] Toronto Stock Exchange Assessment Rolls, 1854-1899, City Clerk's Department, City of Toronto Archives, Toronto. Pellatt became a member of the Stock Exchange in 1879 and was listed as a new addition to the firm of Pellatt and Osler in this year.

Compact.[202] Here, young Pellatt made friends with William McMaster, George W. Allan*, John Beverly Robinson II*, George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts*.[203] Their substantial financial accounts with his father's firm quickly indoctrinated Henry into the fascinations of the stock market and served to set him on a course which would lead him to exploit his social connections in order to succeed monetarilly, a fact characteristic of numerous prominent sportsmen during the era. One of the most important people with whom he had contact in his early career was Edmund B. Osler, his father's business partner and a prominent Toronto Golf Club member.[204] Osler was a masterful entrepreneur and it is without question that Henry Mill Pellatt learned several important business lessons from this man and associated with him in many social organizations. Osler and Mill Pellatt, later in their careers, both shared joint club memberships in the Toronto Club, the Albany Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Toronto Golf Club, the St. George's Society, the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, the Toronto Granite Club, and the National Club.[205] While this list of associations between these two gentlemen was extensive, it was by no means unusual. Most of the upper middle class elite of the later nineteenth century shared multiple joint club memberships.[206] The most significant benefit for Pellatt in knowing Osler came in 1883. Both men had been keenly aware of the increased activity of development and settlement in the west and both were interested in investing in the speculative future of the country. Osler had a taste of the interest in the west when the firm of Pellatt and Osler were petitioned to sell thirty square miles of land owned by the Qu'Appelle Land Company in 1882.[207] The event of the sale on March 28, 1882, almost literally precipitated a riot in their Toronto offices and served to reassure Osler and Pellatt that a fortune was to made in the western region if a means of buying land could be devised.[208] In 1883, upon speculation that Sir John A. MacDonald's railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway,[209] would be fully built to the west coast through the prairies, Osler, along with Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona) and Lord Elphinstone of England, founded the North-West Land Company.[210] The North-West Land Company had been given 1,500,000 acres of land by the C.P.R. in 1883 to sell for profit.[211] The deal was struck as result of Osler and Smith being directors of the C.P.R..[212] The majority of the company's land ranged between what is now southern and central Alberta and Saskatchewan. It was part of the deal that the Company administer forty-seven major communities, including Moose Jaw, Calgary, Swift Current, and Medicine Hat.[213] Between the North-West Land Company and the Canada Land Company,[214] a company headed up by William McMaster*, William H. Howland, H.S. Howland and William Hendrie, all of Toronto, the majority of the prairies were in the speculative hands of eastern financiers. To say that these gentlemen made their fortunes from these land dealings would be an understatement. The lands which had cost the North-West Land Company nothing to acquire were sold in Toronto by Pellatt for untold sums. In the first three months after the company was founded in 1883, 61,621 acres had been sold at an average price of nearly six dollars an acre.[215] Pellatt, himself, bought as many shares as he could afford in 1883 and he was reported to have made a $300,000 to $400,000 profit in the first year of selling North-West stock.[216] Pellatt also assisted his friend Colonel William D. Otter, later Commanding Officer of the Queen's Own and Her Majesty's forces in the Northwest during the Riel Rebellion,[217] in obtaining considerable stock in the land company. It was stock that Otter was directly able to oversee when he arrived in the west in 1885.[218] Otter had been President of the National Lacrosse Association in 1869,[219] President of the Toronto Lacrosse Club from 1867 to 1875,[220] and Vice-President, under Casimir S. Gzowski*, of the Ontario Rifle Association in 1880.[221] As well, Pellatt was able to accumulate several hundred shares of the North-West Land Company for Otter's second-in-command, William Dummer Jarvis.[222] Jarvis was a descendant of the original *Family Compact* and also an officer of the loyal regiment of the Queen's Own, of which Pellatt would later become Commanding Officer.[223]

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[202] Monetary Times, January 16, 1868.

[203] Toronto Stock Exchange, Provincial Secretary Reports, Company Returns, Ontario Public Archives. These gentlemen were all listed as having stock through Pellatt and Osler.

[204] See a previous biographical description of Edmund B. Osler in chapter IX, *supra.*, p. 279.

[205] These connections were confirmed in the various club rosters for the period under investigation.

[206] This confirms the speculative theses of Mills, Porter, Metcalfe, Clement and Acheson. See Mills, The Power Elite..., p. 61; John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 203; Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada, 1860-1920". A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 28, 1972, *passim*; Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analyses of Economic Power. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 29; and Acheson, "Changing Social Origins...", p. 215. This later article was also reprinted in chapter form in Glenn Porter and Robert D. Cuff, Enterprise and National Development. (Toronto: Hakkert Press, 1973), pp. 51-79.

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[207] Monetary Times, January 7, 1927.

[208] For a description of the sale see *ibid*., or J.C. Hopkins (ed.) Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs. (Toronto, Public Affairs Publishers, 1935-1936), Vol. 34, pp. S106-S107.

[209] Hereafter referred to as the C.P.R.

[210] Gustovus Myers, A History of Canadian Wealth. (Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1972), p. 271.

[211] Edmonton Bulletin, December 23, 1882.

[212] Berton, The Last Spike..., pp. 120-121.

[213] *Ibid*., p. 121.

[214] Edmonton Bulletin, January 24, 1881.

[215] Myers, A History of Canadian Wealth., p. 271.

Besides land speculation in the prairies, Pellatt, like so many other entrepreneurs of the era, invested in financial concerns which aided the development of the west and which, again, returned a substantial profit to their stock holders. Taking his father's already established lead in financial matters relating to the rapidly expanding west, Henry joined George W. Allan*, an avid Toronto sportsman, in pushing the interests of the latter's Western Canada Permanent Building and Savings Company.[224] This was only one of the many financially exploitive building and savings companies which appeared in the late 1870s and early 1880s to "cash-in" on immigration to the prairies. McMaster's Freehold Loan and Savings Company,[225] Peleg Howland's Farmer's Loan and Savings

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[216] Toronto Stock Exchange, Provincial Secretary Reports, Company Returns, Ontario Public Archives.
[217] Berton, The Last Spike..., pp. 361-363, 364, 395, 397, and 405.
[218] Edmonton Bulletin, May 15, 1885.
[219] The Globe, August 12, 1869.
[220] See Minutes of the Toronto Lacrosse Club, 1867-1881. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library. Toronto.
[221] The Globe, August 26, 1880
[222] Edmonton Bulletin, February 15, 1892.
[223] Toronto Star, June 16, 1910. Also see *Ibid.*, October 12, 1974 and July 7, 1979.
[224] Monetary Times, February 4, 1881.
[225] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1870.

Company,[226] and George Gooderham*'s Canada Permanent and Western Canada Mortgage Corporation[227] also exploited the financial opportunities of the west. To say that the bulk of Canada's economic interests at this time were industrial would be totally misleading. In fact, the small industrial basis of the country's economy could not compete with the financing sector of the Dominion's business world. Literally millions of dollars were made for financiers who were willing to gamble and invest in western development. Most of these financiers were based in Toronto and most had some direct and indirect involvement in sport. Edmund B. Osler and Pellatt were also shareholders in the Canadian Pacific Railway affiliate, the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company.[228] Their interest in this venture was typically selfish. The land held by the North-West Land Company would become more valuable if a railway could service the bulk of its expanse. While Pellatt got a financial headstart in life because of his western dealings and his friendly relationships with Osler, Gooderham* and Allan*, to name a few, he also searched out several other investment opportunities during his business career.

Henry Mill Pellatt was also directly responsible for bringing electric lighting to Toronto and for developing several hydro-electric power stations in the Province of Ontario.[229] Pellatt's Toronto Electric Light Company began operation in 1883 and by 1889 had become influential enough, thanks to friend and Toronto Mayor, William H. Howland, to negotiate a thirty year monopoly contract to supply street lighting in the city.[230] Because the deal wiped out all other competition and ensured long term protection, its financial success was virtually guaranteed. The awarding of such lucrative contracts was not unusual during this era. Many of the interlocked sport and business club members of the era struck this kind of commercial deal because of their relationship to one another in the clubs. If anything, the clubs functioned to center business interests and propagate business dealings within the elite.

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[226] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1881.
[227] Edmonton Bulletin, August 4, 1902 and May 26, 1904.
[228] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1890.
[229] C.A.S. Hall, "Electric Utilities in Ontario Under Private Ownership", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968, *passim*.
[230] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

During this era, there tended to be a short-sighted eagerness in development, so much so in fact, that the Globe, in 1900, remarked that the "... the twentieth century will be kept busy wrestling with millionnaires and billionnaires to get back and restore to the people that which the nineteenth century gave away and thanked the plutocrats for accepting .... The nineteenth century, shirked its duty, humbugged and defrauded the common people, playing into the hands of the rich, and left the twentieth century with a host of perplexities".[231] Pellatt epitomized the opportunistic entrepreneur of the period. In addition to electric lighting, he was involved in power generation, being the first in Ontario to generate electricity from a hydro-electric project at Niagara Falls.[232] The Electric Development Company was incorporated in 1903 and served as the forerunner to Ontario Hydro, which later Ontario Premier, Adam Beck, founded.[233] As well, Pellatt was head of one of Canada's largest life insurance companies, the Manufacturer's Life Insurance Company.[234] The directorship of the Manufacturer's was one which he shared with his good friends and Toronto Granite Curling Club partners, Sir John A. MacDonald and George Gooderham*.[235] He, like McMaster, and his Confederation Life Insurance Company, felt that a lucrative market in insurance existed due to the enormous influx of immigrants toward the end of the century. In fact, in 1901 alone, Canadian insurance companies received $9,136,397 in premiums, with American and British companies writing up only approximately $6,000,000 worth of the total amount. Total assets of the Canadian companies were $66,221,462 with their British and American counterparts coming close with about $52,000,000 worth of assets.[236] The insurance industry, next to railways, banking and land speculation, was the single most important commercial activity in the later nineteenth century.[237] Pellatt, "a man of broad mental grasp, cosmopolitan ideas and notable business sagacity", also exploited the fledgling sugar beet industry in Ontario.[238] Although his large investment in sugar beet did not endure, it did signify his willingness to invest in diversified business.[239] The entrepreneurial spirit of Pellatt was very often reflected in the members of the elite sport clubs of Toronto. It became a distinguishing characteristic of the elite and an enduring quality of the upper and upper middle classes.

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[231] The Globe, February 10, 1900.

[232] Hall, "Electric Utilities...", pp. 155-158.

[233] See H.V. Nelles, The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1974), pp.; 303-306. See particularly Chapter 6, "Hydro as a Myth" and Chapter 7, "Power Politics". Also, see W.R. Plewman, Adam Beck and the Ontario Hydro. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1947), *passim*.

[234] Report of the Royal Commission on Life, Insurance. Sessional Paper, No. 123a, p. 55. Public Archives of Canada.

[235] M. Bliss, Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), p. 254.

[236] J.C. Hopkins, Morang's Annual Register of Canadian Affairs. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902), Vol. 1, p. 503.

Pellatt during his financial business career was one of twenty-three businessmen dealing on the stock exchange who were said to control the economy of the country. Many others were friends of his through sport and business club membership (i.e., George Gooderham). In a list presented in the House of Commons in the early 1900s, by New Brunswick Liberal, H.R. Emmerson, Pellatt was shown to have directorships on the boards of no less than thirteen companies with stocks in excess of $101,000,000.[240] In another list prepared by the Grain Growers' Guide of Winnipeg, an organization that was not particularly sympathetic to big business, Pellatt was shown to have twenty-three directorships comprised of two financial, six transportation, eleven light industrial, two insurance and two others, representing a capital involvement of about $250,000,000.[241] His directorships were listed as: the British American Assurance Company, Toronto Railway, Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company, Sao Paulo Tramway, Toronto Light and Power Company, Western Assurance Company, Canadian National Horse Show Association, the Canadian Steel and Radiation Company, Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, the Dominion Telegraph Company, the Canadian Military Institute, Toronto Electric Light Company, the Ontario Electrical Development Company, Toronto and Niagara Power Company, Cobalt Lake Mining Company, Moneta Porcupine Mines, Toronto Guild of Civic Arts, Canadian Red Cross, British-Canadian Shipbuilding and Dock Company, Lake Steamship Company, Dominion Coal and Steel Company, Nova Scotia Steel and Iron Company, West-Dome Mining Company, Security Life Insurance Company, Toronto City Estates Limited, British and Colonial Land and Securities Company, Commercial Finance Corporation, Dominion Sewer Pipe Company, O'Keefe Brewing and Malting Company, plus, he was listed as a trustee of Trinity College, Toronto, and of Grace Hospital, Winnipeg.[242] The list of millionaires was presented to the House of Commons by Emmerson to show that such concentration of economic and financial control was dangerous and should be strictly supervised. These men, he said,

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[237] Monetary Times, February 25, 1870. See article, "Competition and Incompetency", which spoke of the large number of insurance companies and the "extra effort" needed from businessmen to secure clients.
[238] Alexander Fraser, History of Ontario. 2 Vols. (Toronto: Canadian History Company, 1907), Vol. 2, p. 733.
[239] Hopkins, Morang's Annual Register..., pp. 24-28.
[240] Canada, Hansard, January 30, 1913, p. 77, col. 2424 and p. 78, col. 2426. Library of Parliament, Ottawa. Emmerson estimated his net worth to be three million dollars. This figure was probably grossly underestimated.
[241] *Ibid.*

> "controlled the great corporate interests, the financial institutions, the insurance companies and the trust and loan companies of the country. These men do not own all the stock; but they are the directing forces on the boards of directors; they are the influences that move and control at will the great body of people who are in any way interested in those corporations, whether financial, industrial, or insurance".[243]

Emmerson might have also added, they also controlled the elite sport and business clubs of the country. For Pellatt and the others, the directorships offered an unofficial conduit of business information, much like the sport and business clubs did. It provided a broad means by which to influence company policy and establish philosophical approaches. Members of the group were able to conduct business within informal boundaries due to their close-knit interlocking friendships. And they could be fairly confident that, being of similar minds, they had shared interests and common goals.

Pellatt, along with the likes of George W. Allan*, William McMaster*, John Beverly Robinson II*, Edmund B. Osler, George Gooderham* and James Gooderham Worts*, represented the second generation of business interests of Toronto. All were inextricably connected in business and all associated with each other on a similar social plane. Even in philanthropic and benevolent spheres, these gentlemen donated mutually similar amounts of time and money. Henry for example, had inherited his interest in the Toronto Horticultural Society from his father. He was President of this Association in 1879 and continued in this capacity well into the 1890s.[244] He had taken over the responsibility for the position from friend and business associate, George W. Allan*. Thus, by being involved in such organizations as the Toronto Horticultural Association, Pellatt and the others, were carrying on an elite reforming tradition which served further to bond the social relationships of those individuals most directly involved in controlling most aspects of society.[245] Charity, benevolence, educational leadership, political administration, military involvement, fraternal association and common social backgrounds, were all characteristics of a social elite. By dominating the socially controlling institutions of a city, or for that matter, a country, the elite were able to regulate most elements of social development. Their control was collaborative, it was conspicuous, and at times it was coercive. To any measure, they formed an intimate, tightly bonded elite, one which was neither displaced by political upheaval, nor breached by economic failure. The breadth of their influence was too substantial to be shaken by otherwise significant social events. Yet, crises and failures did occur.

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[242] *Ibid.*

[243] *Ibid.*

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[244] The Globe, May 23, 1879.

[245] See for instance, D.E. Allen, "The Women Members of the Botanical Society of London, 1836-1856", British Journal of Social History, Vol. 13 (1980), pp. 240-254; E. Checkland, Philanthropy in Victorican Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle. (Edinburgh: Donald, 1980): V. Gultans, Madness and Morals: Ideas on Insanity in the Nineteenth Century. (London: Kegan Paul, 1975); Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", *passim.*; J.N. Tarn, "The Peabody Donation Fund: The Role of a Housing Society in the Nineteenth Century", Victorian Studies, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1966-67), pp. 7-38; C.L. Mowat, The Charities Organization Society, 1869-1913. (London: Methuen, 1961); W.K. Jordan, The Charities of London, 1480-1660. (London: George Allen, 1960); F.K. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in the 19th Century England. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); T.R. Morrison, "Their Proper Sphere: Feminism, The Family, and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900", Ontario History, Vol. 68, No. 2 (1976), pp. 45-63; C. Bacchi, "Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists, 1877- 1918", Social History, Vol. 10, No. 20 (November 1977), pp. 433-438; and "Gardens of the Working Classes", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 4, No. 201 (December 1835), p. 359.

Henry Mill Pellatt was made a Companion of St. Michael and George (C.M.G.) in 1904, thanks in part to the assistance of his client, confidant and military associate, Honourable Frederick William Borden.[246] Borden was, not surprisingly, Minister of the Militia at this time. He was the man who brought about the Strathcona Trust Fund which led to physical training of Canada's military recruits and the potential recruits in the high schools and universities. The Strathcona Trust in 1909 was the first national legislation on fitness training in schools to be enacted in the country.[247] Pellatt also petitioned Borden to grant him a knighthood in view of his long association with the Queen's Own Rifles and his great efforts to preserve a British military presence in Canada. This Borden agreed to but the application first had to pass a recommendation from the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Borden's insistance of Pellatt's knighthood, spurred the Governal-General, Earl Grey, to write the following confidential letter:

> Colonel Pellatt holds a high social position at Toronto, is one of the most enterprising businessmen in the Dominion, and has spent considerable sums of money in his efforts to bring the regiment under his command, the second Regiment of the Queen's Own Rifles of Toronto, up to the highest possible standard of efficiency. Thanks to Colonel Pellatt's exertions his Regiment has the greatest strength of any in Canada, and has the reputation of being the smartest too. Colonel Pellatt is a generous giver to public objects. He took over the Bugle Band of his Regiment to England at his own expense, for the Coronation Festivities, and commanded the Coronation Contingent from Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Frederick Borden, the Minister of the Militia have both expressed the hope that the Militia may be honoured through Colonel Pellatt in the way suggested. The zeal and energy Sir Frederick Borden is displaying in his efforts with General Lake's assistance, to place the Militia on a thoroughly efficient and satisfactory basis, make it desirable in my opinion, to gratify his and, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's desire on the subject of Colonel Pellatt.[248]

Pellatt was created a K.C.M.G. on November 8, 1905. However, this incredible emotional high would be met with a correspondingly emotional low. By the mid-1920s, Henry Mill Pellatt was suffering from significant financial hardships. He had not only over-extended himself in borrowing from banks for business purposes but he had also invested several million dollars in constructing a castle-like home, Casa Loma, in Toronto.[249] The depression of the 1930s also made Pellatt's financial woes even harder to overcome. He died in 1939, a penniless and heart-broken man[250] and a man who had the undistinguished notoriety of having been asked to resign from the Royal Canadian Yacht Club membership.[251]

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[246] Newton MacTavish, "Henry Mill Pellatt", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 20 (September 1912), pp. 109-123.

[247] Max Howell and Frank Cosentino, The History of Physical Education in Canada. (Toronto: General Publishing, 1971), pp. 26-41.

[248] Letter from Lord Grey to Wilfrid Laurier, May 8, 1905, R.G. 7, p. 621, Vol. 684. Public Archives of Canada.

Sport during the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, was a phenomenon of the middle class professional who reflected the expanding economic and social life of the Dominion. The middle class aspired to be accepted by the original elite of Toronto and as a consequence took over control of many of the social institutions which had been the exclusive preserve of the old ruling class. Sport and business saw an increasing role and influence being taken up by the middle class so that many of the value claims to upward social mobility could be satisfied. Collaboratively, the upper and middle classes controlled the traditional reform and social control movements and continued to influence the development of sport by stipulating moral, administrative, scientific and healthful restrictions on participation in sanctioned athletic events. As well, they moved to form provincial and national sport associations which could regulate the type of competition carried out by the respective sport clubs and they devised constitutional guidelines and rules to discriminate against who the competitors were in various levels of competition. In essence, the elite controlled sport in the late nineteenth century just as they had in the earlier part of the Victorian era. The middle class professionals of the 1870s and 1880s had very common social backgrounds and persisted in maintaining their hegemonic charactertistics which had been cultivated by their forefathers numerous decades earlier.

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[249] Toronto Star, October 12, 1974.

[250] The Telegram, March 10, 1939.

[251] This was the definite case with regards to the membership of Sir Henry Pellatt in the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. It was most likely the case in other clubs as well because of Pellatt's inability to pay the necessary annual fees, monthly dues and valet service charges.

Chapter XIII

THE ELITE AND SPORT IN TORONTO

> A man aspiring to identify with the elite may succeed in acquiring such external markers as accent, housing, clothing and other items of conspicious consumption. But, he will not thereby become automatically affiliated within the power elite and partake in their privileges. To do so, he must achieve the much more difficult task of "grafting" himself onto the inner network of primary relationships which link the members of the group together. It is this inner, highly exclusive, network which provides the real basis of identity and serves as a system of channels for collaboration in developing and maintaining the interests of its members.[1]

The nature of elite governance, based on the early works of Pareto,[2] Mosca,[3] Michels,[4] Burnhan,[5] and Mills,[6] all allude to the fact that a minority of the population rules society and that the ruling class are closely connected socially, economically, and philosophically. Paramount to the arrangement of societal control is the vast network of personal friendships among the elite which serve to form a conscious, conspicious and coercive group.[7] The common will of a ruling class over social, economic and ideological obstacles was believed to be one of the advantages of a closely knit elite. The elite were seen to have shared purposes, if not common social and ideational backgrounds. Similar ethnic, educational and professional lineages were thought to *link* the most wealthy of men in an *esprit de corps* due to the common interests and goals which they held and exercised in joint action. This power, or the means by which to obtain some other 'social good' whether it be wealth, economic influence, social status, educational advantage, or sport club membership, was felt by the elite theorists to give rise to a further consciousness of power. Therefore, consciousness of power served as one factor binding distinguished individuals together. Cohesiveness and the awareness of 'authority rights' were seen as prime elements of elitism.

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[1] Abner Cohen, The Politics of Elite Culture. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 60-61.
[2] Vilfredo Pareto, The Mind and Society. (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1935, reprint).
[3] Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class. A. Livingston (ed.) (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939, reprint).
[4] Robert Michels, Political Parties. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).
[5] James Burnham, The Managerial Revolution. (London: Putnam, 1942).
[6] C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
[7] Drawing on the works of classical elitists, James Meisel wrote, Makers of Modern Social Science: Pareto and Mosca. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), *passim*.

While all the classical elitists attempted to put forward typologies to explain why small segments of the population gravitated toward a uniform body of individuals who controlled most aspects of society, each was uniquely aware that different elites exhibited different qualities. To Mosca, Michels and Mills, the organizational structure of a ruling class was the most important factor if an elite was to predominate in the political management of a society. Whereas to Pareto, the ideological or psychological makeup of the elite, which he hypothesized was constant throughout history, was seen as being the *prima fascia* element of organizational control. And, to Burnham, the people who held the economic resources and the means to production were the ones who had the greatest opportunity by which to exercise their will or power over others. Although each theorist differed in his formulation of an elite type, each contributed certain aspects of an elite description which, if combined, would go a long way in explaining how the elite of any one society gained, maintained and utilized power. This chapter has attempted to describe the elite in Toronto and how its members interacted, what characteristics they took on in the course of the era studied, and how they impacted on the development of sport. Moreover, efforts have been made to account for recruitment practices, class discrimination in sport, social background of those who belonged to sport clubs, and those who participated in philanthropy, directly and indirectly related to sport.

Sport, like all other aspects of Victorian society, was subject to an institutionalized metamorphosis.[8] The bureaucracy created by institutions served to deal efficiently with the more complex governmental issues of the period. Increased urbanization, increased poverty, increased social legislation, increased needs for tax collection, plus other bureaucratic responsibilities of mid-Victorian Britain, pushed government to the point whereby it had to devise schemes with which to handle effectively the rising social problems of the period. To

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[8] Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875. (London: Fontana Press, 1971), pp. 19-88, and Francois Bedarida, Social History of England, 1851-1875. (London: Methuen, 1982), *passim*.

do this, and to segregate themselves from the outcries of the tumult, government leaders formed agencies through whom they could competently manage reform and social control within society.[9] The process of institutionalization had several effects, not the least of which was a greater segregation of those classes which constituted society in general. Bureaucracy, as represented by different institutions, brought about a formal hierarchy of governing agencies that removed the ruling aristocracy and peerage segments of society from the harsh realities of the commoner or workingman.[10] In so doing, bureaucracy led to a wider and more discriminating separation of the social classes. As a consequence, leadership became more insensitive to the needs of society and in a way, insulated itself from the ills of the community. To the upper class rulers of the era, social problems became something to be controlled rather than ameliorated.[11] Intolerance for the working class within government and philanthropic circles became an ethical credo during the Victorian period and one which served to alienate further the ruled from the ruling. In essence, bureaucracy and institutions added to the gap already open between the upper and the working classes and functioned to construct more governance in the regulation of society, particularly as it affected the working class.[12] Further, they also acted to set in place an infrastructure by which the ruling class could more adeptly discriminate between acceptable and unacceptable social practices. The police, for instance, were the enforcement arm of the law-making ruling class. They were instrumentally important in carrying out the 'will' of the minority rulers - *the elites*.

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[9] F.M.L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain", Economic History Review, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1981), pp. 189-208.

[10] For instance, see Aileen D. Ross, "Organized Philanthropy in an Urban Community", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 18, No. 4 (November 1952), pp. 474-486, and *idem*, "The Social Control of Philanthropy", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, No. 5 (March 1953), pp. 451-460. Also see B.J. Howe, "Clubs, Culture and Charity: Anglo-American Upper Class Activities in Late Nineteenth Century City". Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1976, and Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians", Victorian Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1966), pp. 352-363.

[11] David Owen, English Philanthropy, 1660-1960. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), Introduction.

[12] C.R. Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 1 and 2 (1950), pp. 1-16 and pp. 126-143.

In sport, the club represented the Victorians' institutional efforts to regulate and enforce the social and competitive aspects of an otherwise elitist practice - ***sport participation***.[13] The club, with its formal procedures for membership acceptance, including the dreaded black-ball vote, sought carefully to regulate who would be ***socially*** acceptable to the realm of sport (see Appendices II and IV).[14] Merit in one's ability to play at a sport had little to do with club acceptance well into the 1870s and 1880s. And, even at this point in time, the most exclusive sport clubs still continued to accept or exclude members based on their social background and personal characteristics. For all intents and purposes, the Victorian sport club was the bastion for the upper or ruling classes. In Britain, such clubs as Blackheath in golf, Marlyebone in cricket, Wimbleton in tennis and bowls, Royal Victoria in yachting, Newmarket in horse-racing, and London in skating, were all repositories for the social, economic and political elite.[15] Many of these clubs served as templates for the sport clubs transplanted to Toronto during the nineteenth century, both on a social level as well as a competitive plane. The sport club, in its truest of purposes, acted as a rallying point for the elite. Not only did it gain members of the upper strata for strictly social purposes but it also attracted influential people who were interested in increasing their network of acquaintances through sport. Hence, the sport club was a common unifying factor in drawing a more cohesive elite together. Singularity in ideological purpose through sport club membership, and other club membership, enhanced the self-consciousness and coherence of the elite. As a consequence, the elite were better able to combat the criticism and insurgent attacks against them by other groups in society. A unified front by a minority of persons who controlled most aspects of society, including sport, gave the impression of power and invincibility. The unified front also allowed them to descriminate socially and protect their terms for admission into the elite, a major tenet of all classical elite theorists.[16]

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[13] See for example, "Yachts and Yacht Clubs", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 13, No.338, New Series 3 (June 1860), pp. 393-396; "The Running of the Turf in America, Part II, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 41 (1870), pp. 245-255; "Lawn Tennis and It's Players", The Contemporary Review, Vol. 40 (August 1881), pp. 326-336; and Peter Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures; The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure", Victorian Studies, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Autumn 1977), pp. 25-36.

[14] See "Clubs", Temple Bar, Vol. 51 (December 1877), p. 190; Albany Poyntz, "Clubs and Clubmen", Bentley's Miscellany, Vol. 14 (1843), p. 453; and "The Clubs of London", New Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 18 (1869), p. 134.

[15] See variously, "The Game of Golf - Its Introduction Into England", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2, New Series 4 (1865), p. 208; "Cricketana", London Society, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January 1863), pp. 82-87; R.R. MacGregor, "Tennis In Britain", Belgravia, Vol. 37, No. 45 (November 1878), pp. 68-74; R.R. MacGregor, "The Game of Bowls", Belgravia, Vol. 36, No. 143 (October 1878), pp. 352-359; "Yachting", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 6, No. 141 (September 1856), pp. 161-163; "The Turf", The Quarterly Review, Vol. 49, No. 98 (1833), pp. 381-449; and "Amusements on Ice", The Penny Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 491 (November 1839), pp. 46-471.

Democracy to the elites was a concept only defined in terms of how it could be used to further their highly discriminatory outlook toward society.[17] The ideal of *equality* in society was one which drew considerable interest from the elite in the formulation of their general societal doctrine but which held little real substance.[18] Equality and the aspiration to be equal among men was constructed, by the elite, into a social *illusion* that was aimed at giving hope and substance to the mechanic and artizan for a higher standard of living. The society was one apparently full of hope and opportunity. But, the philosophical scheme was deceptive and not as egalitarian motivated as the elite press of the period would have all believe. Vast opportunity and social mobility only existed where men had the proper social background and where they were willing to covet the interests of the elite and ascribe to the values and friendly networks of membership within the ruling class. Allan Smith called the dialectical approach of the elite, "The Myth of the Self-Made Man".[19] Give the workingman the impression that if he labours diligently at his job and works hard at moral observancy then he will rise in his social standing among his societal peers, was a controling *illusion* of the elite in the nineteenth century. As John Mercier McMullen, an historian of the mid-Victorian era put it, "enterprize, economy and prudence ... are the avenues to wealth ... everyday experience presents to our notice *mechanics* who, as the architects of their own fortunes have won their way to positions alike well merited and honourable".[20] Emulative behavior of such great men as William Van Horne, Sir Henry Pellatt and Lord Strathcona, was thought to be a sufficient adjunct to formal education at a respected school. Anti-intellectualism of elite propaganda and the stress on emulative behavior was seen at times as running counter to the self-improvement instruction of the various Mechanics' Institutes and Athenaeums. But, basically, it only signified the rejection for the need of proper elite schooling in a private institution for the working class. The elite felt that the mechanic could learn much by watching and observing those who were successful in life and this was ardently important as it related to sport. Much of the reform doctrine of the elite that was incorporated into sport emphasized the emulative qualities of watching the gentleman amateur play at a game which was morally observant. It was believed that good sporting examples among great societal leaders would be an emulative phenomena on which the working class would be hard-pressed to ignore. "Great men", according to one observer of the period, "learn very little of what the world admires them for knowing, during what is called their 'educational course'. They are men who are constantly observing little things and great things passing around them ... it is this knowledge obtained among men and from men that is the most useful in any walk of life ...."[21] For the workingman, an emulative mind and a practical education were of prime importance. If he could learn how to become a better tradesman by watching and attending Mechanics' Institute lectures and demonstrations then this would bode well for him in the individualistic scheme of things in life. Mobility was inextricably tied to education even if the latter was less formal and less extensive. The press of the period constantly reminded the commoner and workingman of examples of *self-made* individuals, individuals who had overcome ethnic, linguistic, cultural and economic hardships to succeed in the Canadian colonial setting. One authority described how a young Polish man arrived in the Canadas without a dime to his name, yet was able to secure an education and win an above average wage and lifestyle. He reported that the young man had won high praise for his efforts due to what was "... a splendid record of obstacles encountered and overcome, of worthy ambition, of loyal self-sacrifice, and youthful devotion to duty in the pursuance of a grand ideal".[22] The workingman who aspired for elite acceptance within the confines of a sport or business club had to demonstrate at least his loyalty and duty to 'improving' ambition, self-sacrifice and a grand ideal, if he had any hope of being included within the membership.

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[16] See the generalizations outlined in the review of the classical elite theorists in chapter II, *supra.*, pp. 39-66.

[17] See R. Wayne Simpson, "Toronto's Early Sporting Clubs: A 'Compact' History", Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982), p. 199.

[18] Equality, as defined in *Ibid.*, was meant to mean a condition in society which produced a population free of political, social and economic prejudices with the absence of, or disavowel of, hereditary or arbitrary class distinctions or privileges.

[19] Allan Smith, "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1978), pp. 189-219.

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[20] John Mercier McMullen, The History of Canada from its First Discovery to the Present Time. (Brockville, N.P., 1855), as cited in *ibid*.

[21] "Self-Education", New Dominion Monthly, Vol. 2 (February 1868), p. 299.

The elite were deceivers on the grandest scale. Education for the workingman was fine as long as it did not interfere with the functioning of the 'true' educational establishments. Access to educational schools, where a thorough upper class education could be received, and where a prerequisite of upward social mobility could be satisfied, was in the control of the elite.[23] An education as a means of advancement was only as good as the school attended. To be considered for elite membership, a man must have had at least attended a recognized grammar school or a private college and have had a familiarity with gentlemen's sport. To have received a 'practical' education at a self-improvement institute in no way prepared the common man for higher social acceptability even though this was the transmitted *illusionary* hope. The elite espoused education as a social mobility factor only inasmuch as it served to keep the working class content and industrious. Education served as a discriminatory factor in the process of acceptability into the elite and into sport. To keep the workingman thinking of wealthier and loftier days ahead where membership in a sport club was a possibility, was at best a ploy. Few men who were considered to be *labourers, artizans or mechanics*, ever made it to the highest social circles of society of nineteenth century Toronto. Nor did they ever secure membership into the original sport clubs of the city. The infrastructure protecting the elite from working class membership was too well managed to allow the unlikely occurrence of an unwanted member.

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[22] As cited in Smith, "The Myth of the Self-Made Man", p. 199.

[23] See I. Weinberg, The English Public Schools: the Sociology of Elite Education. (New York: Atherton Press, 1961) and R. Wilkinson, The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). Also see L.W. Bamford, "Public Schools and Social Class, 1801-1850", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 8 (1961), pp. 224-235.

The overall results from the study shown in Tables XXV through XXXII in Appendix I, demonstrate that the majority of the sport and business club community in Toronto, for the better part of the nineteenth century, was largely an elite group of professionals (old and new) and businessmen. They were men who were largely educated at colleges and universities and who were pillars of the philanthropic and benevolent aspects of society. They were men well-acquainted with aristocratic sport. As well, they were very prominent in federal, provincial and local politics and were most highly represented in English ethnic population and the Anglican religion. Most came from an upper and upper middle class background and most had a tradition of elite membership. Further, most had been indoctinated into the realm of elite societal values well in advance of their education at an upper class educational institution. These results go a long way in demonstrating the dominant traits of the elite who held membership in both sport and business clubs between 1827 and 1881. Almost seventy percent of all occupations of individuals belonging to such establishments could be categorized as professional. Keeping in mind the strong legal basis of Toronto's original society, it was not surprising to find that nearly twenty percent of all occupations in the sample were involved in the legal profession either as practicing lawyers or as judges or high governmental legal advisors (i.e., Attorney-General). The legal professional, embodied in the Law Society of Upper Canada centered in Toronto, acted as a popular institution for screening socially acceptable individuals. Like the sport club, the Law Society functioned with very strict membership criteria. It was not just sufficient to be an accredited lawyer from a reputable school. One also had to have the correct social background of the elite and had to have his acceptability into the profession voted for. Any dissenting votes could act effectively to eliminate a candidate to the legal bar of the Province. The process of membership election was very similar to that of the sport club and other institutions within society. Therefore, it was advantageous to have an influential legal mentor who would act as a sponsor for the candidate's bar admission. This was clearly evident in the cases of John Beverly Robinson II[24] and William Henry Draper,[25] who, in their efforts to become accepted lawyers, befriended individuals like D'arcy Boulton and Christopher A. Hagerman. If Robinson and Draper had lacked these connections to the elite, especially Draper, in all likelihood they would have had a much more difficult time in gaining admission to the bar. Friendly connections and an elite institution, as those displayed within the Law Society, were effective mechanisms for discrimination in class recruitment. So too were other organizations.

The business clubs of Toronto also acted to discriminate among potentially worthy elite inductees. Only men of established business practice in Toronto and who were of compatable social background were recognized as potential members (see Appendix III).[26] The business clubs, like the sport clubs, subjected each candidate to a close scrutiny of personal character. Again, a sponsor was needed for club membership nomination and it was customary for the whole membership to vote on the candidate's acceptability. Usually, if one black-ball in six appeared, the candidate was excluded from the fraternity.[27] In the cases of John Shedden and George Laidlaw for instance, it was interesting and not wholly surprising to find James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham sponsoring them in various business and sport clubs in Toronto.[28] As their employers and mentors, Worts and Gooderham most likely saw club membership for Sheddon and Laidlaw as being beneficial not only in acceptance terms into the social elite of the city but also in adding to a network of business connections which could prove useful in the future. To propagate their own interests, it was advantageous for individuals like Worts and Gooderham, as members of the elite, to further the social relationships of their 'fringe' elite subordinates, because, in the long term, the 'fringe' elite, as professional managers, were probably dealing with the other elite managers on a more frequent and a more business-like level. Thus, sponsored club membership became an important aspect of upward social mobility and of practical commercial and professional importance. Yet, the elite body politic of the clubs in general was ultimately responsible for the social acceptance of any proposed member. It could effectively regulate any 'fringe' elite membership and could promote or censure any person who it deemed unacceptable. In this context, it would be safe to say that a conscious and coherent mode of club selection was in force for business clubs and many other institutional aspects of society during the 1800s. The elite were well aware of the type of man minimally acceptable for recruitment.

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[24] See biographical chapter VI on Robinson II, *supra.*, p. 164.

[25] See mention of Draper in chapter X, *supra.*, pp. 324-334.

[26] In the Toronto Club's early constitution of 1861, it inferred the fact that a man had to be of independent financial means and a long-time commercial resident of the city. Rules and Constitution of the Toronto Club. (Toronto: MacLear, 1861), p. iv.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 5. Of all the business clubs examined in this study, each required a vote on membership acceptability.

[28] See chapter IX, outlining the biographicical lives of James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham and how Shedden and Laidlaw were recruited into their employment and social circles.

Sponsorship of potential members went a long way in overcoming any incongruities in social background which might have eliminated several candidates from club membership. This was clearly evident in the cases of Casimir S. Gzowski[29] and William McMaster[30]. Each man was an exception to the overall ethnic and religious homogeneity rules of the elite, Gzowski having been a Polish Catholic and McMaster having been an Irish Baptist. But, each was able to secure club membership and elite inclusion due to their extensive business and social connections, plus their ascriptive social tendencies. As well, each afforded the elite unique skills with which to further elite business ventures and interests (i.e., railroads and banking). As a result, they were accorded certain acceptability concessions. More will be mentioned on this point later in the chapter. Notably, the fact that Gzowski had the grace and manners of a nobleman probably did not hurt his chances for membership within the elite clubs, such qualities often characterizing an elite ***shorthand***.[31]

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[29] See biographical chapter on Casimir S. Gzowski, *supra.*, pp. 226-253.

[30] See chapter VII for the biographical life of William McMaster, *supra.*, pp. 199-225.

[31] L.J.H. Bishop, Winchester and the Public School Elite. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 17 and J.D. Purdy, "The English Public School in Nineteenth Century Ontario", in Frederick H. Armstrong (ed.), Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 238.

Uniformity in religion and ethnicity of the overall sample of this study was explainable in the fact that Simcoe originally wanted a largely landed English society in Toronto.[32] He felt a population loyal to both English customs and traditions, and to the 'Established Church', would bring about a socially and religiously uniform population which would be less likely to rebel in the face of societal adversity. Therefore, great efforts were made to maintain the dominant traits of the elite community by socially discriminating within the clubs and associations most often linked to the elite. Conservative English thought and practices with regards to social, economic and political development went far to draw the elite into a more tightly knit group.[33] Thus, a homogeneic consciousness was bred not only through tradition in Simcoe's original town scheme but it was also perpetuated through the contemporary clubs and institutions of the era that served as a focal point for elite social activities, whether sporting, commercial or philanthropic.

The 'Established Anglican Church' of Toronto, headed by the likes of Bishop John Strachan, was an ideological rallying point for the elite.[34] It was an institution which closely held the traditional ideological interests of the elite, particularly *class segregation*. Because pews in the St. James Church had to be bought rather than randomly occupied on the Sabbath, individuals who attended the Anglican church became quickly aware of the class aspects of Toronto's elite society. The back and balcony of the church were relegated to the less influential but yet they were not a working class oasis. The mezzanine, and front pews particularly, were the preserve of wealthier classes of the congregation, most of whom formed the original elite of the *Family Compact*. The Church also acted as an organ for elite religious and social policy. Sabbath desecration by the playing of sport was a highly censured activity in nineteenth century Toronto. In all likelihood, Sunday sport probably incurred the sermonal wrath of Bishop Strachan on more than one occasion.[35] And church policy, as a function of the dominant elite, also may have forced legislators to invoke laws which prevented any form of sport and recreation on the Sabbath.[36] Hence, the 'Established Church' was an important religious influence in the colonial society of Toronto and served to echo an elite philosophical outlook on behavioral control. As S.D. Clark wrote in the Church and Sect in Canada, the Church of England "exerted no small religious influence in the colonial society":

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[32] R. Burns, "God's Chosen People: The Origins of Toronto Society, 1793-1818", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1973), pp. 213-223.
[33] S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition" in Profiles of a Province. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), pp. 20-33.
[34] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), pp. 80-82.

> Among those people who belonged to what can be called the colonial upper class, the Church certainly maintained a dominant position as an agency for the dissemination of religious teachings and as a focus of social and cultural life. A sense of group solidarity - *a consciousness of social class* - was secured in part at least through membership within the Church. The bishop's palace, together with Government House, served as a center and symbol of the upper class.[37]

Therefore, the Church of England did much to propagate an elite consciousness. It also served to unite the elite and give them a formal unified voice on important social matters whether it be education, benevolence, temperance, morality, or *sport*. As a result of its contributing actions in developing legislation to control sport activities among individuals on the Sabbath, it also functioned to be partly coercive in its social policy. Thus, the Anglican church, as a function of elite control, went a long way in projecting the power or will of the elite onto the society of Toronto. In doing so, it acted to fulfill the main tenet of all classical elitists, this being that the membership of the elite represented a minority who were of common social background and who were socially conscious, coherent and coercive.

Educationally, a conscious, coherent and at times, coercive elite was manifested for several reasons. Firstly, most members of the elite were educated at universities and private colleges,[38] many within the same school. In order to aspire to attend these schools, a boy had to come from a wealthy enough family to be able to afford tuition and room and board, and he also had to be of a certain social and religious background. Few of the better schools in Toronto between 1827 and 1881 were of a wholly secular nature.[39] Nor were they free of class distinction. Because almost thirty percent of the study's sample, who held common or joint sport and business club membership, attended Upper Canada College, it is reasonable to assert that they formed an elite *old boy* network. Most of Upper Canada College's students of the era were sons of prominently wealthy Torontonians who were in large part Anglican.[40] The majority of the boys who attended Upper Canada College, a non-secular establishment, willingly involved themselves in the mandatory religious curriculum of regular prayer and church attendance. And most involved themselves in the mandatory curriculum of athletics. As well, because the students at the college were being bred as "leaders of the Empire", they were inculcated with a value structure which would lead to a uniform philosophical outlook.[41] Essentially they were instructed to behave in a courageous, manly, morally observant and empathetic manner, all characteristics for a ruling elite.[42] Moreover, they were taught to use their privileged education to further their wealth-gathering careers, and to lead and set an example for others to follow. A private school education from an elite institution, such as Upper Canada College, would often lead a young man to inclusion among the elite and would open the doors to training in any one of the many distinguished professions. More often than not this was the legal field. This profession traditionally guaranteed elite membership and reinforced the close social network which existed among many of the upper class in Toronto.

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 193-194.
[36] See chapter X, where reference was given to William Henry Draper, who, as Attorney-General, was most likely responsible for drafting the majority of the legislation relating to the Lord's Day Act and Game Laws, *supra.*, pp. 324-334.
[37] S.D. Clark, The Church and Sect in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 81.

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[38] Bamford, "Public Schools and Social Class", *passim*.

[39] Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Studies in Social Class and Education in Upper Canada. (Toronto: McClelland, 1980), see her "Introduction".

[40] George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam, A History of Upper Canada Colleges, 1829-1892. (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1893), pp. 12-28 and C. Gossage, A Question of Privilege. Canada's Independent Schools. (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977), p. 39.

[41] D.W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984, pp. 39-57.

[42] See Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), p. 46.

Further, a professional education or an outstanding commercial career also opened the doors to many of the original elite sport clubs and institutions.

Philanthrophy was another point of common interest for the elite. In order to exercise a coordinated policy of self-help among the working class, the elite developed institutions which had as their main focus social reform and control.[43] Whether it was a Mechanics' Institute, an Athenaeum, an horticultural society, an asylum of some type, or even a sport club or sporting event, the elite felt it their *duty* to offer assistance and money to improve the conditions of the working class.[44] The social problems of the Victorian city necessitated a giving spirit on the part of the wealthier class in order to bring about a less volatile and hostile environment. Inadequate housing, large amounts of unemployment, overcrowding, sizable immigration, poor sanitation and extreme poverty moved the elite to be benevolent toward their fellow man.[45] Philanthropy was often a self-deprecating yardstick for wealth among the elite but in most cases, it served to fulfil many of the survival needs of the commoner and working class. Self-help agencies which were instituted to assist the orphans, the drunk, the insane and the widow, all sprang up due to the elite's need to reform and control the social behavior of a city's population. Many times the elite were moved to action because of the politically hostile environment developing in the overtaxed Victorian city. A population visibly supported and controlled by an elite must have appeared to be one less likely to revolt due to the oppressive conditions. Benevolence among the elite toward the working class must have seemed like the next best thing to godliness. To be benevolent must also have signified a badge of elite membership.[46] Thus, to be benevolent through sport gave the elite a further outlet by which to exercise their social dominance and their reforming tendencies.

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[43] See Harrison, "Philanthropy...", pp. 355-358.

[44] See for instance, Stephen Constantine, "Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Century", Journal of Social History, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Spring 1981), pp. 387-395; John H. Goldthorpe, "Affluence and the British Class Structure", Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (1963), pp. 133-163; P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, "Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth British North America", Social History, Vol. 15, No. 29 (May 1982), pp. 157-179; and "The Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes", Chamber's Journal, Vol. 9, No. 209, New Series 1 (1848), pp. 13-15.

[45] Eric Jarvis, "Mid Victorian Toronto: Panic, Policy and Growth", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972, *passim*.

[46] Angela Hookham, "The Literary Career of Henry Mayhew", M.A. thesis,

Thus, religion, ethnicity, education and philanthropy, as they related to sport, all served to give the elite a uniform social doctrine. It was a doctrine designed to perpetuate original class ideals and it was an unwritten platform by which to assert superiority and social control. Occupational homogeneity also impacted on the doctrine by virtue of its uniform institutional and ideological outlook. From an organizational standpoint, the elite of Toronto used their various institutions to control several aspects of society, including social membership, professional occupations, religious interest, educational access, and philanthropic giving. As well, they used the sport club to reinforce general elite value orientations towards what type of sport should be played, who should be playing it, and upon what conditions competition or play should proceed. Further, the elite also used sport, as a Victorian institution, to control and regulate sport for other members of the community, particularly the working class. In order to keep the working class inactive during their regenerative hours away from work and to supply them with recreational alternatives to the pub and tavern, the elite, through their sport clubs, administered a conscious program of *rational recreation*.[47] Athletic games, working class regattas, workingmen's sport clubs, horticultural gardens and gymnasiums were all practical efforts by the elite to channel reform and social control policy onto the activities of the lower orders. To this end, the elite used their power (i.e., early closing movements) to enforce and regulate sport, plus they used a conscious policy of recreational activity to keep their employees healthy and fit for work. As a result, sport, as one of many institutions in society, served to forward the largely conservative elite value

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[46](cont'd) Birmingham University, 1962, pp. 152-153. It was interesting to note that Wallace Clement, in The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), used the same expression when referring to the elite.

[47] See Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); James Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950. (London: Longmans, 1978); Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1880. (London: Croom-Helm, 1980); and Robert Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

structure which was so commonly reflected in all aspects of contemporary Toronto society. The strict division of the classes was devotedly maintained partly through the sport club.

Elite Analysis

The elite control of society at this time was not only organizationally based in the co-ordinated elite doctrine of class maintenance and social control but it was also largely aristocratically managed.[48] For all intents and purposes, the elite of Toronto, as a tightly knit minority, recruited from within their own class. This was especially so in the period of 1827 to 1860 when the original *Family Compact* were inextricably tied to a vast network of institutions and associations within Toronto. As was demonstrated in the cases of George W. Allan,[49] John Beverly Robinson II,[50] and William Botsford Jarvis,[51] recruitment tended to be intensive rather than extensive. Both Allan and Robinson II inherited many of the organizations of which their socially prominent fathers had been members and they easily ascribed to the elite value structure which they had been brought up to accept for most of their lives. Common educational, religious, ethnic and occupational backgrounds served to solidify their bond to an elite way of life and this was heightened by their marriage relationships. George W. Allan and John Beverly Robinson II were brother-in-laws. Allan married Robinson's third oldest sister Louisa Mitalda.[52] And while Robinson II did not marry a direct relative of the Allan family, he did marry within the original ruling elite. Robinson II married Christopher A. Hagerman's second daughter, Mary Jane.[53] Hagerman had been Robinson's legal mentor and sponsor during the majority of his law articling years. Thus, Robinson II not only married within the ruling *Family Compact*, but he also married within his professional grouping, thereby relegating his marriage to a strict class maintenance maneuver rather than a downwardly mobile circumstance. Assuredly, this was a conscious and deliberate decision on the part of Robinson. Similarly, while Jarvis was one of the early appointees within the Compact, he secured his class acceptability by marrying into a prominent ruling family of the *Family Compact*, the Powells.[54] Jarvis married Mary Powell, granddaughter of William Dummer Powell, a Chief Justice of early Upper Canada. Interestingly, Jarvis as Sheriff of the Home District, passed on his occupational positioning to other members of his family, demonstrating a decidedly nepotistic relationship to elite recruitment. Jarvis passed on his Sheriff's job to his younger nephew Frederick William Jarvis in 1856, a position the younger man held until well into the 1880s.[55] As well, other relatives of Jarvis were also drawn into the Deputy Sheriff role. Another nephew, Robert Maule Jarvis, by elder Jarvis' sister Frances-Amelia, took over the Deputy Sheriff's position in the early 1850s and continued on in the job well into the tenure of Frederick William. Henry Skynner Jarvis, a distant cousin of Jarvis, commenced the Deputy Sheriff's position after Robert Maule Jarvis had retired.[56] Hence, monopoly control of occupational positions and intermarriage between the elite families did much to solidify ideological outlook.

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[48] See Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 429.
[49] See biographical chapter on George W. Allan, *supra.*, pp. 140-163.
[50] See chapter VI, *supra.*, pp. 164-198.
[51] For a description of Jarvis' life, see chapter IV, *supra.*, pp. 118-139.
[52] See Allan family genealogical sketch, *supra.*, p. 142.
[53] See Robinson family genealogical sketch, *supra.*, p. 166.

Even during the ascendency of the 'cream' of the middle class into the ranks of the elite in the 1870s and 1880s, there was an observed tendency to pass on careers and institutional memberships. In the case of George Gooderham, for instance, he inherited many of the commercial ventures of his family and was sponsored by William Gooderham for membership in such organizations as the Toronto Turf Club, the Toronto Club and the Toronto Stock Exchange.[57] Hence, while intermarriage became a less prominent fact among the recruited elite, particularly the upper middle class during the later nineteenth century, inherited class stature by virtue of associational membership became a more important feature of upward mobility.[58] As a consequence, recruitment into the elite in the 1870s and 1880s, as

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[54] See Jarvis family genealogical sketch, *supra.*, p. 120.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] See chapter IV, *supra.*, p. 120.
[57] See biographical chapter on George Gooderham, *supra.*, pp. 254 to 301.
[58] For support of this idea see H. Kaelble, Historical Research on Social Mobility. (London: Croom-Helm, 1981), p. 85.

Mosca believed, went from an aristocratic point, where recruitment came from within, to a more democratic compromise where recruitment was from outside of the original ruling group.[59] Although the middle class did become more involved in the recruitment process later in the century, they tended to be selected on a very strict social and organizational basis. The recruit not only had to possess the minimum social background similarities of the upper class but he also had to ascribe to the general value structure of the elite.[60] Thus, only the most able and loyal recruits were selected. By having the 'right' social connections through various societies, businesses and organizations, the upwardly mobile middle class aspirant increased his chances of becoming known and therefore eligible for elite membership. A sport club then, only represented one institution of several by which the potentially worthy recruits could socialize with the elite and possibly gain recognition for ruling class acceptance. This was certainly the case for William McMaster, as it was for Worts, Gooderham, the Buchanans, T.D. Harris and Henry Pellatt. Although democratically recruited into the elite, the middle class still ascribed to elite values so as to solidify their loyalty to the ruling doctrine.[61] This was observable in the middle class's willingness to adopt the largely elitist policy of rational recreation. As Mosca believed, the tendency for elite rule leaned more toward autocratic principles than liberal ones. Or, the elite dominated policy development, policy which the middle class ascribed to in order to be accepted among the higher social circles of society.[62] Liberal rule, the democratic development of policy, did not predominate in Toronto during the nineteenth century due to the relatively closed nature of the elite and the stringent membership requirements of elite institutions. Ascription to traditional conservative values and reforms was a staple of elite rule in Toronto from 1827 to 1881. Practically, in terms of sport, the policy toward rational recreation which was established by the elite, and which was later carried on by the middle class, was an example of the need to ascribe to loyal elitist doctrine.[63] If a member of the middle class had any chance at all of being accepted into the ruling class, then he had to display clearly his willingness to move within the bounds of elite social policy and his desire to be counted among the leaders in various reform and social control movements. This idea was particularly important when it came to gaining entrance to elite colleges, clubs and societies. In essence, the recruited middle class were not a middle class at all. Its uniform social background plus its devoted ascription to elite doctrine made them a characteristic elite as well.[64] Therefore, the elite of the Toronto sport and business clubs, were, according to Mosca, Michels, Mills and Pareto, a small minority who selectively recruited from within and to a lesser extent, from without the ruling class, and who were able to use an autocratic type of authority or power to rule the majority of the population.

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[59] Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 429.

[60] R.S. Neale, "The Colonies and Social Mobility: Governors and Executive Councillors in Australia, 1788-1856" in Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 97-120.

[61] See Walter L. Arnstein, "The Survival of the Victorian Aristocracy" in F.C. Jaher (ed.), The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 203-257.

[62] See chapter II, *supra.*, p. 39.

The elite of the Toronto sport and business clubs also, according to Mills, held the top leadership or decision-making positions within the most prominent institutions of society.[65] As was easily observable with Jarvis, McMaster, Allan, Robinson II, Gzowski, Worts and Gooderham, control of most aspects of society was developed by an extensive network of directorships within major commercial, sport, philanthropic, political, religious, educational, military and fraternal organizations. Long and important directorships in banking, insurance, shipping, railways, the stock exchange, to name a few, were to Mills, the "pivotal positions" in the society and the "strategic command posts of the social structure".[66] They afforded the elite the opportunity to develop societal policy and to exercise power in the enforcement of their conservative doctrine. But, to be effective in the policing of the policy, Mills felt there had to be some contact between the leaders. The "conspicuous conspiracy" to policies and values had to be shared.[67] And, to Mills, this institutional promixity was strongest where individuals were in commanding roles at the top of several institutional settings. Cohesiveness was measured by interchange and institutional proximity. Interconnections between the elite led, according to Mills, to a shared life style and a consciousness added to a coherence.[68] As can be seen from Figure XV and Table XXXIII (see the last table in Appendix I), the shared interconnections of the seven persons biographically analyzed in this study were extensive and indicative of a cross-institutional directorship.[69] By being so inter-related, these individuals represented a network of friendships which undoubtedly led to a shared system of values. Plus, as Mills pointed out, the interconnections led to a commercial consolidation and a socially insulating effect:

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[63] Support for this finding was given by Ralf Dahrendorf, On Britain. (London: British Broadcasting System, 1982), pp. 56-57.

[64] For corroboration of this fact, see Richard Whitley, "The City and Industry: The Directors of Large Companies, their Characteristics and Connections" in P. Stanworth and A. Giddens, Elites and Power in British Society. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 65-101.

[65] Mills, The Power Elite., p. 4.

[66] *Ibid.*

> ... the growth and interconnections of the corporations (and clubs) ... have meant the rise of a more sophisticated executive elite which now possesses a certain autonomy from any specific property interest .... "*Interlocking Directorate*" is no mere phrase: it points to a solid feature of the facts of business life, and to a sociological anchor of the community of interest, the unification of outlook and policy, that prevails among the propertied class.... As a minimum inference, it must be said that such arrangements permit an interchange of views in a convenient and more or less formal way among

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 15 and 19.

[69] Besides Mills, this cross-institutional directorship phenomenon was also observed by Whitley, "The City and Industry:...", pp. 73-74; F. Lupton and Shirley Wilson, "The Social Background and Connections of Top Decision Makers", The Manchester School of Economics and Business, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 1959), pp. 30-51; P. Stanworth and A. Giddens, "The Modern Corporate Economy: Interlocking Directorships in Britain, 1906-1970", Sociological Review, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1975), pp. 5-28; *idem*, "Commonalities Among Directors of Large Financial Institutions", Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (November 1973), pp. 613-632; William Miller, "American Historians and the Business Elite", The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 9 (1949), pp. 196-200; F. Ogburn, "American Business Leaders", The Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 42 (1934), pp. 404-406; C. Wright Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait", The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 5 (1945), pp. 20-44; Frank W. Taussig and Carl S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders: A Study in Social Origins and Stratification. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932); John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975); Peter C. Newman, The Canadian Establishment. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975); and T.W. Acheson, "The Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", Business History Review, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Summer 1973), pp. 202-219.

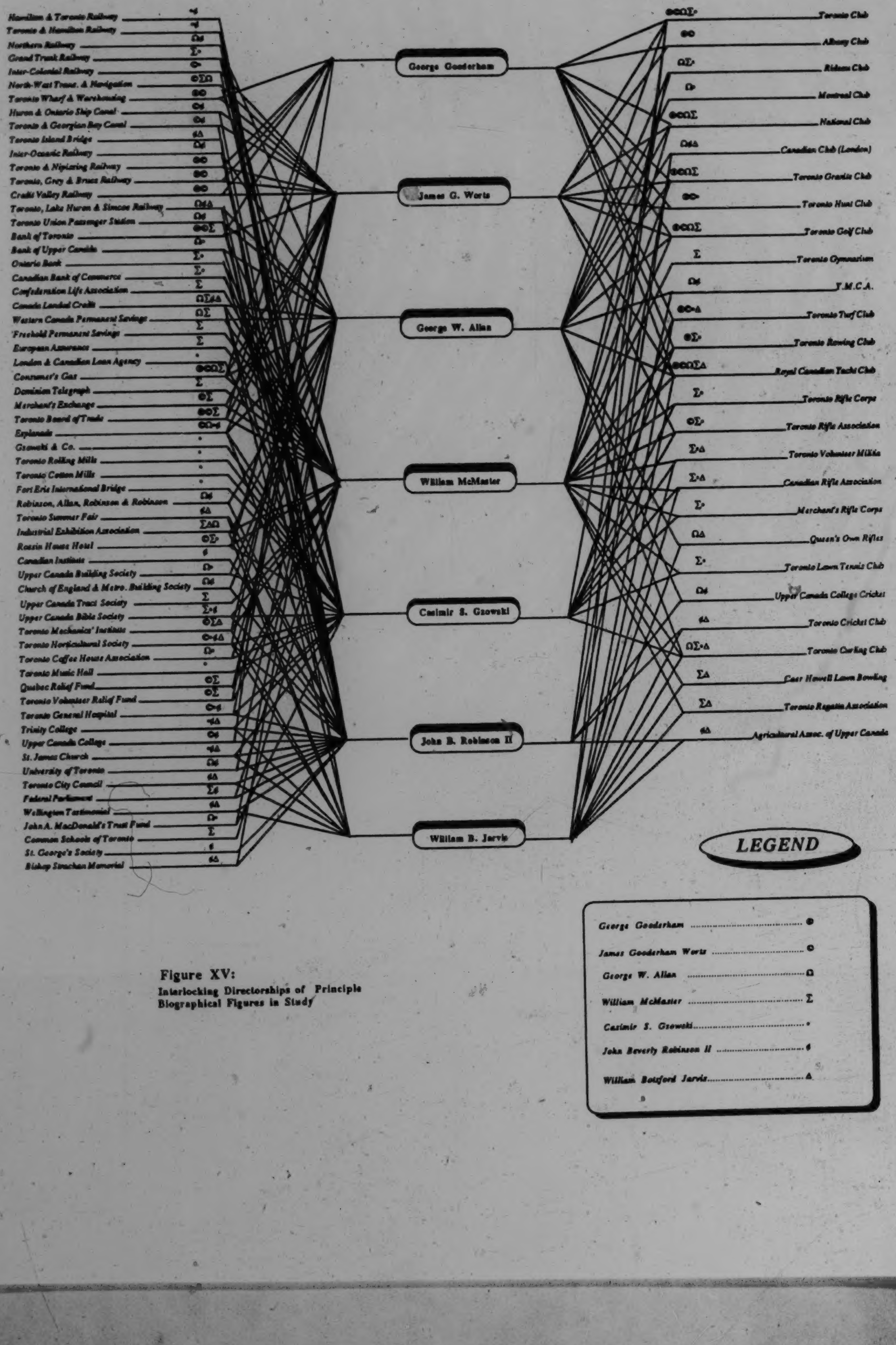
Hamilton & Toronto Railway
Toronto & Hamilton Railway
Northern Railway
Grand Trunk Railway
Inter-Colonial Railway
North-West Trans. & Navigation
Toronto Wharf & Warehousing
Huron & Ontario Ship Canal
Toronto & Georgian Bay Canal
Toronto Island Bridge
Inter-Oceanic Railway
Toronto & Nipissing Railway
Toronto, Grey & Bruce Railway
Credit Valley Railway
Toronto, Lake Huron & Simcoe Railway
Toronto Union Passenger Station
Bank of Toronto
Bank of Upper Canada
Ontario Bank
Canadian Bank of Commerce
Confederation Life Association
Canada Landed Credit
Western Canada Permanent Savings
Freehold Permanent Savings
European Assurance
London & Canadian Loan Agency
Consumer's Gas
Dominion Telegraph
Merchant's Exchange
Toronto Board of Trade
Esplanade
Gzowski & Co.
Toronto Rolling Mills
Toronto Cotton Mills
Fort Erie International Bridge
Robinson, Allan, Robinson & Robinson
Toronto Summer Fair
Industrial Exhibition Association
Rossin House Hotel
Canadian Institute
Upper Canada Building Society
Church of England & Metro. Building Society
Upper Canada Tract Society
Upper Canada Bible Society
Toronto Mechanics' Institute
Toronto Horticultural Society
Toronto Coffee House Association
Toronto Music Hall
Quebec Relief Fund
Toronto Volunteer Relief Fund
Toronto General Hospital
Trinity College
Upper Canada College
St. James Church
University of Toronto
Toronto City Council
Federal Parliament
Wellington Testimonial
John A. MacDonald's Trust Fund
Common Schools of Toronto
St. George's Society
Bishop Strachan Memorial
George Gooderham
James G. Worts
George W. Allan
William McMaster
Casimir S. Gzowski
John B. Robinson II
William B. Jarvis
Toronto Club
Albany Club
Rideau Club
Montreal Club
National Club
Canadian Club (London)
Toronto Granite Club
Toronto Hunt Club
Toronto Golf Club
Toronto Gymnasium
Y.M.C.A.
Toronto Turf Club
Toronto Rowing Club
Royal Canadian Yacht Club
Toronto Rifle Corps
Toronto Rifle Association
Toronto Volunteer Militia
Canadian Rifle Association
Merchant's Rifle Corps
Queen's Own Rifles
Toronto Lawn Tennis Club
Upper Canada College Cricket
Toronto Cricket Club
Toronto Curling Club
Cast Howell Lawn Bowling
Toronto Regatta Association
Agricultural Assoc. of Upper Canada
LEGEND
George Gooderham ●
James Gooderham Worts ○
George W. Allan Ω
William McMaster Σ
Casimir S. Gzowski •
John Beverly Robinson II ϕ
William Botsford Jarvis Δ

Figure XV:
Interlocking Directorships of Principle Biographical Figures in Study

those who share the interest of the corporate rich ....[70]

The sharing of "interests" among Toronto sport and business club members must have led to a uniform consciousness about society and sport and must have added greatly to the coherence of the already well-established ties of the elite within various institutions. The cumulative nature of many of the directorships of the biographically analyzed individuals must also have led to a shared philosophy in sport. These men most likely shared not only contemporary views on social problems but also opinions on matters directly related to sport. For instance, if a group of men were interested in the breeding of horses and all were members of the Toronto Turf and Hunt Clubs, then it can be well imagined how each man might have communicated his ideas on animal husbandry to others. Moreover, it can also be well imagined how the elite of Toronto's sport clubs collaborated to organize and plan policy for the rational recreational opportunities created for the workingman during the nineteenth century. Further, it can also be understood how corporate directors of a particular field of commerce might have gravitated toward a specific club or association where they might have found a preponderance of persons involved in the same line of work.[71] This was certainly true, for instance, in the case of the Toronto Golf Club. Otherwise known as the "Banker's Club" or the "Legal Bar",[72] the Toronto Golf Club epitomized the coalescing professional qualities of an organization which was composed of mainly one or two distinct occupational groupings. Although there were no formal rules stating that a potential member had to be specifically a banker or a lawyer, in all likelihood there was an informal emphasis or screening process that would favour acceptance of a member from one or both of the two occupational groupings. The colloquial expression of "*birds of a feather, flock together*" would have certainly been appropriate in the case of the Toronto Golf Club. Social homogeneity within a club environment, along with occupational uniformity, most certainly would have bred a common set of values and a shared lifestyle, sport being a part of it all. Consensus among

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[70] Mills, The Power Elite., pp. 122-123.

[71] See Stanworth and Giddens, "Commonalities Among Directors...", pp. 628-632.

[72] Record of a Farewell Dinner at the Toronto Golf Club, October 19, 1912. A speech Given by Colonel G.W. Sweny. Archives of the Toronto Golf Club, Toronto.

Toronto's corporate leaders, as to what institutions to belong to, probably furthered their unified class consciousness and led to a coordinated plan for the generation and administration of power. As Mills believed, because power was not so much a function of an attribute of a particular class or person but rather a reflection of a society's institutions which contain the top leaders, power became an oligarchical manifestation between institutions. Thus, shared values of the elite across several institutions led to an interchangeability of philosophical outlook and to a separate minority who oligarchically controlled most aspects of society.[73]

In several respects, the conditions of more than one elite theorist have been satisfied by such an argument. To Pareto, the close institutional ties of the elite and the widely shared values and social backgrounds of the ruling class fulfilled his psychological parameters for an autocratically governed society.[74] In Toronto's sport and business club sample, the elite membership reflected more of Pareto's Class II residues (lions) than Class I (foxes). The Toronto elites exhibited a "persistence in aggregates" or a "tendency" to consolidate positions once they had been established. Technically, the elite of the sport and business clubs showed a tendency toward permanence, stability and order in society rather than a creative or regenerative instinct (Class II characteristics). Recruitment into the elite was based on old established traditions and demanded ascription from those who sought upward mobility. It remained intensive, or relationship based, and tended to be staid and slow moving. Loyalty to long-standing social customs among the elite was an operative psychological set for those who aspired for elite acceptance. This fact was clearly demonstrable in the recruitment of Casimir S. Gzowski.[75] Not only did Gzowski change his faith of worship to Anglicanism upon arrival in Upper Canada, a major prerequisite condition for acceptance among the elite, but he also practiced conservative politics by his support of a hierarchically based society.[76] Though he may have been considered one of the ***noblesse oblige*** of Toronto's mid-century society, he truly represented the customs and practices of the original Toronto elite. His participation in the quasi-aristocratic sport of horse-racing also showed his ascriptive tendencies toward traditional elite sport activities and again, toward well-established principles of stability and order.

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[73] See Whitley, "The City and Industry:...", pp. 73-74 and Stanworth and Giddens, "The Modern Corporate Economy:...", pp. 25-28.
[74] See a theoretical overview of Pareto in chapter II, *supra.*, pp. 40-66.
[75] See biographical description of Gzowski in chapter VIII, *supra.*, pp. 226-253.
[76] Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition", pp. 27-28.

As well, the elite of the sport and business clubs displayed a tendency toward ruling by force. While the elite might have created the *illusion* of democratic rule by gaining consensus (Pareto's Class I condition), through parliamentary election, invariably public order became most important in terms of societal control and, as a consequence, political and business bureaucracies were developed to handle societal obstacles. Force became a social necessity. From a socio-historical perspective, the Rebellion of 1837 was a perfect example of how an elite fought for societal control.[77] MacKenzie and his rebels were attempting to overturn the whole *Family Compact* oriented outlook of society. They rejected the idea of religious supremacy among the Anglicans; they disagreed with the fact that the 'Established Church' had large land holdings which were being supported by state funds; and they vehemently objected to the patronage and oligarchical control of the government of Upper Canada. Unfortunately, the rebels were fighting against a class which held most of the power within society. The military was on the side of the Compact government, therefore MacKenzie's forces were starting their rebellion from a position of extreme disadvantage. Though the social composition and political complexion of Upper Canadian society changed somewhat in later decades, the tradition of oligarchical control remained. And while some change did materialize in the later 1840s and 1850s, the oligarchical power of Toronto's elite remained in place and perpetuated a stable and orderly environment. Thus, the conscious policy of administering a rational recreation program for the working class in the nineteenth century followed upon the idea of governance by force.[78] Because leisure time was limited for the workingman in the majority of the nineteenth century, he was often relegated to prescribed recreational and sport opportunities which were sponsored by the elite. If the working man wished to participate in any kind of formally organized competitive sport then he was usually forced to accept one of the recreational events or clubs organized by the ruling class.[79] Besides various athletic gatherings which specifically included categories of competition for the "labourer, artizan and mechanic", *improving recreational pastimes* were generated which appealed to the more "refined elements" in the workingman. Garden clubs, lectures, music, scientific demonstrations and theatrical plays were all recreational outlets for the mechanics who were interested in improving themselves.[80] Yet, all recreational and sport opportunities appeared to remain within the controlling jurisdiction of the elite.

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[77] C.W. New, "The Rebellion of 1837 in it's Larger Setting", Canadian Historical Association Papers, (1937), pp. 5-17.

[78] To Pareto's way of thinking, force was utilized by a ruling class who were characterized as 'lions'. They worried little about gaining the consent of the people they ruled. Autocratic rule was their style of governing.

Conditions existed within Toronto's society during the 1800s which served to channel the working class's interest into sport competition. Most working class sport was staged at times compatable to the employer's wishes. The early closing movement of businesses in Toronto was highly dependent upon whether there were self-improvement opportunities for the employees or not. The managers of businesses only agreed to close early if there were improving opportunities for the working class. Moreover, sport and recreation was legislatively banned on Sundays, the only day a working man had free to participate in sport. Thus, the ruling elite of the era attempted to guide and coerce the direction and nature of sport and recreation for the *labourer, artizan and mechanic*. By doing so, they exhibited what Pareto believed to be a "lions' governing tendency - *force*."[81]

Similarly, the elite of Toronto's sport and business clubs displayed what Michels theorized as the "*iron law of oligarchy*".[82] Most of the common sport and business club membership held and controlled selective leadership positions in society. Top positions within government, religion, education, the military, commerce, law, philanthropy, and sport were the possessions of the elite. No matter how large the institution or agency, it seemed that an elite group of leaders materialized (i.e., executive structure of a sport club), and as a result, certain powers and advantages were accorded to them by the rest of the elites within that organization. The "amateurishness", which Michels referred to in mass control or regulation of institutions, did not manifest itself in the management of any elite sport club in Toronto between 1827 or 1881.[13] Nor did it manifest itself in any other institutional capacity during the period under study. The focus of control remained with a small, tightly inter-connected group of sport and business club members. This, according to Michels, led to a well-coordinated policy of government rule and a heightened efficiency in policy-making and in technical administration.[14] For all intents and purposes, Michels' "technical indispensability of leadership" was shared by many leading members of the Toronto's elite. For instance, William McMaster's recruitment into elite was largely based on his technical and administrative abilities.[15] He rose to the Presidency of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and to the Senate of the Government of Canada largely by his leadership abilities. He also became founder and President of the Toronto Rowing Club and the Toronto Gymnasium Company because he was an able administrator and a man of practical insight.[16] His ascriptive tendencies to the conservative values of the old elite allowed him to generate support for his rational recreation projects, of which rowing and gymnastics were part. Moreover, his organizational abilities allowed him to lead in several different institutional settings. In addition to rowing and gynmastics, McMaster headed-up the Royal Canadian Yacht Club as Commodore for a short period of time (1873), the Toronto Naval Brigade, and the Toronto Rifle Association.[17] Outside of sport, he led associations in religion, education, banking, insurance, railways, dry goods, wholesaling, hotels, immigration, self-help, and politics.

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[79] Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., p. 36.

[80] Best, Mid-Victorian Britain..., *passim*.

[81] Pareto, Mind and Society., pp. 246-258, *passim*.

[82] Defined, oligarchy wins out most often in the ruling of institutions. It means that few persons control the workings of government and society.

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[13] See chapter II, *supra.*, p. 54.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] See chapter XI, *supra.*, p. 367 where McMaster's recruitment into the elite was discussed.
[16] See the William McMaster's biographical profile in chapter VII, *supra.*, pp. 199 to 225.
[17] *Ibid.*

McMaster's pre-eminence as an institutional leader confirmed Michels belief that mass popular control of institutions was incompatable to political power. It also affirmed a belief of Michels that oligarchical control triumphs due to organizational practicality of demands. And technical indispensability assisted in transmitting the idea that the leadership of the various oligarchies within the elite appeared "stable and irremovable". Moreover, McMaster's broad-ranging influence gave credence to Michel's theory that a well organized oligarchy can have the luxury of dispensing with political patronage without having to answer to the wishes of the masses (i.e., membership).[88] The elite were answerable to nobody when it came to membership within their 'inner circle'. This was certainly the situation in the selection and appointment of Henry W. Darling as the succeeding President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and it was again evident in the selection of Angus Morrison as the succeeding President of the Toronto Rowing Club.[89] Both men were intimate social and business compatriots of McMaster and both were his unilateral choices for the positions. The way McMaster wielded power was indicative of the general ruling oligarchy of the period not only across society in general but also within specific institutional settings. McMaster's power was also revealing in the fact that oligarchies sprang up on an institution by institution basis. Each institution had its own leader(s) and therefore, as Michels theorized, and as Mosca had earlier postulated, society was a democracy defined by competing institutional oligarchies.[90] While the competing institutional oligarchies in Toronto's sport and business club membership were not always rivals to one another, as far as the exercise of power was concerned, theoretically, by virtue of various institutional leaderships, they could have been. For instance, when the Argonaut Rowing Club broke away from the Toronto Rowing Club, due to the former's rejection of sponsoring professional rowing events, it might have been considered as having a rival oligarchical departure. Yet, it was more likely experiencing a small philosophical disagreement than a significant elite policy split. Realistically, the elite of the

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[88] See chapter II for the context of this theoretical point. Supra., p. 55.

[89] McMaster, chapter VII, *supra.*, pp. 217 and 219.

[90] Mosca, The Ruling Class., p. 422.

Argonaut Rowing Club were probably still inexorably woven into the philosophical fabric of the ruling class. Thus, although competing oligarchies may have had small differences of opinion, few were so large as to cause severe rivalry and therefore, social disharmony and factionalism among the elite.

Michel's thesis of competing groups and of small control groups meshed compatably with Burnham's economic theories. Burnham felt that elite government of society was a function of a struggle between groups for power and status and that in all societies small factions inevitably fought for control of the decision-making process.[91] To Burnham, an egalitarian society was improbable due to the need for technical expertise and training. Yet he was Marxian in his understanding of where the basis for elite power and control lay. He theorized that those who had control over the chief means of production were the ones who held the dominant positions in society.[92] To him, the controllers of society, or the elite, were the dominant force in restricting access to the means of production and they were also the ones to benefit most from the sale of the final product (meaning several things, one of which was financial remuneration). Though this theory allowed broad interpretation, Burnham saw the elite as generally constituting the *managers* of industry who possessed considerable wealth and who controlled entrance into the elite by their stranglehold on the economic resources. He also saw the elite deriving considerable 'preferential treatment' in other aspects of governance due to their economic dominance within society. Was this the case with regards to Toronto's sport and business club elite? In essence, it was, but with certain exceptions. While the elite of the sport and business clubs were largely in control of most aspects of the economic life of Toronto and surrounding region, few could be specifically named as being the solitary holders of the means of production. The economic picture of Toronto in pre-1880 years was *not* one of heavy industrial development or manufacturing predominence. Nor was it a commercially based society which lent itself to monopoly control of resources, labour, or development. It was more diffuse than this. Light retail manufacturing, finance, banking, insurance, railways, settlement and the wholesale trade were the staple commercial interests of the elite prior to 1880. Therefore, in strict terms, the elite of this period were not heavy manufacturing giants which Burnham hypothesized, and they were not the exploiters of large manufacturing labouring forces. Toronto prior to 1880, had not yet passed into the stage of heavy industrial manufacturing.[93] The elite directors, of several different economic institutions in the city, were the investors, directors and speculators of business. They held capital stock to various commercial concerns but none could, in the Marxian definition, be classified as "professional managers". As well, none could have been thought of as the sole possessors of raw manufacturing resources. The elite of the sport and business clubs were in a status level above the managerial level. The members of the Toronto's elite were the ones who held the majority of the capital investment positions and were not the individuals who professionally managed or controlled the already existing capital resources. Professional management was left up to their 'fringe' elite. For all intents and purposes, the elite members of Toronto's sport and business clubs were entrepreneurs and speculators. They were men of money who sought viable investment opportunities. Persons like George A. Barber[94] and Frederick W. Cumberland[95] were the ones who were the professional administrators and the ones who insulated the elite from the drudgery of managerial life. They were the administrative functionaries of the ruling class. On a day to day running of the business affairs, Barber and Cumberland, and others like them, were the ones who made most of the operating decisions. They were the ones who had to answer to the board of directors and justify the nature of the daily business operations. Yet they were not the policy developers nor the men who decided upon crucial commercial matters. This was left to the strata above them. In a sense, Barber and Cumberland personified the managers of

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[91] See chapter II, *supra.*, p. 56.
[92] Burnham, The Managerial Revolution, p. 36.

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[93] See Michael Bliss, "A Living Profit: The National Policy and Canadian Economic Development", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972, for a discussion of how industry changed in Canada as a result of National Policy incentives for a manufacturing based economy.

[94] See a brief sketch of Barber in chapter VI, outlining the life of John Beverly Robinson II, *supra.*, pp. 173 to 179.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 186 to 190.

Burnham's thesis. But formal managerial professions were just beginning to appear in Toronto prior to 1880. Up to this point in time, most businesses were of a small enough scale that they could be directed and controlled by the principal investors. In certain avenues of commerce, such as finance and railways, managers were necessary due to the arms-length directorship of the investment elite. Later, when large corporations evolved in the period just prior to and after the turn of the twentieth century, huge managerial bureaucracies materialized which alleviated some of the decision-making process from the elite directors. But again, until this period of industrial expansion, elite control remained in the hands of the monied professionals and commercial magnates.

An advantage of being a 'buffer manager' of elite interests, was that an individual was usually given certain social concessions. Specifically, and in terms of this study's purposes, managers like Barber and Cumberland were enveloped into the fold of elite sport clubs. While remaining a 'fringe' elite, the managers were able to enjoy the benefits of a club and were able to maximize the social networking which occurred within a club environment. Hence, it was not an unexpected finding to see Barber and Cumberland involved in the membership of numerous elite sport clubs and in the events of these organizations. Their sponsorship in these clubs was usually a result of their close association to one particular elite individual. In Barber and Cumberland's case, sponsorship for membership in the Toronto Cricket Club, for instance, was gained by virtue of their close working relationship to John Beverly Robinson II.[96] Robinson had learned the game of cricket from Barber at Upper Canada College and may have felt compelled, out of gratitude, to repay a debt by sponsoring Barber for membership in the Toronto Cricket Club. Similarly, Robinson may have felt indebted to Cumberland for the latter's having given up his Algoma seat in the Parliament of Canada, so he could run for election in 1872. The incidence of favours, bought and sold, were not uncommon between the elite and the 'fringe' elite during the nineteenth century. Interestingly, Barber appeared to perpetuate his managerial status by acting as corresponding secretary for several sport events during the 1800s. Very often he was the primary organizational force in the establishment of rational recreational events such as regattas, athletic meetings and turf festivals.[97] Likewise, Cumberland demonstrated his managerial capabilities by acting on the managing committees of both the Toronto Cricket Club and the Toronto Curling Club.[98] He was also an important organizer, along with Gzowski and Jarvis, in the rifle movement in Toronto. Thus, while the elite of Toronto's sport and business clubs were the major contributors to entrepreneurial projects in the city and region between 1827 and 1881, they were not the the professional managers which Burnham envisioned in his thesis on elites. Conclusively, they were not the holders of the primary means of production in a heavily industrialized society.

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[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-177 and 186-190.

Concessions and privileges relative to Burnham's elite theory did accrue to the elite of Toronto's sport and business clubs. By being the major investors in many businesses in Toronto and by being the leaders of several small institutional hierarchies, particularly law, business and politics, the elite of the sport and business clubs was given several concessions. One very prominent aspect of privilege among the sport elite of Toronto during the nineteenth century was their access to, and control of, property and buildings. On several occasions the elite took oligarchical advantage of their power to involve themselves in sport and in development aspects of it as a function of their access to political favour and material goods. For instance, when in 1855, a group of Toronto curlers wished to go to Hamilton to play a curling match, they secured the use of the "Mayor's coach". The giving of the coach was not so much a function of strict benevolence by municipal authority, but rather, it was a function of the fact that several of the curlers were local leading politicians, who, knowing the Mayor, were able to convince him to loan them his carriage for the occasion.[99] Further, when Sir Edmund B. Osler secured a large piece of property near Port Credit in 1894 for the Fernhill Property Company, the holding company of the Toronto Golf Club, he was able to do so not so much as a consequence of his business interests but rather, more as a result of his social connections to Toronto's Mayor, Warring Kennedy.[100] Osler secured the necessary property from the municipality for a fraction of what the real cost of the land was worth because he was interested in promoting golf and aware of the advantages of social connections. This example demonstrates once again, that friendly connections among the elite usually won out over the bureaucratic difficulties which would have plagued any non-elite member of society in their attempts to do the same sort of manoeuvering. There were other examples too where individuals, like William McMaster, were able to secure meeting places for their respective sport clubs and institutions because of their access to the political elite or to the elite's property. McMaster was not only able to secure the shelter of the Naval Brigade Hall early in the 1860s for the initial meetings of the Toronto Rowing Club, but he was also able to acquire a warehouse building belonging to the firm of Gzowski and Company for the Rowing Club's permanent headquarters in 1865.[101] By virtue of his commanding leadership position in the Toronto Naval Brigade and by his close friendship to Casimir S. Gzowski, McMaster was able to garner a permanent atmosphere of organization for the Toronto Rowing Club. The acquisition of quarters for sport clubs went a long way to formalizing and perpetuating a sport's organizational and developmental future. Many of the early clubs which were unable to secure separate club quarters often folded in decay or ruin and passed from mention in the press of the period. The perpetual organizations were the ones most frequently habitated by an elite membership and the ones who were able to secure permanent club residences. The example of George Gooderham being able to secure part of Toronto Island in 1880 from the City of Toronto for the home of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club was another instance of where politics in the social network of Toronto's society paid dividends.[102] Because of his prominence in business and social circles, Gooderham was able to persuade his friend, William B. McMurrich, the Mayor of Toronto, that an island location for the home of the Yacht

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[97] *Ibid*., pp. 172-175.
[98] *Ibid*., pp. 187-190.
[99] See chapter XI, *supra*., p. 384.

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[100] See biographical chapter on James Gooderham Worts and George Gooderham, *supra.*, pp. 254-301.
[101] McMaster, chapter VII, *supra.*, p. 220.
[102] See Worts and Gooderham, chapter IX, *supra.*, p. 294.

Club would be ideal due to its natural coves and its sheltered geographical location within the Toronto Harbour. Moreover, Gooderham felt that by docking the yachts on the Island, the commercial shipping activities along the Esplanade would continue with the minimum of interference from numerous pleasure craft. Also, the island provided a relatively exclusive atmosphere for the clubhouse where intrusion from the working class would be minimized.[103] As a result, McMurrich, Gooderham's Upper Canada College confrere and Granite Club curling partner, agreed to the request and relinquished a large share of the island's property to the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[104] Like William Henry Boulton earlier on in the century, Gooderham acted as a major figure in acquiring propertied facilities for his respective sport clubs. It will be remembered that Boulton's Grange property, was the home to the St. Leger Race Course, the Toronto Cricket Club, the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club,the Toronto Racquets Club and the Toronto Baths.[105] Thus, social inter-connections among the elite became important avenues by which to pursue privilege and concessions. Many of the benefactors of sport in Toronto during the nineteenth century were the *interlocking* directors of many of the leading institutions. But, besides property and material privilege, there were moral concessions.

The members of the elite of the era were enthusiastic promoters of moral observancy within society. Yet, there appeared to be a double standard for correct social behavior between the upper and lower orders of society. Sabbatarianism had long been an elite institutional ideal. Lack of game playing and physical activity had, for some time, been a popular instructional topic within the self-help and improvement institutions. Laws had been formulated by the elite to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by the working class, who enjoyed Sundays as their only day of non-work related rest. Although moral observancy was a coercive feature of elite rule in Toronto, exceptions and unique examples show the dialectical philosophical outlook to moral observancy between the classes. For instance, in the later 1800s a group of golfers were found walking in a field in the eastern part of the city with golf clubs in their hands on a Sunday. They had been observed as having struck an object, which looked like a golf ball, from one end of the field to the other. The constabulary charged them under the Lord's Day Act (1845) of having desecrated the Sabbath by playing at golf.[106] The group included Sir Edmund B. Osler, Lamond Smith, Osler's father-in-law, R.H. Bethune, Farquaharson Smith and George Gooderham, all members of the Toronto Golf Club.[107] Upon their appearance before the magistrate, they indicated they were out for a good Sunday's walk and were switching at the grass as they proceeded along. The judge accepted their defense and acquitted them of the charges. It was of interest to note that the judge was W.G.P. Cassels, a founding member of the Toronto Golf Club,[108] and a close friend to everyone of the suspected desecraters. It was unlikely that Cassels would convict the men with whom he often played golf at the Toronto Golf Club.

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[103] Letter from George Gooderham to William B. McMurrich, Mayor of Toronto, dated June 3, 1880. Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.
[104] Property Deed of George Gooderham for the purposes of erecting a club-house for the Royal Canadian Yacht Club on Toronto Island, dated June 23, 1880. Archives of Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.
[105] See chapter XI, for a description of Boulton's contribution to Toronto's sport development, *supra.*, pp. 342-372.

Hence, privilege and concessions, as Burnham had described them, materialized in many forms in sport in Toronto. They were most always a function of the elite's dominating position within the institutional framework of society. Power among the leaders of the various elite institutional oligarchies served as a means by which to make decisions affecting the distribution of patronage and the awarding of privilege. Agreement in a class philosophical outlook served to give the elite an advantage in the maintenance, recruitment and development of a ruling class. The homogeneity of their class and the extensive interlocking relationships of most of their members, gave the elite a forceful position by which to exercise their authority. Most aspects of the community were touched by elite decision-making. An early, strong institutional framework and the control of this framework by the elite, served to make Toronto's sport involvement a highly class dependent phenomenon. The earliest sport clubs were very exclusive in terms of membership and they were most often highly social in terms of their union. Their leadership tightly controlled access to admission and, like most other institutions of society during this period, they enforced considerable control on the social behavior of its members within the club and in society in general. Sport in nineteenth century Toronto grew as a result of very strict class influences. A prominently traditional upper class outlook pervaded all aspects of formally organized sport.

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[106] See The Globe. October 7, 1895. Also see Allan Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1868-1900", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969, pp. 134-135.
[107] Record of a Farewell Dinner..., *passim.*
[108] *Ibid.*

Chapter XIV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

C. Wright Mills, in recognizing the general importance of a club in the social life of an upper class society, stated:

> The gentleman's club is at the one [*sic*] an important center of the financial and business decision and an essential center for certifying the socially fit. In it all the traits that make up the old upper classes seem to coincide: the old family and the proper marriage and the correct residence and the right church and the right schools - and the power of the key decision. The 'leading men' in each city belong to such clubs, and when the leading men of other cities visit them, they are likely to be seen at lunch in Boston's Somerset or Union, Philadelphia's Racquet or Philadelphia Club, San Francisco's Pacific Union or New York's Knickerbocker, Links, Brook(line), or Racquet and Tennis.[1]

The fact that Mills had included sport clubs in his discussion of clubs generally, bodes well for one of the major hypotheses of this study, viz, that the elite used sport and business clubs in the nineteenth century Toronto to further their class interests in society and to develop, maintain and nourish social interlocking relationships. By being "conspicuously connected" in the "command posts" of clubs, the elite were able to solidify their uniform social outlook toward society and share a system of values which added to the consciousness and coherence of their class. Clubs, by virtue of their exclusive membership requirements, served as a highly discriminatory feature of the upper class community. The rise of the institutional club network in the nineteenth century led to an isolation of class interests. The threat posed by the expanding middle and working classes to the stability and order within the traditional upper class structure, gave the elite reason to defend itself against unwanted intrusion. Any infiltration from the working class would have posed a destabilizing effect on the power and the control which the elite had customarily held and manipulated.[2]

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[1] C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 62.

[2] For support of this idea, see G.L. Field and J. Higley, Elitism. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 35-36. Also see Suzanne Keller, Beyond The Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society. (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 124-125.

The institutions which the elite controlled in the nineteenth century society served as fortresses by which to regulate societal organization. A sport club, in this backdrop, acted as an informal place of social exchange for the leaders of these various Victorian institutions, and it served as a major focus for the interchange of elite societal policy. The interlocking nature of commercial and professional directorships within a sport club was indicative of the elite membership's needs to coordinate their social outlook and their policy management.[3] Conscious decisions were made within the confines of sport clubs as to how sport should be developed; who could participate and compete; what leagues should be formed; how to limit the sport opportunities for the workingman; what type of national regulations were necessary to control sport expansion; what equipment should be allowed; how should equipment be standardized; what facilities should be developed for the playing of games; what kind of competitive behavior would be tolerated from the players; and, what status should be accorded to certain sports and organizations.[4] To say the least, the sport club was an important cog in the wheel of elite institutional power and societal control. Few sport developments materialized without the assistance or control of the sport club. The elite leadership and administration of society in general, was typified within the various exclusive sport fraternities. Social policy was indelably tied to the sport club's efforts to regulate sport. The consciousness of the cross-society elite value system, the coherence between interlocking institutional memberships of the elite, plus, the coercivenenss of various reform movements, made the sport club a natural settling point for some of the ruling class's dominating social management policies.[5] Programs related to rational recreation, athletic event sponsorship, workingmen's sport clubs, game management, sport facilities rentals, and elite stewardship of working class athletic events, gave the sport clubs a mandate for social reform and control.[6]

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[3] T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society. (London: C.A. Watts, 1964), p. 125 and Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class", British Journal of Sociology. Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1950), p. 129.

[4] This represents a survey of previous chapters. By no means is this list an exhaustion of all possible directional elements of a sport club.

[5] Support for this mode of thinking was given in R.J. Morris, Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850. (London; MacMillan Press, 1979), pp. 58-69.

Many of the society's top leaders in education, politics, religion, business, law, philanthropy and benevolence, were the developers and the administrators, as was hypothesized, of several of Toronto's sport clubs. They were integrally involved in the managing of social control policy. Their administrative skills, experience and aptitude for coordinating commercial, educational, political, religious, legal and philanthropic policy, made them ideal candidates for managing the affairs of sport and early reform and social control movements.[7] Few early nineteenth century Toronto sport clubs escaped the organizing influences of prominent societal leaders. In fact these elite leaders, as was hypothesized from the outset of this study, were individuals who exerted considerable power over many aspects of Toronto's nineteenth century society. Their executive positions held within business and the professions, again as was hypothesized, carried over into their directorships of numerous sport and business clubs and associations. This fact is logical when one considers that club membership during this era was a general occurrence among the elite and that it served to direct interest from those persons who possessed the dominant social and philosophical traits of the ruling class. As well, as had been hypothesized prior to the commencement of the study, the individuals in nineteenth century Toronto who held powerful institutional positions in society as a whole, and in sport and business clubs, were those who were predominately English or of English-Canadian descent, Anglican by religion, university or college educated, and drawn from the professional, commercial, political, legal and financial sectors of society. Moreover, the majority of these powerful club members and societal leaders were not considered heavy industrial manufacturers. Therefore, the sport club movement and sport development were being controlled by a very influential and powerful group of elite individuals who were very similar in social and philosophical traits.

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[6] Similar inferences were made by Peter Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure", Victorian Studies, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1977), pp. 7-29.

[7] Keith Sandiford, "The Victorians at Play: Problems in Histographical Methodology", Journal of Social History, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Winter 1981), p. 278.

The reform and control policies of society in general, were carried over into the realm of sport through the sport club. The minority ruling class of the sport clubs, and other institutional settings, coveted the general reform ideals of the various philanthropic organizations and incorporated them into the social doctrine of sport. Efforts were made to develop sport into an emulative activity for the working class. It was hoped that the workingman would aspire to more gentlemanly practices, and would develop a curiosity about and an interest in the *right way* to play sport.[8] Manly qualities such as bravery, obedience, cooperation, respect for authority, rule observancy, temperance, self-reliance, intellectualism, sociability, religiousity, *duty to man*, steady habit, and personal effort, were all *improving* elements within the elite policy of reform.[9] Through sport the elite wished to forward its efforts for societal control. The *illusion* of "civilizing, refining and elevating" the working class, was an ideal propagated by the elite in the governance of sport. Sponsored athletic events, where the classes mixed, set the stage for an *improved condition* and morally observant behavior among the "labourer, artizan and mechanic". If the workingman could see the gentleman amateur sportsman in action and the manly way in which he conducted himself, then it was rationalized that the workingman would see the errors of his ways and start to ascribe to more uplifting personal characteristics of behavior. Whether this doctrine of improvement was accepted indifferently by workingmen was not ascertained in this study, but indications were that very few working class members of society avoided being influenced by its wide-ranging dogma. Improvement of the conditions of the working class through sport was an ethical credo held by most elite sport clubs of their era.[10] Making better sportsmen of the *mechanics*, and as a consequence better citizens, was a *sine qua non* premise of the elite.

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[8] Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest of Control, 1830-1885. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 22.

[9] See Morris Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans, Settlement Days to World War One", Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1983, *passim*. Also see Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), p. 44.

[10] Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England..., pp. 98-99.

The effectiveness of the reform and social control policy of the elite was in large part a function of their ability to manage most aspects of society. As has been demonstrated in the cases of Jarvis, Allan, Robinson II, McMaster, Gzowski, Worts and Gooderham, the leadership for this doctrine of enforcement was oligarchically controlled. A small number of men sat at the head of a large number of societal institutions. As a result, they represented, in a relative estimation, the elite of Toronto's society.[11] These men, as founders of many prominent institutions and as influential professional and commercial magnates of the region, were the ones who regulated access to and the control of decision-making positions within the community.[12] It has been clearly shown how they affected the growth and expansion of many of Toronto's important institutions. It has also been shown how they managed the top positions within sport and athletic associations. Cumulatively, they were very forceful in their direct impact on sport development. Numerous benefits accrued to their efforts to organize sport. Among the benefits: agricultural societies were begun which sponsored plowing matches and agrarian educational lectures; sports clubs evolved which channelled the social and competitive aspects of sport; athletic grounds and facilities were constructed which attested to the elite munificence and philanthropic giving; and inter-club rivalries were started. Moreover, several sports were introduced to numerous parts of the country; new advances in the practice of sport and equipment were made known through the elite effort; rifle and cavalry aspects of sport were begun; naval brigades were formed which set the basis for the establishment of rowing clubs; local, provincial and national sport governing bodies were organized which regulated competition; laws were enacted which provincially legislated for and against certain sport practices; trophies and prizes were awarded for particular competitions as a function of the elite's benevolence; rules were developed by the elite which impacted internationally on sport; philanthropic organizations were begun which directly and indirectly assisted in the sponsorship and promotion of sport; sport events were organized which generated funds that were given to benevolent organizations; and effective and competent leadership in the administration of sport clubs was given by the elite and this stood as testament to the longevity and perpetuity of their respective organizations. In an understated manner, without elite assistance and involvement, little of what evolved in formal sport in Toronto during the 1800s would have materialized. The oligarchy of the elite professionals and businessmen contributed greatly to the growth and development of sport. But if it were not for their coordinated efforts, much less than this would have been accomplished.

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[11] For a rigorous discussion of this view for liberally competing oligarchies see, J.D. May, "Democracy, Organization and Michels", American Political Science Review. Vol. 59, No. 2 (June 1965), pp. 417-429.

[12] A major tenet for power and leadership within society, see Mills, The Power Elite., p. 36.

In order to form sport clubs, the elite had to rally support for the their projects from friends and acquaintances. Like business concerns of the period, sport clubs evolved as a result of concerted subscription campaigns. Once sufficient capital was raised, formal plans were made to constitute the society officially. To draw capital to the endeavor, the elite used their extensive network of interlocking friendships among the upper and upper middle classes to consolidate the organizing effort.[13] By doing so, the elite were able to draw from a class of people who possessed the diposable income by which to invest in viable projects - these people were the upper strata of society. Therefore, there was an inextricable upper and upper middle class basis for the foundation of several sport clubs. Moreover, because it was advantageous to lock into a member who, like William Henry Boulton, would donate money, property, time and organizational ability as part of his committment to a club, the elite encouraged social interaction between themselves and other upper middle class individuals.[14] Thus, by so doing, and apart from their unifying reform and social control doctrine, the ruling class were able to share a value system and a lifestyle quite separate from that of the working class. In essence, the sport club gave the elite a residence of resort where they were assured of socially interacting with the monied, influential gentlemen of the upper and upper middle classes.[15] The respite of the club environment, as social as it was during the era, allowed the leaders of society an informal atmosphere in which to interact and discuss common social, economic and philosophical problems. As a result, an interlocking system of values and concerns evolved which set the foundation for future interlocking relationships. This form of consciousness, or *esprit de corps*, led to several things: the introduction and marriage of elite members, the communal efforts of several leading businessmen to initiate numerous commercial enterprises, the occupational homogeneity of certain clubs (i.e., Banker's Golf Club), the shared recruitment of aspiring legal, commercial and professional individuals, plus the coordinated action of several men to assist in the fund-raising for a particular charity or cause. Interaction among the elite had a coalescing quality. The more socially uniform and interlocking the elite group was, the more difficult it was to be recruited and accorded recognition. Hence, the 'fringe' elite used the club and institutional network as a means of making contact with the elite, securing club membership, and rising in the class strata. Most often, 'fringe' elite membership was secured through sponsorship from an employer. The employer was usually a long-time, respected member of a club.

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[13] For the precise method of raising funds through a subscription campaign for club establishment, see an excellent example in J.K. Johnson, "The U.C. Club and The Upper Canada Elite, 1837-1840", Ontario History. Vol. 69 (1977), pp. 151-168.

[14] For a description of Boulton's extensive property donations, see John Lownsborough, The Privileged Few: The Grange and Its People in the Nineteenth Century Toronto. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1980).

Sport club membership prior to 1880 aided business in an integral way. The interconnections and friendships which Jarvis, Allan, Robinson II, McMaster, Gzowski, Worts and Gooderham made within sport clubs, assisted in putting them in touch with other individuals who were wealthy and commercially skilled. Because business establishment was relegated to subscription campaigns, it was mandatory to know who the investors were. If any of the investors were shams or frauds, this would have severely jeopardized the viability of any new enterprise. Hence, the intimate knowledge of the social and financial backgrounds of the investment partners was crucial to commercial success. The sport and business clubs acted as significant screening agents in the process of determining who would be capital subscribers in commercial projects. Therefore, clubs, apart from sport, had their practical importance in the life of nineteenth century business affairs. In this context, it was not surprising to discover sport clubs which were highly biased toward one class or profession.[16]

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[15] This point was well made in Chapter II when it was described how the origins of the club movement began in England. See *supra.*, pp. 91-103.

Status and prestige accorded certain clubs was an integral part of organizational membership within Toronto during the nineteenth century. Particular clubs gathered more prestige than did others due to their long, stable and orderly tradition.[17] Most often the clubs which originated first in the city were the ones held in highest esteem. In sport, these were the aristocratically oriented clubs of the first half century. The aristocratic sport clubs of the period 1827 to 1840 particularly, were a reflection of the quasi-gentry society of Toronto's original elite. Cricket, lawn bowling, turf, 'hunt', and yachting were the most prestigious clubs of which to be a member. Their fraternity was composed of the oldest established families in Toronto and proved to be the best agency through which to make contact with the ruling oligarchy. Many of Simcoe's original governmental appointees and legal barons were members of the Toronto Cricket Club, the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, the Toronto Turf Club, the Toronto Hunt Club, and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.[18] Within these organizations, the *Family Compact* could communicate its oligarchical value orientation and could live out its desire to be known as the town's aristocracy. As a consequence, membership attachment to sports traditionally categorized as aristocratic was a shared ideological perspective of the original elite.

Later, in the post 1850 period specifically, when certain members of the middle class were recruited to join the upper class, they were forced to ascribe to the original value

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[16] This was certainly true with regards to gentlemen's clubs in Britain. Many evolved expressly for certain professional groups whether they were political, legal or sport. See T. Lupton and S. Wilson, "The Social Backgrounds and Connections of the Top Decision-Makers", The Manchester School of Economics and Business , Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 1959), pp. 30-51. Also see, "The Clubs of London", National Review, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1853), p. 301.

[17] See J.W. Jobson, London Clubs, Their Anecdotes, History, Private Rules and Regulations. (London: Henry Adams, 1853), *passim*.

[18] Refer to R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, *passim*.

orientation of elite sport. Therefore, what was seen, was an overall elitist view toward sport. The middle class, due to infrequent and selective recruitment, did little to offset the philosophical views of the upper class. Thus, elitist policy, such as rational recreation, was adopted by the middle class and became an important ideological thrust for all ruling segments of the population. Middle class membership in one of the older sport clubs resulted in a significant elevation in status for the upwardly mobile middle class. But as sought after as membership was in one of the aristocratic clubs, it was usually secured on an intensive basis rather than an extensive one. Membership in succeeding generations of the elite tended to be inherited as opposed to being won.[19] Sons of the ruling class were either sponsored by their fathers or, upon the death of their father, they were given the opportunity to perpetuate the family name in membership. By following such a recruitment procedure, the sport club, and other clubs like it, were able to maintain their relative homogeneity and propagate a class of individuals within their membership who shared similar social backgrounds.[20] A private (public) school education, an Anglican religious outlook, an English ancestry and a profession or commercial occupation usually typified the interlocking elite.[21] On a club by club basis, these dominant traits of the ruling elite persisted. This apparently led to the foundation upon which a common set of values grew among the upper class and led to a unified view of society. The material assets of the sport and business clubs only served conspicuously to display the wealth of their members and the relative prestige of their fraternity. The true status and prestige of any Victorian Toronto club was the quality of social interconnections one had to the ruling decision-makers. The closer the friendly network of directorships, the stronger and more influential the power and authority one wielded within society.

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[19] This was a point which T.W. Acheson alluded to when describing the Canadian industrial elite of the post 1880 period. See the above author's partial findings in "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1885", in David MacMillan (ed.), *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 144-174.

[20] For evidence of generational club membership, see Acheson, *ibid.*, and Frank W. Taussig and Carl S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders: A Study in Social Origins and Stratification*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932). Also, see R. Clements, *Managers: A Study of Their Careers in Industry*. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958) and Rosemary Stewart, *Management Succession*. (London: Acton Society Trust, 1958).

[21] See, for instance, the appendices of Peter C. Newman's, *The Canadian Establishment* . (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), for the social background characteristics of the elite of his study. The 'old boy' network was definitely alive and well in the mid-1970s.

Because the elite of Toronto's sport and business clubs were small in number in the fifty-four years studied, it can be inferred that power was held by a predictable minority. The intimacy of numbers allowed the ruling group to interact on a more personal level and through a more intensive network of directorships. While it did appear that the elite of this study were extensively interlocked in directorships and membership, they apparently exercised certain interconnections more than others. Sport clubs were the sites where *most* of the interlocking directorships and memberships occurred.[22] This could be explained in the fact of the importance of the sport club membership in promoting business connections. The informality of the sport and business clubs gave their members broad access to a variety of professions. Within the confines of a club a member could meet leaders of transportation, communication, finance, commerce, medicine, law, philanthropy and politics, whereas, in a particular business, an individual would, in all likelihood, be restricted to a certain range of contacts. Thus, sport clubs allowed persons wide, informal interaction with people from a multitude of occupational disciplines. In doing so, they fulfilled another important need, that being the interconnection of leaders. This condition helped the ruling class in the administration of a coordinated policy of reform and social control, and acted to give their reign of power an air of solidarity and mutuality, - if not a practical setting for autocratically oriented rule.

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[22] See previous chapter, Table XXXIII, *supra.*, p. 468.

EPILOGUE

Nearing the completion of any study, the author is in a most beneficial position with which to comment on the negative and positive aspects of the research and to suggest where future efforts in the discipline should be directed. The current study breeched several fronts in the sport history field in Canada, in order to develop, what the author felt, was a more accurate and precise social history of sport in Toronto. Firstly, the investigation involved a sophisticated quantitative method of collecting historical evidence. More precisely, the author followed a prescribed method of drawing evidence from a large number of sources. While it may be argued that every historian does this, few historical experts have been guided by formally stated hypotheses, established well in advance of any data collection. It has been a process traditionally left to scientific endeavors. Yet, the hypotheses devised in this study strictly delimited the kind, type and size of data recorded and served to give the project greater objectivity in the material sought for inclusion. This, I believe, has been useful in analyzing the critical interlocking relationships of the elite leaders in various institutional settings. Without the aid of the hypotheses, the data collection would have been far more random, less complete, and severely lacking in interpretive quality.

Secondly, a computerized data base was established to store, collate and analyze the data into useful information. The data base allowed the author to ask questions of the data and to ascertain important relationships between the hypothesized inferences of the study. The absence of such a data base would not have allowed the author to physically manage the quantity of information which was processed in this investigation. The computer proved to be a strategically powerful tool in the historical analysis of club rosters and social relationships. Its use should be encouraged in the future.

Thirdly, theory, drawn from the social sciences, political history, and sociology, was incorporated into the analysis of elites and sport. It served to ground the interpretations of elite control of nineteenth century Toronto society and added depth to the qualitative inferences made about elites and sport. The exclusion of such theory would have disarmed the strength of the points being made relative to elite involvement in sport and would have severely detracted from future comparative elite studies. Sport history needs more theory in the years to come and it should explore all avenues of theoretical inference.

Fourthly, great efforts were made to account for the detailed social history of Toronto and to highlight important people, places and events apart from sport, so as to add interpretive body to the analysis of elites, class and sport. To date, too little detailed social history analysis has been included in sport historical theses. Greater cross-discipline sharing of the respective bodies of knowledge is mandatory if the Canadian sport history field is to evolve to more intimate descriptions of sport development in this country. Moreover, and connected to this point, more regional examinations of sport are necessary if we are to realize truer historical interpretations of the past.

Arguably, this study has been anything but traditional when taken in the context of past sport historical dissertations done at the University of Alberta. But it was an original attempt at pushing the walls of the sport historical envelope a little bit further apart. One thing, I believe, every researcher should strive for in attempting new studies, is an honest effort to approach the research question(s) from an original perspective. Even though the answers to the hypotheses may seem obvious and rather cursory, the approach can make all the difference in the way the questions are answered. In fact, in all likelihood, new explanations may result and further questions may be raised by virtue of novel research approaches. Thus, if this study suggests anything for future analyses, it strongly encourages students of sport history to pursue original ideas and methods. While this road may be fraught with headaches and difficulties, it is by far the most rewarding.

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APPENDIX I

Tabular Data of Common Sport and Business Club Membership, 1827-1881

TABLE I

Occupations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Occupation	Cases	Percent
Lawyer	24	31.2
Government Official	24	31.2
Professional	9	11.7
Merchant	8	10.4
Businessman	7	9.1
Financier[1]	3	3.9
Transportation Entrepreneur[2]	1	1.3
Manufacturer[3]	1	1.3
Clergy	0	--

[1] Financiers included bankers, brokers and capitalists.

[2] Included in this occupational grouping were business speculators, primarily involved in railroad, telegraph, canal, shipping, warehousing, banking, turnpike, construction and exploration investment.

[3] These businessmen were classified as directors of manufacturing concerns. They were not the primary managers of the means of production.

TABLE II

Political Positions

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Position	Cases[1]	Percent
Alderman	24	80.0
Mayor of Toronto	3	10.0
Councilman	1	3.3
Parliamentarian[2]	0	--
Premier of Ontario	0	--
Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario	0	--
Prime Minister of Canada	0	--
Prime Minister of Ontario[3]	0	--
Attorney-General of Ontario	0	--
Attorney-General of Upper Canada	0	--
Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba	0	--
Provincial Secretary of Ontario	0	--
Receiver-General of Canada	0	--
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	0	--
Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada	1	3.3
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	1	3.3

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[1] Number of Political Positions held.

[2] Parliamentarian included both provincial and federal M.P.s.

[3] Political head of the province prior to Confederation.

TABLE III

Ethnicity

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Ethnicity	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
English	12	32.4	34,608	41.84
Scottish	5	13.5	13,754	16.63
Irish	3	8.1	32,177	38.90
Canadian[1]	13	35.1	--	--
American	0	---	--	--
German.	3	8.1	2,049	2.5
Polish.	1	2.7	132	.16

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Origins of People", p 73.

[1] This category included second generation individuals who were of English, Scottish, Irish, German, Polish and American descent but who were born in Canada.

TABLE IV

Religion

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Religion	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
Anglican[1]	28	87.5	30,913	38.02
Presbyterian[2]	3	9.3	14,612	17.97
Catholic[3]	0	---	15,716	19.3
Protestant	0	---	36	.04
Methodist[4]	0	---	16,357	20.4
Baptist[5]	0	---	3,667	4.51
Wesleyan Methodist	1	3.1	12	.0

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Religions of the People", p 175.

[1] Church of England.

[2] Presbyterians included the Church in Canada, the Church of Scotland and the Reformed Church of Scotland.

[3] This grouping included Roman Catholics.

[4] Methodists included the Church of Canada, Episcopal, Bible Christian and Primitive.

[5] Baptists included Baptists, Freewill and Tunkers (Mennonite).

TABLE V

Education

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Education	Cases	Percent
College	11	47.8
Grammar	9	39.1
High School	0	---
Common	3	13.0

TABLE VI

Schools

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

School	Cases[1]	Percent
Home District Grammar School	4	18.2
Upper Canada College	3	13.6
Cornwall Grammar School, Cornwall, Ontario	3	13.6
Christ Church, Oxford, England	2	9.1
Osgoode Hall, Toronto[2]	2	9.1
Glasgow Grammar School	2	9.1
Kingston Grammar School	1	4.5
Royal Military College, Sandhurst, England	1	4.5
Trinity College, England	1	4.5
Trinity College, Dublin	1	4.5
King's College, Toronto[2]	1	4.5
Edinburgh University	1	4.5

[1] School graduates.

[2] Later a part of the University of Toronto.

TABLE VII

Benevolent Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
House of Industry	4	44.4
Society for the Relief of Strangers in Distress	3	33.3
Toronto Hospital	1	11.1
Society for the Relief of the Sick and Destitute	1	11.1

[1] Executive positions held.

TABLE VIII

Fraternal Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1840

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
St. Andrew's Society	6	31.6
Home District Agricultural Society	6	31.6
St. George's Society	3	15.8
Toronto Mechanics' Institute	2	10.5
St. Patrick's Society	1	5.3
York Bible Society	1	5.3

[1] Executive positions held.

TABLE IX

Occupations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Occupation	Cases	Percent
Lawyer	3	4.4
Government Official	15	22.4
Professional	5	7.5
Merchant	27	40.3
Businessman	14	20.9
Financier[1]	2	3.0
Transportation Entrepreneur[2]	0	--
Manufacturer[3]	1	1.5
Clergy	0	--

---

[1] Financiers included bankers, brokers and capitalists.

[2] Included in this occupational grouping were business speculators, primarily involved in railroad, telegraph, canal, shipping, warehousing, banking, turnpike, construction and exploration investment.

[3] These businessmen were classified as directors of manufacturing concerns. They were not the primary managers of the means of production.

TABLE X

Ethnicity

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Ethnicity	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
English	22	53.6	34,608	41.84
Scottish	9	21.9	13,754	16.63
Irish	4	9.7	32,177	38.90
Canadian[1]	4	9.7	---	--
American	2	4.8	---	--
German	0	---	2,049	2.5
Polish.	0	---	132	.16

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Origins of People", p 73.

[1] This category included second generation individuals who were of English, Scottish, Irish, German, Polish and American descent but who were born in Canada.

TABLE XI

Religion

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Religion	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
Anglican[1]	30	71.4	30,913	38.02
Presbyterian[2]	9	21.4	14,612	17.97
Catholic[3]	0	---	15,716	19.33
Protestant	1	2.4	36	.04
Methodist[4]	1	2.4	16,357	20.12
Baptist[5]	1	2.4	3,667	4
Wesleyan Methodist	0	---	12	

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Religions of the People", p. 175.

[1] Church of England.

[2] Presbyterians included the Church in Canada, the Church of Scotland and the Reformed Church of Scotland.

[3] This grouping included Roman Catholics.

[4] Methodists included the Church of Canada, Episcopal, Bible Christian and Primitive.

[5] Baptists included Baptists, Freewill and Tunkers (Mennonite).

TABLE XII

Education

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Education	Cases	Percent
College	10	58.8
Grammar	4	23.5
High School	0	---
Common	3	17.6

TABLE XIII

Political Positions

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Position	Cases[1]	Percent
Alderman	28	77.8
Mayor of Toronto	3	8.3
Councilman	7	19.4
Parliamentarian[2]	0	--
Premier of Ontario	0	--
Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario	0	--
Prime Minister of Canada	0	--
Prime Minister of Ontario[3]	0	--
Attorney-General of Ontario	0	--
Attorney-General of Upper Canada	0	--
Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba	0	--
Provincial Secretary of Ontario	0	--
Receiver-General of Canada	0	--
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	0	--
Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada	0	--
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	1	2.7

[1] Number of Political Positions held.

[2] Parliamentarian included both provincial and federal M.P.s.

[3] Political head of the province prior to Confederation.

TABLE XIV

Fraternal Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
St. George's Society	33	24.3
St. Andrew's Society	26	19.1
Commercial News Room	21	15.4
Toronto Mechanics' Institute	15	11.0
The Athenaeum	15	11.0
Upper Canada Bible Society	7	5.1
St. Patrick's Society	5	3.7
Toronto Horticultural Society	4	2.9
Toronto Public Library	2	1.5
Merchant Rifle Corps	2	1.5
Toronto Library and Historical Society	2	1.5
York Bible Society	1	0.7
Masonic Lodge	1	0.7
Wellington Testimonial	1	0.7
Highland Society	1	0.7

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[1] Executive positions held.

TABLE XV

Benevolent Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
House of Industry	8	27.6
Toronto Permanent Building Society	7	24.1
Farmer's and Mechanic' Building Society	5	17.2
Upper Canada Tract Society	4	13.8
Toronto Hospital[2]	3	10.3
Society for the Relief of Strangers in Distress	1	3.4
Toronto Building Society	1	3.4

[1] Executive positions held.

[2] Toronto Hospital members were included in this grouping. This institution was the forerunner to the Toronto General Hospital.

TABLE XVI

Schools

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1841 to 1860

School	Cases[1]	Percent
Upper Canada College	1	9.1
Cornwall Grammar School, Cornwall, Ontario	1	9.1
Trinity College, Toronto[2]	1	9.1
King's College, Toronto[2]	1	9.1
Hellmuth College, London, Ontario	1	9.1
Tain Academy, Inverness, Scotland	1	9.1
Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, Ireland	1	9.1
Cobourg Grammar School	1	9.1
Commercial Academy, London, England	1	9.1
Royal Naval College, Portsmouth	1	9.1
Dalhousie College, Halifax	1	9.1

[1] School graduates.

[2] Later a part of the University of Toronto.

TABLE XVII

Occupations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Occupation	Cases	Percent
Lawyer	96	24.1
Government Official	60	15.1
Professional	59	14.8
Merchant	39	9.8
Businessman	78	19.6
Financier[1]	44	11.1
Transportation Entrepreneur[2]	14	3.5
Manufacturer[3]	6	1.5
Clergy	2	0.5

---

[1] Financiers included bankers, brokers and capitalists.

[2] Included in this occupational grouping were business speculators, primarily involved in railroad, telegraph, canal, shipping, warehousing, banking, turnpike, construction and exploration investment.

[3] These businessmen were classified as directors of manufacturing concerns. They were not the primary managers of the means of production.

TABLE XVIII

Education

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Education	Cases	Percent
College	117	83.6
Grammar	8	5.7
High School	5	3.6
Common	10	7.1

TABLE XIX

Schools

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

School	Cases[1]	Percent
Upper Canada College	52	38.0
University of Toronto	15	11.0
Osgoode Hall, Toronto[2]	7	5.1
Trinity College, Toronto[2]	6	4.4
Royal Military College, Sandhurst, England	4	2.9
Home District Grammar School	3	2.2
Edinburgh University, Scotland	3	2.2
Cornwall Grammar School, Cornwall, Ontario	3	2.2
Christ Church, Oxford, England	2	2.2
King's College, London	2	2.2
King's College, Toronto[2]	2	2.2
Eton College, England	2	2.2
McGill University, Montreal	2	2.2
Edinburgh Veterinarian College, Scotland	2	2.2
Hellmuth College, London, Ontario	2	2.2
Trinity College, Dublin	2	2.2
Tain Academy, Inverness, Scotland	1	0.7
Toronto Collegiate Institute	1	0.7
St. John's College, Cambridge, England	1	0.7
Southern Academy, Edinburgh	1	0.7
Royal Grammar School, Kingston	1	0.7

Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, Ireland	1	0.7
Royal Academy of Inverness, Scotland	1	0.7
Queen's University, Kingston	1	0.7
Paris, France	1	0.7
Normal School, Toronto	1	0.7
Nicolas Wanostracht's School, Camberwell, England	1	0.7
Marishal College, Aberdeen, Scotland	1	0.7
Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec	1	0.7
Morrin College, Quebec	1	0.7
Kingston Grammar School, Kingston	1	0.7
Royal School of Mining	1	0.7
Kremieniec Military Engineering School, Russia	1	0.7
Dalhousie College, Halifax	1	0.7
Dundas Grammar School	1	0.7
Edinburgh Veterinary College	1	0.7
Commercial College, Toronto	1	0.7
Commercial Academy, London, England	1	0.7
Cobourg Grammar School	1	0.7
Gagetown Grammar School, Hamilton	1	0.0
Galt Collegiate Institute	1	0.7
Inverness Academical School, Scotland	1	0.7
Irvine Academy, Irvine, Scotland	1	0.7
Uxshaw College, England	1	0.7

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[1] School graduates.

[2] Later a part of the University of Toronto.

TABLE XX

Political Positions

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Position	Cases[1]	Percent
Alderman	140	64.8
Mayor of Toronto	24	11.1
Councilman	10	4.6
Parliamentarian[2]	22	10.2
Premier of Ontario	5	2.3
Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario	4	1.8
Prime Minister of Canada	2	0.9
Prime Minister of Ontario[3]	1	0.4
Attorney-General of Ontario	1	0.4
Attorney-General of Upper Canada	1	0.4
Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba	1	0.4
Provincial Secretary of Ontario	1	0.4
Receiver-General of Canada	1	0.4
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	1	0.4
Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada	1	0.4
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	1	0.4

[1] Number of Political Positions held.

[2] Parliamentarian included both provincial and federal M.P.s.

[3] Political head of the province prior to Confederation.

TABLE XXI

Fraternal Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
St. Andrew's Society	58	18.5
Toronto Horticultural Society	45	14.4
Toronto Mechanics' Institute	42	13.4
St. George's Society	32	10.2
St. Patrick's Society	23	7.3
Upper Canada Bible Society	20	6.4
The Athenaeum and Commercial Newsroom	16	5.1
Canadian Institute	12	3.8
Rideau Club	9	2.9
Agricultural Association of Upper Canada	8	2.6
Home District Agricultural Society	6	1.9
Osgoode Club	5	1.6
Toronto Public Library	4	1.3
Game and Fish Association	3	0.9
Toronto Opera House Co.	3	0.9
York County Agricultural Society	3	0.9
Young Men's Christian Association	3	0.9
Toronto Humane Society	2	0.6
Ontario Literary Society	2	0.6
Masonic Lodge	2	0.6
Wellington Testimonial	2	0.6

Canadian Highland Society	2	0.6
Hamilton Club	1	0.3
Ontario Society for the Preventionof Cruelty to Animals	1	0.3
Board of Arts and Manufactures	1	0.3
Orange Order	1	0.3
Merchant's Rifle Corps	1	0.3
Toronto Reform Association	1	0.3
Brock's Monument	1	0.3
Highland Society of Toronto	1	0.3
Canadian Medical Association	1	0.3
Montreal Club	1	0.3
Toronto Philharmonic Society	1	0.3

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[1] Executive positions held.

TABLE XXII

Benevolent Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
House of Industry	17	36.2
Toronto General Hospital	13	27.6
Toronto Permanent Building Society	8	17.0
Toronto House Building Society	8	17.0
Upper Canada Tract Society	8	17.0
Society for the Relief of Strangers in Distress	4	8.5
Toronto Lunatic Asylum	1	2.1
Farmer's and Mechanic'c Building Society	1	2.1

[1] Executive positions held.

TABLE XXIII

Religion

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Religion	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
Anglican[1]	172	74.1	30,913	38.02
Presbyterian[2]	45	19.4	14,612	17.97
Catholic[3]	6	2.6	15,716	19.33
Protestant	4	1.7	36	.04
Methodist[4]	3	1.3	16,357	20.12
Baptist[5]	2	0.8	3,667	4.51
Wesleyan Methodist	0	---	12	.01

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Religions of the People", p 175.

[1] Church of England.

[2] Presbyterians included the Church in Canada, the Church of Scotland and the Reformed Church of Scotland.

[3] This grouping included Roman Catholics.

[4] Methodists included the Church of Canada, Episcopal, Bible Christian and Primitive.

[5] Baptists included Baptists, Freewill and Tunkers (Mennonite).

TABLE XXIV

Ethnicity

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1861 to 1881

Ethnicity	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
English	77	34.5	34,608	41.84
Scottish	43	19.3	13,754	16.63
Irish	14	6.2	32,177	38.90
Canadian[1]	83	37.2	--	--
American	5	2.2	--	--
German.	0	---	2,049	2.5
Polish.	1	0.4	132	.16

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Origins of People", p 73.

[1] This category included second generation individuals who were of English, Scottish, Irish, German, Polish and American descent but who were born in Canada.

TABLE XXV

Occupations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Occupation	Cases	Percent
Lawyer	98	16.90
Businessman	85	14.66
Politician	71	12.24
Merchant	65	11.21
Banker	35	6.03
Broker	28	4.83
Judge	13	2.24
Entrepreneur[1]	10	1.94
Medical Doctor	9	1.55
Manager	8	1.38
Soldier	7	1.21
Philanthropist[2]	6	1.03
Railroad Manager[3]	6	1.03
Journalist	6	1.03
Military Officer	5	.86
Manufacturer[4]	5	.86
Publisher	5	.86
Architect	5	.86
Civil Servant	5	.86
Engineer	4	.69
Educator	4	.69

Jurist	4	.69
Author	3	.51
Railway Builder	3	.51
Railway Promoter	3	.51
Druggist	3	.51
Civil Engineer	3	.51
Forwarder	3	.51
Contractor	3	.51
Naval Officer	2	.34
Artist	2	.34
Railway Carter	2	.34
Printer	2	.34
Distiller	2	.34
Police Magistrate	2	.34
Shipowner	2	.34
Bookseller	2	.34
Office-Holder	2	.34
Prime Minister (Canada)	2	.34
Land Speculator	2	.34
Clerk	2	.34
Financier	2	.34
Grain Merchant	1	.17
Lieutenant-Governor (Ontario)	1	.17
Lieutenant-Governor (Manitoba)	1	.17
Attorney-General (Ontario)	1	.17
Attorney-General (Upper Canada)	1	.17
Chancellor of Upper Canada	1	.17
Chief Justice (Ontario)	1	.17

Chief Justice (King's Bench, Ontario)	1	.17
Judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada	1	.17
Justice of the Peace	1	.17
Militia Officer	1	.17
Vice-Consul to United States	1	.17
Provincial Secretary (Ontario)	1	.17
Provincial Secretary (Upper Canada)	1	.17
Receiver-General (Upper Canada)	1	.17
Receiver-General (Canada)	1	.17
Senator (Canada)	1	.17
Coroner	1	.17
Sheriff	1	.17
Shipbuilder	1	.17
Statesman	1	.17
Surgeon	1	.17
Veterinarian	1	.17
Marine Architect	1	.17
Land Surveyor	1	.17
Yachtsman	1	.17
Cartage Agent	1	.17
Builder	1	.17
Auctioneer	1	.17
Capitalist	1	.17
Editor	1	.17
Foundryowner	1	.17
Harbourmaster	1	.17
Historian	1	.17
Horseman	1	.17

Hotelier	1	.17
Investor[5]	1	.17
Archdeacon	1	.17
Preacher	1	.17
Churchman	1	.17
Clergyman	1	.17
Cleric	1	.17
Police Chief	1	.17
Commission Merchant	1	.17

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[1] Included in this occupational grouping were business speculators, primarily involved in railroad, telegraph, canal, shipping, warehousing, banking, turnpike, construction and exploration investment.

[2] Individuals included in this group were considered full-time charitable benefactors.

[3] This occupation had the responsibility of being the chief executive officer of the firm (e.g. Northern Railway).

[4] These businessmen were classified as directors of manufacturing concerns. They were not the primary owners of the means of production.

[5] This occupation was considered to be a full-time capitol investor.

TABLE XXVI

Ethnicity[1]

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Ethnicity	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
English[2]	100	35.59	34,608	41.84
English-Canadian	57	20.28	--	--
Scottish	51	18.15	13,754	16.63
Irish	22	7.80	32,177	38.90
Canadian	22	7.80	--	--
Scottish-Canadian	14	4.98	--	--
Irish-Canadian.	5	1.78	--	--
American	3	1.07	--	--
English-American	3	1.07	--	--
German-Canadian	2	.71	2,049	2.5
German-American	1	.45	--	--
Polish.	1	.45	132	.16

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Origins of People", p 73.

[1] Hyphenated words with Canadian or American at the end denote the second generation of the particular ethnic group within a specific family.

[2] The sample percentage figure for the English ethnic grouping is deceptive. The Census did not discriminate between first and second generations in their report, thus the English in the data base appear underrepresented. When the English and English-Canadian groups are

mixed together they more accurately depict the true ethnic percentage of the sample.

TABLE XXVII

Religion

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Religion	Cases	Percent	Census(*) Cases	Census Percent
Anglican[1]	218	75.17	30,913	38.02
Presbyterian[2]	55	18.97	14,612	17.97
Catholic[3]	5	1.72	15,716	
Protestant	5	1.72	36	.04
Methodist[4]	3	1.03	16,357	20.12
Baptist[5]	3	1.03	3,667	4.51
Wesleyan Methodist	1	.34	12	.01

(*) Canada Census: 1881. "Religions of the People", p 175.

[1] Church of England.

[2] Presbyterians included the Church in Canada, the Church of Scotland and the Reformed Church of Scotland.

[3] This grouping included Roman Catholics.

[4] Methodists included the Church of Canada, Episcopal, Bible Christian and Primitive.

[5] Baptists included Baptists, Freewill and Tunkers (Mennonite).

TABLE XXVIII

Education

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Education	Cases	Percent
College	128	74.8
Grammar	24	14.0
High School	6	3.2
Common	13	7.0

TABLE XXIX

Political Positions

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Position	Cases[1]	Percent
Alderman	125	56.82
Mayor of Toronto	38	17.27
Councilman	25	11.36
Parliamentarian[2]	15	6.82
Premier of Ontario	6	2.73
Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario	3	1.36
Prime Minister of Canada	2	.91
Prime Minister of Ontario[3]	1	.45
Attorney-General of Ontario	1	.45
Chancellor of Upper Canada	1	.45
Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada	1	.45
Receiver-General of Upper Canada	1	.45

[1] Number of Political Positions held.

[2] Parliamentarian included both provincial and federal M.P.s.

[3] Political head of the province prior to Confederation.

TABLE XXX

Fraternal Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
St. Andrew's Society	34	13.03
Toronto Mechanics' Institute	27	10.34
Toronto Horticultural Society	26	9.96
The Athenaeum	23	8.81
St. George's Society	23	8.81
St. Patrick's Society	15	5.70
Upper Canada Bible Society	12	4.60
Commercial News Room	12	4.60
Rideau Club	10	3.83
Agricultural Association of Upper Canada	10	3.83
Home District Agricultural Society	8	3.07
Toronto Public Library	7	2.68
Wellington Testimonial	7	2.68
Canadian Institute	6	2.30
Osgoode Club	5	1.91
Toronto Humane Society	5	1.91
Brock's Monument	4	1.53
York County Agricultural Society	3	1.15
Masonic Lodge	3	1.15
Toronto Opera House Co.	3	1.15
Ontario Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	2	.77

Law Society of Upper Canada	2	.77
Canadian Highland Society	2	.77
Ontario Literary Society	2	.77
Hamilton Club	2	.77
York Bible Society	2	.77
Montreal Club	1	.38
British America League	1	.38
Orange Order	1	.38
Toronto Reform Association	1	.38
Young Men's Christian Association	1	.38
Toronto Philharmonic Society	1	.38
Board of Arts and Manufactures	1	.38
Canadian Medical Association	1	.38

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[1] Executive positions held.

TABLE XXXI

Benevolent Associations

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

Association	Cases[1]	Percent
Toronto General Hospital[2]	22	28.57
House of Industry	17	22.08
Toronto Permanent Building Society	15	19.48
Upper Canada Tract Society	8	10.39
Toronto House Building Society	5	6.5
Toronto Building Society	5	6.5
Society for the Relief of Strangers in Distress	4	5.2
Toronto Lunatic Asylum	1	1.3

[1] Executive positions held.

[2] Toronto Hospital members were included in this grouping. Thi institution was the forerunner to the Toronto General Hospital.

TABLE XXXII

Schools

Common Sport and Business Club Membership

1827 to 1881

School	Cases[1]	Percent
Upper Canada College	46	35.66
University of Toronto	12	9.30
Cornwall Grammar School, Cornwall, Ontario	7	5.43
Trinity College, Toronto[2]	7	5.43
Home District Grammar School	6	4.65
King's College, Toronto[2]	3	2.32
Osgoode Hall, Toronto[3]	3	2.32
Royal Military College, Sandhurst, England	3	2.32
Eton College, England	2	1.55
McGill University, Montreal	2	1.55
Edinburgh Classical College, Scotland	2	1.55
Christ Church, Oxford, England	2	1.55
Hellmuth College, London, Ontario	2	1.55
Trinity College, Dublin	2	1.55
Tain Academy, Inverness, Scotland	1	.78
Toronto Collegiate Institute	1	.78
St. John's College, Cambridge, England	1	.78
Southern Academy, Edinburgh	1	.78
Royal Grammar School, Kingston	1	.785
Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, Ireland	1	.78
Royal Academy of Inverness, Scotland	1	.78

Queen's University, Kingston	1	.78
Paris, France	1	.78
Normal School, Toronto	1	.78
Nicolas Wanostracht's School, Camberwell, England . . .	1	.78
Marishal College, Aberdeen, Scotland	1	.78
Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec	1	.78
Morrin College, Quebec	1	.78
Kingston Grammar School, Kingston	1	.78
Royal School of Mining	1	.78
Kremieniec Military Engineering School, Russia	1	.78
King's College, London	1	.78
Dalhousie College, Halifax	1	.78
Dundas Grammar School	1	.78
Edinburgh Veterinary College	1	.78
Edinburgh University, Scotland	1	.78
Commercial College, Toronto	1	.78
Commercial Academy, London, England	1	.78
Cobourg Grammar School	1	.78
Gagetown Grammar School, Hamilton	1	.78
Galt Collegiate Institute	1	.78
Inverness Academical School, Scotland	1	.78
Irvine Academy, Irvine, Scotland	1	.78
Uxshaw College, England	1	.78

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[1] School graduates.

[2] Later a part of the University of Toronto.

TABLE XXXIII

Distribution of Interlocking Directorships

Principal Biographical Figures of Study[1]

1827 to 1881

Category	Cases (N)	Percent (%)
Sport[2]	22	20.0
Transportation	20	18.2
Banking	10	9.1
Insurance	5	5.0
Commercial	13	11.8
Philanthropic	16	14.5
Politics[3]	13	11.8
Education[4]	11	10.0

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[1] Unless otherwise stated numbers represent institutions of interlocking directorships.

[2] Included military associations (ie. Rifle Corps).

[3] Indicated numbers of positions held in local, provincia and federal politics.

[4] Indicated number of interlocking memberships within boards of directors.

APPENDIX II

The Rules and Regulations of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club[23]

1. The members are not to exceed thirty in number.

2. The days of meeting to be Tuesdays and Fridays, to commence playing at 3 o'clock.

3. Any member not present on fridays at five o'clock to be fined one York shilling.

4. No member to be excused from this fine unless he notifies the President, Vice-Presidents or Secretary that he is obliged to be absent from Toronto on business for more than a fortnight.

5. No member can introduce any person more than twice the same season.

6. Every person so introduced must be presented to the President, Vice-Presidents or Secretary and every member introducing a friend must pay a York shilling to the Club.

7. The subscription for each member for the season to be one pound to be paid to the Secretary.

8. Each member to find his own bowls.

9. The fines to be spent at the end of the season in a Dinner and Wines.

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[23] Minutes of the Caer-Howell Lawn Bowling Club, dated June 2, 1837. Ontario Public Archives.

10. The President to name the commencement and finish of the season according to the weather.

11. *Members must be elected by Ballot, two black balls to exclude: Candidates must be proposed and seconded by members.*

APPENDIX II

Continued

Rules of the Noble Game of Bowls as Established at the Green in the College Avenue.

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1. The Game is to be played in numbers of six or four, or two, according to the quantity of members present.

2. If six members are present six play, if seven, one to be thrown out in the usual manner; if eight are present to make to games of four each, the four nearest the Jack to go together; the same with two sixes, or six and four - the odd member or members out, to have a right to come in the next game finished in any party.

3. The Games [*sic*] is seven up.

4. To play for a York shilling each Game.

5. The Party nearest the Jack to have the lead.

6. The Jack must be thrown twenty yards from the Footer.

7. The Jack must be one yard from the edge of the Green.

8. If the Jack is twice successively miss-played touching a Bale after it is played, such Bale the adverse Party may place where they think proper.

APPENDIX III

The Rules and Regulations of the Toronto Club for the Year 1861[34]

1. This Association shall be known as "*THE TORONTO CLUB*".

2. Each candidate for admission shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, by a proposal in writing, to be inserted in the Book of Candidates, and signed by both mover and seconder, and shall be balloted for at any ballot which may take place after the lapse of one week from the time of such proposal, provided the name of the candidate and his proposer and seconder have been posted in the Club Room, under the hand of the Secretary, at least one week before the day of ballot. No ballot shall be valid unless twelve members actually ballot, and *one black ball in six shall exclude*.

3. The ballot shall take place between the hours of ten a.m. and four p.m. on Saturdays.

4. On the admission of each new member, the Secretary shall notify the same to him, and furnish him with a printed copy of the Rules and Regulations, and request him to remit the amount of his subscription to the Treasurer.

5. The Entrance Fee shall be Thirty Pounds, and the Annual Subscription Five Pounds; the latter to be payable in advance on the 1st December in each year. The subscription of new members balloted for on and after the first of February, shall be a sum equal to two dollars per month until the 1st December following.

6. No member shall be admitted to vote on any occasion whatever, or enjoy any of the privileges of the Club, until he shall have paid whatever entrance fee or subscription shall be due by him.

7. Any member failing to pay his entrance fee or subscription within six weeks after his admission, if he resides in Canada, shall be reported to the Committee by the Secretary, who shall cause his name to be erased from the list of members, unless the delay can be justified to the satisfaction of the Committee.

8. The name of every member failing to pay his annual subscription by the 1st of January, shall be exhibited in the Club Room after the expiration of ten days from that date.

9. All entrance fees and annual subscriptions shall be paid either to the

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[34] Rules and Regulations of the Toronto Club for the Year 1861. Minutes of the Toronto Club, Archives of the Toronto Club, Toronto.

Treasurer personally, or to his credit at the Bank of British North America.

10. Any member who may be absent from Canada during the whole period for which the annual subscription is payable, may be considered a supernumerary member, and be exempted from the subscription during the continuance of such absence; but any member availing himself of this indulgence must notify the same by letter to the Secretary, who shall insert his name in the Book of Supernumerary Members. Any such member shall be re-admitted to all his privileges, upon his return being notified, in writing, to the Secretary, and such notification to be given within one month of his return to Canada, and upon payment of his subscription for the current year; and failing in such notification and payment, such member shall be considered as having withdrawn himself from the Club.

11. Officers in Her Majesty's Army and Navy, and persons holding military and civil appointments under the Imperial Government, who may be stationed in Canada temporarily, shall be admitted to the privileges of the Club on payment of the subscription semi-annually in advance.

12. Any member shall have the privilege of introducing a friend to breakfast, lunch or dinner, at his sole expense, provided the name of such friend shall have been previously inscribed on the book to be kept for that purpose.

13. Any member whose dues are all paid shall be at liberty to withdraw from the Club, on his written application to that effect, sent to the Committee before the first stated Annual meeting of the Club, to be held on the first Thursday in December.

14. Any member wilfully infringing the Rules and Regulations of the Club shall be liable to expulsion by a vote of two-thirds of the whole Committee, at a meeting specially held for that purpose, reasonable notice of such meeting being previously given to such member.

15. Any member who shall withdraw, resign, or be expelled, shall cease to be a member of the Club and shall forfeit *ipso facto* all right or claim thereon or in or to its property or funds; and any member who shall be expelled shall forever thereafter be ineligible to be re-admitted a member of the Club.

16. All concerns of the Club shall be managed by a Committee, to consist of eight members with the Secretary, to be elected annually be ballot, at the General Meeting of the Club, which shall be held on the first Thursday in December in each year; and the said Committee shall have full power to make such rules and regulations from time to time as they shall think fit.

17. The Committee shall meet weekly on a stated day, to transact current business and to audit the accounts of the week, of whom three shall be a quorum.

18. It shall be the duty of the Committee to take immediate cognizance of any infraction of the Rules and Regulations of the Club.

19. There shall be two stated meetings of the Club, one of which shall be held on the first Thursday in December for the purpose of electing the Committee for the succeeding year; at which meeting it shall be the duty of

the Committee to present a Report and Abstract of the state of Accounts and general concerns of the Club for the past year, together with an estimate of the receipts and disbursements of the current year, which report and estimate shall immediately thereafter be printed and distributed amongst all the members. The other meeting shall be held on the Thursday fortnight, for the purpose of deciding on such propositions as may have been submitted at the former meeting, and the chair shall be taken at three o'clock.

20. The Committee shall have power at all times to convene an extraordinary meeting of the Club on giving fourteen days' notice, to be posted up during that period in the Club Room, specifying the object of such meeting in the form of a resolution, at which meeting no subject shall be discussed beyond that specified in the notice.

21. The Club room shall be open every day for the reception of members at Seven o'clock in the forenoon in the Summer, and at Eight o'clock in the forenoon in the Winter, and shall be closed and the lights extinguished at One A.M., except on Saturdays and Sundays, when the hour of closing shall be midnight; and no member shall be admitted into the Club after these hours on any pretence whatever, unless specially authorized by the Committee.

22. No member shall on any pretence, or in any manner whatsoever, receive any profit, salary, or emolument from the funds of the Club; nor shall any member give any money or gratuity to any of the servants of the establishment when engaged by the Committee, upon any pretence whatsoever. It being understood that this rule is not intended to preclude any member of the Club from selling property or goods, or stocks, or other money securities, to the Club, or buying any of the same from the Club.

23. No member shall take away from the Club, upon any pretence whatsoever, any newspaper, pamphlet, book, map or other article, the property of the Institution.

24. No servant of the Club shall be sent out of the house upon any errands, on any pretence whatever.

25. Any cause of complaint that may arise is to be written and signed by the member so complaining, on his bill; which complaint must be specially noticed by the Committee on settling the weekly accounts; and any inattention or improper conduct of a servant is to be stated by letter, under the signature of such member, which, being put in the Secretary's box, must be laid before the Committee at their next weekly meeting.

26. All members are to pay their bills for every expense they incur in the Club before they leave the house.

27. No round Game shall on any account be played for money, nor dice used in the Club Room except at Backgammon.

28. No smoking shall be allowed in the Club Rooms, except in the Billiard-room.

29. No member is on any account to bring a dog into the Club Rooms.

30. Any Article of these Rules may be altered, amended or suspended for any length of time, by consent of two-thirds of the members present at any meeting specially convened for that purpose; provided such alteration, amendment or suspension shall have been specified in the notice summoning such meeting.

31. That a quorum of fifteen qualified members shall be necessary to constitute any annual or special meeting of the Club.

32. That if any member elected to serve on the Committee should resign, or should a death vacancy occur, the Committee shall have power to choose a qualified member to act in his stead until the annual meeting next ensuing.

33. The Committee, on being requested in writing by ten members of the Club, shall call a General meeting - giving a week's notice thereof, by posting the same in a conspicuous place in the Reading Room.

34. The foregoing shall be printed and distributed to each member.

APPENDIX IV

The Rules and Regulations of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club for the Year 1856[25]

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1. The object of this Club being the encouragement of Yacht Building and Sailing in the Canadian Waters: *It is Enacted*, that the proceeds of the Club (after paying the necessary current expenses) be appropriated to the purchasing of Cups, *to be sailed for by Yachts the property of members only*, under the Sailing Regulations of the Club.

2. That the officers of the Club shall consist of a Commodore, Vice-Commodore, Captain, a Secretary-Treasurer, and an assistant Secretary. That all officers shall be elected on the first Monday in March, and take office on the first Monday in April following; they shall be ex-officio members of the Committees; shall be owners of Yachts (with the exception of the Secretaries), and shall reside in Toronto during the sailing season.

3. That any gentleman wishing to become a member of the Club shall be proposed by one and seconded by another member at a regular meeting, and that his name, address, and profession, with the name of his proposer and seconder, shall be written and hung up in the Club Room at least ten days before the next meeting, when he shall be balloted for; and that no gentlemen under the age of twenty-one years shall be eligible for membership. Any member wishing to withdraw from the Club shall give notice in writing to that effect to the Secretary, and shall pay all arrears due by him up to the date of such notice.

4. That all officers of the Navy and Army on actual service, all members of Royal Yacht Clubs, and all members of United States Yacht Clubs, shall be admissible as visitors to the Club for a period of three months upon being introduced by a member: that Honoary Members may be elected in the same manner as Ordinary Members, being, however, exempt from the payment of entrance and subscription fees; and that Life Members may be similarly elected upon the payment of L12 10s. in one sum.

5. That all members shall be elected by ballot. *That one black ball out of five shall exclude*, and that no gentleman shall be eligible for election during the current year, if black balled twice. That in the event of ungentlemanlike or unbecoming conduct the Club shall have power to expel any member by ballot at a regular meeting, notice of which shall be given in circulars convening that meeting, and that the majority be in the proportion of at least three to two to expel any such member.

6. That every gentleman on becoming a member of the Club shall pay an entrance fee of Ten Shillings, and an annual subscription of Twenty Shillings, non-residents excepted, whose subscription shall be Ten Shillings,

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[25] Laws and Regulations of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club for 1856. (Toronto: John Blackburn, 1856). Held in the Records of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Archives of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto.

and that in both cases the proposer and seconder shall be liable for the entrance and subscription fees, for one year. All subscriptions shall fall due on the first Monday in March, and if not paid within one month from that date the defaulter shall be struck off the list of members on motion made to that effect; but any member elected between the first Monday in October and the first Monday in March, following, shall not be called upon to pay a second subscription until the second March following.

7. That the Commodore, Vice-Commodore, Captain, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary, be elected by ballot as follows: all nominations for these offices shall be made at a meeting on the first Monday in February, when any members present shall be at liberty to nominate one individual for each of the said offices, which offices shall be separately balloted for; a correct list of these nominations shall be hung up in the Club Room at least ten days preceding the election, and the election shall take place on the first Monday in March following. On the night of election each member present shall be furnished with copies of the lists separately for each office, and, having previously erased the names of those whom he rejects, shall hand his list to the scrutineers previously appointed by the Chairman, who having carefully examined the lists shall report the respective names and numbers of votes to the Chairman, who shall announce the election of the person supported by the most numerous votes. In the event of there not being a quorum at the meeting for nomination, or in the event of the election not taking place from any other cause, the same course shall be pursued at the next general meeting. In the event of any officer resigning, notice thereof is to be given, and a new nomination having been made at a general meeting, the election shall take place at the next general meeting according to the mode above mentioned.

8. That no member shall be allowed to take part in any proceeding of the club, or vote on any subject connected therewith, until he shall have paid his subscription and all other sums which may be due to the Club by him; also, that no yacht whose owner or owners, or any of them, may be in any way indebted to the Club, shall be allowed to enter or sail in any Club Match.

9. That the meetings of the Club shall take place on the first and every alternate Monday of every month, at 8 o'clock p.m., at the Club House; and that the Secretary shall summon a special meeting on receiving directions from the Commodore, or, in his absence, from the Vice-Commodore, or Captain; or on a requisition signed by not less than five members. In all such cases there must be at least three clear days' notice of meeting. That nine members shall form a quorum; that the Commodore, or in his absence, the Vice-Commodore or Captain shall take the chair at all Club meetings, and, in the absence of these officers, it shall be imperative on the member selected by those present to take the chair.

10. That the Secretary shall keep correct minutes of the proceedings of the Club, and that at each meeting the Minutes of the preceding meeting shall be read to the Club, and signed by the Chairman. That the Treasurer shall give receipts, and shall open an account with a Chartered Bank in Toronto, all checks on which shall be signed by the Secretary and countersigned by one of the officers of the Club.

11. That each member be allowed to introduce a friend at the Club meetings, but the same person shall not be so introduced more than twice in the same

season. That at each meeting the names of the members present shall be entered by the Secretary in a book kept for that purpose, and also the names of any visitors they may introduce.

12. That a Sailing Committee, consisting of five members, shall be appointed, of whom three shall form a quorum. They shall have full power in every thing [*sic*] connected with all Club races, both as to starting and deciding the same. They shall have full power also to disqualify any Yacht from running in any race or races during the season, in the event of unbecoming conduct on the part of an owner being proved to their satisfaction. Their decision shall be final; no owner or part owner of a Yacht engaged in any disputed match shall be allowed to sit on the Committee deciding such match.

13. That no motion to suspend or alter any Club Rule shall be entertained unless a notice thereof shall have been given at a General Meeting, and hung up in the Club Room a month before it be discussed.

14. That a Finance Committee of two shall be appointed for the examination and payment of all accounts; that it shall be the duty of the Finance Committee to hang up in the Club Room on the first day of every quarter, an account of the state of the Club Finance up to that day; and that no expenditure of a sum exceeding L25 be ordered at any meeting without the concurrence of the Finance Committee, except for the purchase of Club Cups.

15. That the Yachts of the Club shall assemble at 4 p.m., on every Saturday during the season (weather permitting) about five hundred yards south of the Club House, and sail thence to the Garrison Wharf, and back to the Queen's Wharf, under a leader, to be selected previously by lot, which lots shall be drawn at the second meeting in April (owners of Yachts to draw first). All Yachts to keep astern of the leader until they reach the Queen's Wharf on their return, when the leader may haul down his flag, and the other Yachts shall be at liberty to proceed according to pleasure. That on such occasions it shall be the duty of the Commodore, Vice-Commodore, and Captain to use their utmost efforts to collect the other Yachts round that of the leader in the position already indicated. That the leader shall hoist at his peak a flag not less than four feet square, consisting of four alternate squares of blue and white. That no member of the Club be permitted to hoist this flag unless when leading as above described, and that the Commodore be authorized to substitute manoeuvering instead of sailing the above course.

16. That the first meeting shall take place on the third Saturday in May of each season. Any member prevented leading shall forfeit his turn, the lead then to desolve on the senior officer present, and the member so omitting to lead to be called upon by the Chairman at the next meeting at which he is present, to explain the cause of such omission. The senior officer at each meeting shall hand to the Secretary a list of all the Yachts present thereat.

17. That any Member not being a boat-owner, shall be at liberty, when it comes to his turn to lead, to hoist his flag in the boat of any member willing to accommodate him: boat-owners whose boats may be disabled or not ready, shall have the same privilege. That all members joining the Club, after the list of leaders has been made out, shall lead in the order in

which they enter; boat-owners taking precedence.

18. That the Secretary shall draw out, and hang up in the Club Room for the inspection of members, an accurate list of all the Club boats, stating the name of the owner or owners, distinguishing flag, name of the boat and tonnage, according to the certificate furnished by the measuring officers, as hereinafter stated.

19. That with the view to avoid, as much as possible, all disputes or unpleasant feeling, arising occasionally from thoughtless or unseemly jesting; also to prevent accidents from careless, or reckless steering, or from malicious intent, whether on the part of hired hands or otherwise, all owners of Club boats shall be accountable to the Club for the language and conduct of every individual in their respective boats; and this rule shall be in force whether the owner shall be on board or not.

20. Should any member sell his boat to a non-member, he shall communicate the fact in writing to the Secretary, and in the event of his introducing another boat to the Club, he shall pursue the same course, stating, at the same time, the particulars of tonnage, &c., as already required; and should he sell his boat, or a share thereof, to a member, he shall forward to the Secretary a certificate of the same, (signed also by the purchaser,) in the following form, viz: That the Member registered with such boat in the Club list shall be considered the owner thereof for all Club purposes, and held accountable until such certificate shall have been lodged with the Secretary. That all such notices and certificates be read by the Secretary to the Club at the next meeting.

21. That the Club Flag shall be a blue Burgee, with a white cross, a crown in the upper square, and a beaver in the lower - both yellow - and shall be hoisted at the mast-head. Pattern to be as follows: Triangular, not less than four feet long by two feet six inches in the Luff. That each boat shall be provided with a Distinguishing Flag of the same size and shape, and of such pattern as the owner may select. That the Club Ensign be blue, with the crown in the fly. That with the view of assimulating the practice of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club to the usage of all other Yacht Clubs, the boats of the Club when sailing in any organized meeting, shall be at liberty to hoist the following flags only, viz: the Club Flag, the Distinguishing Flag, the Official Flag, and the Blue Ensign. That the Commodore's Flag shall be swallow-tailed, five feet long by two feet six inches - *Red*: the Vice-Commodore's Flag, the same shape and dimensions, *White*; the Captain's do. do., *Blue*. That Acker's Code of Signals be adopted by the Club.

22. That there shall be a Club uniform as described in the By-laws.

23. That three members of the Club shall be appointed to measure the Club yachts, and that all such yachts shall be measured by these appointed officers, (in presence of their respective owners, should they require it,) according to the following rule: the length to be taken in a straight line on deck, from the fore part of the stem to the after part of the stern-post: the breadth to be taken in the broadest part of the boat, from the outside of the outside plank on one side, to the outside of the outside plank on the other side; that the said breadth shall be deducted from the said length, and the remainder having been multiplied by the breadth, and then by half the breadth, and the product divided by 94, the quotient so given shall be

esteemed the just tonnage, which shall be rated by the next half-ton above any fraction that may occur in such quotient; any part of the stem or stern-post projecting beyond the length so taken shall be added to such length.

24. That the Club boats be divided into two classes, viz: No. 1, all over six tons; No. 2, those of six tons and under. That no boat considered as a working boat, or that shall be at any time let out on hire shall be allowed to belong to the Club. That boats with slip-keels or centre-boards shall form a separate class.

25. That in all Club Matches, Yachts of a lower class shall be permitted to sail with the higher class, upon paying the additional entrance. That the usual entrance for all Club Matches shall be the sum of five shillings for each boat, which must be paid to the Secretary at the Club Room, and the boat entered on the evening of the day previous to the race, between the hours of 8 and 10 o'clock. That no Club Race shall take place unless at least three boats are entered, and two start. That the winner in any Club Race shall not be permitted to start for the next Club Race of that season. N.B. - Public Regattas, though got up by the Club, shall not be considered Club Races within the limitation of this rule.

26. That all Protests shall be made in writing, to the Commodore, or the Sailing Committee, either before the start, or after the return of the boats, but within forty-eight hours of the time named for the start. That in the event of any Protest being decided by the Sailing Committee to be frivolous or vexatious, the boat of the party making such Protest shall be declared ineligible to enter for the next Club Match.

27. That no yacht belonging to more than one owner be allowed to sail in any Club Match, unless each and every owner of such yacht be a member of the Club.

28. That all Club Matches shall be Time Matches - one minute per ton being allowed over the club course; in other cases, the distance to be taken into consideration, and the time arranged by the Sailing Committee, in the above proportion.

29. That the Sailing, Measuring, and Finance Committees shall be elected at the General Meeting, to be held on the first Monday in March, in each year.

APPENDIX V

Toronto Sport and Business Club Data Base

The question of whether to use quantitative methods in the investigation of historical issues has long been a debate between new social historians and the 'traditional' historians. Each sees advantages and disadvantages in the method.[26] The quantifiers see computers as aiding in: the expansion of knowledge as a result of being able to observe unforeseen patterns; the formulation of well-considered hypotheses guided by theoretical knowledge; greater systemization and procedural rigor; the efficient manipulation of large bodies of information; the relief from tedium and trudgery associated with large historical analyses; the greater need for discipline, sophistication and imagination of project ideas; the reproducibility of studies; the licensing of historians to approach persistently troublesome historical problems from new perspectives; and the realization of the relevancy and limitations of historical research. The traditionalists see quantification and computers as: tools of impressionism in search of generalizations; tools that lack sensitivity for the subtleties of human behavior; tools which fail to account for voids in data; tools which simplify data into categories which are too broad and generally unmeaningful; tools which use prescribed statistical procedures not unique to history; methods which lack theoretical assumptions; methods which highlight the inappropriateness of questions asked of the data; tools which foster negation of narrative to interpret the past; tools which are too easy to use for poorly thought-out and ill-conceived analyses; and, tools which automatically determine categorizations of data. All criticisms mentioned here have some credence but none is insurmountable. Methodological rigor, hypothetical insight, precise question-framing, good theoretical knowledge of a problem, imaginative ideas of how historical data can be analyzed, appreciation of the limitations of the data, awareness of how the analysis of historical data can be accommodated by a computer, aptitude for understanding how computers function, plus, a computer system which is flexible and powerful enough to accommodate the data, will all serve to circumvent many of the past inconsistencies of quantitative historical analyses. A major problem with the introduction of computers into historical research has been the fervor which quantifiers have acclaimed their ascendancy to higher order analysis while the traditionalists, generally naive and uninitiated to these machines, have held onto the belief that 'more is not better' and how can computers possibly replace the descriptive task of interpreting the past. It has been around this gap of misunderstanding that most of the argument has occurred. Very few have attempted to bridge the gap and improve conditions because each fervently holds onto what he/she believes in and neither wishes to admit that a compromise is possible. What the present study represents is an attempt to suggest that a compromise may indeed be possible. Both the advantages and disadvantages have been recognized and it has been upon these points that this investigation has been devised. It was the personal view of the author and one shared almost fifteen years ago that,

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[26] For many of the arguments for and against computers and quantitative methods in history, see J.M. Price. "Recent Quantitative Works in History: A Survey of the Main Trends", *History and Theory*, Vol. 9 (1969), pp. 12-17; T.K. Rabb. "Guide to Quantitative History", *Historian*, Vol. 35 (February 1973), pp. 271-275; Edward Shorter, *The Historian and the Computer* . (Princeton, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Stephan Thermstrom, "Quantitative Methods in History: Some Notes", in S. Lipset and H. Stofstacler (eds.), *Sociology and History: Methods* . (New York: Basic Books, 1968); W. H. Walsh, "The Limits of Scientific History", in *Historical Studies*. Vol. 3 (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1961), pp. 45-57; I. Kakhk and I.D. Kovalchenko, "Methodological Problems of Applying Quantitative Methods in Historical Research", *The Soviet Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 1976), pp. 49-61; S.H. Hughes. *History as Art and as Science*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); C. Erickson. "Quantitative History", *American Historical Review*, Vol. 80 (April 1975), pp. 351-365; J. Clubb and A. Bogue, "History, Quantification and the Social Sciences", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1977), pp. 167-169; W.O. Aydelotte. "Quantification in History", *American Historical Review*, Vol. 71 (1966), pp. 808-825; R. Forster, "Quantifying History", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 5 (Autumn 1974), pp. 303-312; R.W. Fogel, "The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History", *American Historical Review*, Vol 80 (April 1975), pp. 329-350; R. Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); and A.T. Stinchcombe, *Theoretical Methods in Social History*. (New York: Academic Press, 1978).

> ...the principal dichotomy is no longer between social science-oriented revolutionaries and humanistic traditonalists, but between those historians who view the computer as a tool to be used only to the extent that it is useful in answering previously determined questions and those who advocate total immersion in computer and quantitative techniques in hopes that completely different kinds of questions will eventually be posed and answered.[27]

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[27] Sheldon Hackney. "Power to the Computers: A Revolution in History?", Proceedings of the Spring Joint Computer Conference of the Association for

In order to appreciate the relationship which sport and business had in the nineteenth century city, this study was structured around the analysis of names of individuals who were members of, or executive officers of, sport and business clubs in Toronto from 1827 to 1881. The nature of the analysis was to examine the extent of common membership in both sport and business clubs and then, through the collection of names from other social institutions, infer that control of access into sport and 'society' was determined by an elite of select proportions. The major investigative purpose of the study was to show that sport, like the legal, fraternal, political, benevolent, military, educational, ethnic, religious, and commercial aspects of society, was controlled by an elite group of upper and upper middle class professionals who acted in a non-egalitarian and non-democratic fashion to regulate the development of sport to their own wishes and desires. Business and its relationship to sport was highlighted due to the continued inference that businessmen, as part of the professional group in the nineteenth century, had the administrative and organizational abilities, the wealth and leisure free time, with which to be instrumental in the establishment and perpetuation of the sport club movement. Further, in light of the controlling influence which the professional classes had in nineteenth century Britain, it was an attempt of the study to see whether a successful transplantation of Victorian society was possible in a colonial setting. It was of great interest to see whether the popular social institutions of the period in England could survive in the newer and "ruder" society of British North America (for a schematic representation of the study, see Figure XVI).

Hence, in order to be able to evaluate these considerations, a scheme of analysis had to be designed. It was determined that some method of efficiently recording, comparing and collating unique names of club members was necessary. It was at this time that the possibility of utilizing the computer was entertained. Though many historical studies have ventured

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[27](cont'd) Computing Machinery. (1970), pp. 278.

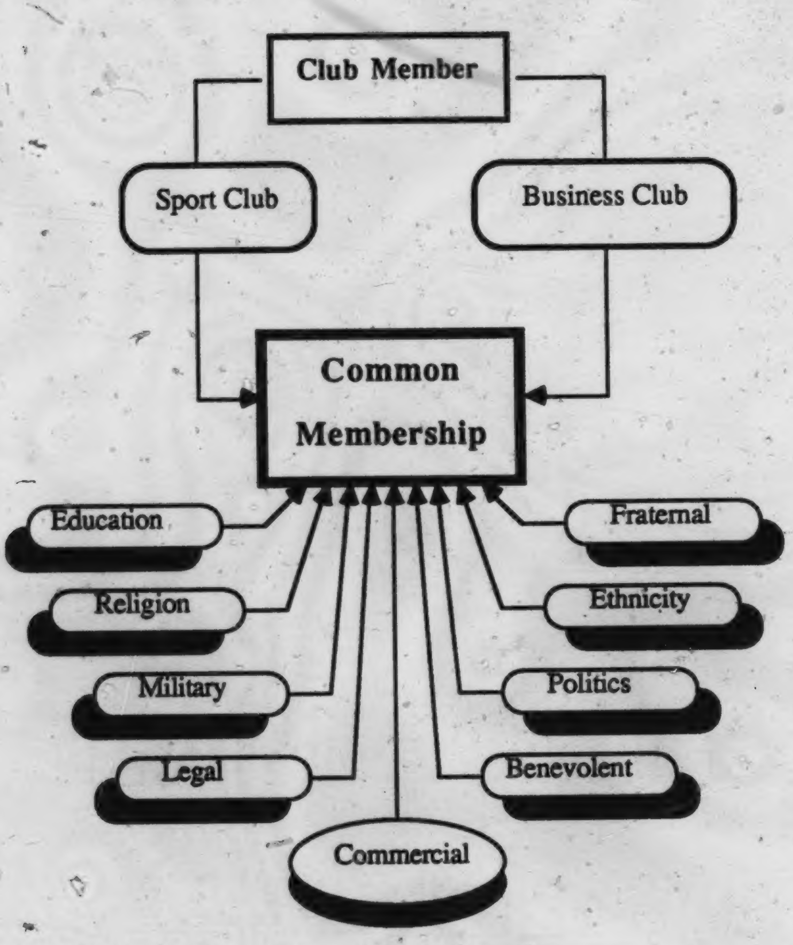
Club Member
Sport Club
Business Club
Common Membership
Education
Religion
Military
Legal
Commercial
Benevolent
Politics
Ethnicity
Fraternal

FIGURE XVI : Schematic Diagram of Data Collection

quantitatively to analyze names,[28] few, if any, have been able to use the capabilities of the computer beyond the complex statistical requirements that their projects demand. To this date, no author has been able to develop a system whereby the names can be sorted and integrated on a purely *textual* basis. Most have had to code word phrases (ie., names) into either a numerical or symbolic syntax, then decode them once the integration of the data had been championed. This process was not only bulky, inefficient and time-consuming but it was very suspect in the accuracy with which it could sort and match names. Precision of data analysis was lost in these massive fact-gathering projects and many served to disorient and confuse both the naive historian and the accomplished statistician. Moreover, many of the computer programs devised in previous historical works have suffered from their inability to amalgamate different types of lists, create separate evaluation fields for the data, accommodate various historical sources (apart from lists), implement different modes of output formatting, use large amounts of data or repeated integrations of data, be cost effective in terms of ease of data manipulation, build discriminatory procedures which could closely evaluate similar data, store and retrieve copious quantities of mixed data, be consistent in the analysis of one group of data to another, be accountable for voids in the data, and be unique enough so as to conform to the research standards set prior to the commencement of the investigation.[29] Researchers have often incorporated complex and non-unique computer packages to accomplish their task of analyzing names. Such packages as CONVRT, BMDP-P2M, PSHP SOUNDEXING, RUSSEL SOUNDEX, ORSIRIS, MIDAS, FORTRAN

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[28] Stephan Thermstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); Theodore Hershberg, "The Philadelphia Social History Project: A Methodological History", Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1973; Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City . (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Josef Barton, Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Allan R. Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); Michael H. Frisch, Town into City: Springfield, Massachusetts and the Meaning of Community, 1840-1880. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972); Harvey J. Graff, The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century City. (New York: Academic Press, 1979); Alexander J. Field. "Educational Reform and Manufacturing Development in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts". Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1974; C.F. Kaestle and M.A. Vinorskis, Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Peter Knights, The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in City Growth. (New York: Oxford, 1973); Stephan Thermstrom and Peter Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Mobility in Nineteenth Century America", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol. 1 (1970), pp. 7-35; W. G. Glazer, "Participation and Power, Voluntary Associations and the Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 5 (September 1972), pp. 151-168; Richard S. Alcorn. "Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town", Journal of American History, Vol. 61 (1964), pp. 685-702; John Modell. "The Peopling of a Working Class Ward: Reading, Pennsylvania, 1850", Journal of Social History, Vol. 5 (Fall 1971), pp. 80-82; and G.W. Kirk and C.T. Kirk. "Migration, Mobility, and the Transformation of the Occupational Structure in an Immigrant Community: Holland, Michigan, 1850-1880", Journal of Social History, Vol. 7 (1973-74), pp. 150-161.

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[29] See the following for criticisms of record linkage and name matching: H.B. Newcombe, "Record Linking: The Design of Efficient Systems for Linking Records in Individual and Family Histories", American Journal of Human Genetics, Vol. 19, No. 3, Part 1 (1967), pp. 335-359; G.J.A. Guth, "Surname Spellings and Computerized Record Linkage", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1976), pp. 10-19; Ian Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records by Man and Computer: Techniques and Problems", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1971), pp. 107-124; D. Kelly. "Linking Nineteenth Century Manuscript Census Records: A Computer Strategy", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1974), pp. 72-82; T.J. King, "The Use of Computers for Storing Records in Historical Research", Historical Methods, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1981), pp. 59-64; R. Schofield and R. Davis, "Towards a Flexible Data Input and Record Management System", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1974), pp. 115-124; E.A. Wrigley, Identifying People in the Past. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); M. Katz and J. Tiller, "Record Linkage for Everyman: A Semi-Automated Process", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1972), pp. 144-150; R. Kelley, M.H. Slotnick and N. Yasuda, "A Combinatorial Problem in Linking Historical Records", Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 10-16; L. Glasco and R. Baker, "CONVRT: A Computer Program for the Conversion of Free-Field Data to Fixed-Field Data Format", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1974), pp. 125-128; Charles Stephenson, "Tracing Those Who Left: Mobility Studies and the Soundex Indexes to the U. S. Census", Journal of Urban History, Vol. 1 (1974), pp. 74-85; Ben Feligi and Alan Sunter, "A Theory for Record Linkage", Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. 64 (December 1969), pp. 1183-1210; Jacques Legare, Yolande Lavoie, and Joubert Charbonneau, "The Early Canadian Population: Problems in Automatic Record Linkage", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 53 (December 1972), pp. 61-78; Theodore Hershberg, Alan Burstein and Robert Dockhorn, "Record Linkage", Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 9, Nos. 2 and 3 (1976), pp. 137-162; D.B. Light and J.R. Seaman, "Cluster Analysis of Organizational Memberships: A Methodology for the Reconstruction of Association Patterns from Organizational Records", Historical Methods, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1982), pp. 11-15; and R. Bonacich, "Techniques for Analyzing Overlapping Memberships", in H. T. Costner (ed.), Sociological Methodology. (New York: Scribner, 1972), pp. 176-185.

IV AND SPSS have all been used in past investigations[30]. Yet, these forms of analysis have remained inefficient, cumbersome and non-distinct in their application to name research in the history discipline.

This study attempted to develop a theoretical platform which would not only guide the collection of name data but would also guide the construction of a computer package which would be capable of handling the unique characteristics of the data. The overall intention was to create a sampling and analyzing procedure which would be wholly specific to the task of sorting names and allocating various distinctive identifiers (syntactically) to each name. It was hoped that, besides amassing voluminous amounts of name data, the computer would be able to alter, add to, store, report, revise and *accurately* search the data.[31] As well, it was anticipated that the computer handling of the data would accommodate for such processes and irregularities as: data amalgamation, pecularity of sources, mis-matching of names, unwieldy statistical treatments, complex user commands, encoding and decoding of data, prescribed or 'canned' categorical analysis, redundancy of stored data, non-integration of data voids and high costs associated with large, traditional data synthesis. It was felt that if some or all of these encumbrances could be overcome, then this study, and quantitative history generally, would be better served in the way it deals with the quantitative analysis of names.

The author also believed that if a computer program could be developed to handle, store and analyze name data efficiently then perhaps other researchers would be stimulated in doing comparative studies on a city by city basis. This consideration arose out of the concern for the strength of generalizations which one researcher, investigating one city, could make regarding class structure and sport. This is not to say that these generalizations are of an inferior nature but rather to point out, in the context of society as a whole (Canada as a nation), that repeated examination in various urban centers is necessary before strong inferences can be made on class and sport on a national basis.

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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] The computer would handle the data much like a human would the only difference being that the data is much more voluminous and more complex to sort and collate.

A. Methods and Procedures

The process for collecting and analyzing the name data in this study was separated into two parts. One part concerned the theory behind the collection of the data and the other part concerned the development of a computer system which could efficiently manage the data. The respective parts built on the already existing body of knowledge of content analysis and the Stanford Public Information Retrieval System (SPIRES). Each were felt to be representative of the objectives of this study and each were flexible enough to be "twisted" for the specific needs of the project. Conceptually, content analysis guided the procedures and criteria for the collection of name data. It theoretically served to outline how and why particular data were chosen and aided in the systematization of the theoretical frame of reference. Similarly, SPIRES was used to frame the development of a name data base. It had all the requirements of reading, storing, retrieving, altering, adding, deleting, revising, reporting, and accurately searching data, a feature of a generalized data base management system. All that needed to be done was to develop the system to allow for the unique handling of *full* name data.[32]

Content Analysis

Content analysis as defined by Carney is, "...any technique for making inferences by systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages."[33] Originally devised as a technique for systematically sampling journalistic press for intent and inference of meaning, content analysis remains a viable tool for conceptually developing a framework around which questions can be asked or hypotheses tested.[34] Simply put, content analysis is a way of asking a fixed set of questions unfalteringly of all predetermined bodies of writing (in the present case, club membership lists, rolls, and rosters), in such a way as to produce countable results. In a way, content analysis is like a rake which has a range of heads with various arrangements of teeth. The object is to use the rake in such a manner as specified by a particular set of teeth so as to catch 'meaning' from all of the areas which are being raked. The teeth are chosen according to the objects (meanings) which are to be raked in and the terrain from which they are to be raked. Thus, with the criteria or teeth for what should be gathered and where, the researcher can go to the sources to gleen the relevant data. In essence, content analysis symbolizes a form of a methodological raking.[35]

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[32] The author wishes to thank Dr. T. Craig Montgomerie, for his invaluable advice and assistance with regards to the developing the SPIRES data base. Though this may appear to have been a rather straight-forward procedure, the develpoment of SPIRES involved literally hundreds of hours of testing and retesting.

[33] T.F. Carney, Content Analysis: A Technique For Systematic Inference from Communications. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1972), p. 25. The first definition of content analysis was coined by B.R. Berelson in his Content Analysis in Communication Research. (New York: The Free Press, 1952), p. 18. He defined it as, "...a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication".

An advantage, or perhaps a disadvantage of content analysis, is that it forces researchers to hypothesize about what it is they hope to discover in their sources. By doing so, the researchers, or in our case the sport historians, are involuntarily forced to test their hypotheses regardless of what the data reveals. It alleviates the temptation to mold the data according to no hypotheses at all. Therefore, content analysis gives historical research a tool which can be systematically and objectively applied to the collection of historical data.[36] A possible positive aspect of the 'systematizing' and procedural explicitness could be the development of similar studies which would attempt to discover findings or patterns which would otherwise go unnoticed. And, by virtue of the attention given to describing exactly how a study could be framed, the researcher would be able to understand more easily the benefits of knowing what has been done, how it was done and why it was done. It could be upon this understanding that future projects could come to fruition.

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[34] See *Ibid*., pp. 25-31 for a concise history of the us of content analysis. As well, see another excellent short history of content analysis in K. Krippendorff, Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology. (London: Sage, 1980), pp. 13-20. Also see G. Gerbner, O. Holsti, K. Krippendorff, W. J. Paisley, and P. J. Stone (eds), The Analysis of Communication Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques. (New York: John Wiley, 1969); O.R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities . (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969); I.D. Pool, Trends in Content Analysis. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1959); G.A. Miller, Language and Communication. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951); and B. Berelson and P.F. Lazarsfeld, The Analysis of Communication Content. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

[35] See D. Morrow and J. Waters, "Method in Sport History: A Content Analysis Approach", Canadian Journal of History of Sport, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1982), pp. 30-36.

[36] For the connection between historical materials and content analysis, see A.V. Cicourel, Method and Measurement in Sociology. (New York: The Free Press, 1964), especially Chapter 6, "Historical Materials and Content Analysis".

Content analysis involves *counting* and *quantification*. It can be used to assess themes, words, contexts, characters, interactions, bias or ideas. Or, in other words, it can be of a qualitative or quantitative nature or a combination of both depending on the problem or question under investigation. Content analysis does not represent *just* an alternative technique for the recording of facts to refute or support a question or hypothesis. Because the 'counting units' are often too small to be interpreted by themselves, a researcher must wait until the total collection of data is complete before making an interpretive analysis of his or her findings. The process could be likened to a scientific researcher performing a double blind experiment. Therefore, the likelihood of predeterminations or precocious results is minimized with proper structuring of the research framework. In fact, much subjective interpretation can be avoided through rigorous conceptual controls. But the most important consideration of content analysis is not the counting or recording of data but rather the question or questions posed in the research design. For it is around the question(s) that the theoretical frame of reference is constructed for content analysis and not around the resulting numerical values or categories. Quite simply, content analysis represents a tool or technique to answer a question(s) and it is incapable of supplying a question any more than the data can speak for itself (Figure XVII and XVIII).[37]

In the present study, content analysis and an attendant theoretical framework were implemented to answer several hypothetical questions, several which have been already been outlined in the introductory chapter. Generally though, the analysis revolved around the

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[37] The theoretical ideas behind the two figures are attributable to Carney. The author has altered Carney's theoretical constructs to better portray the unique qualities of his own research.

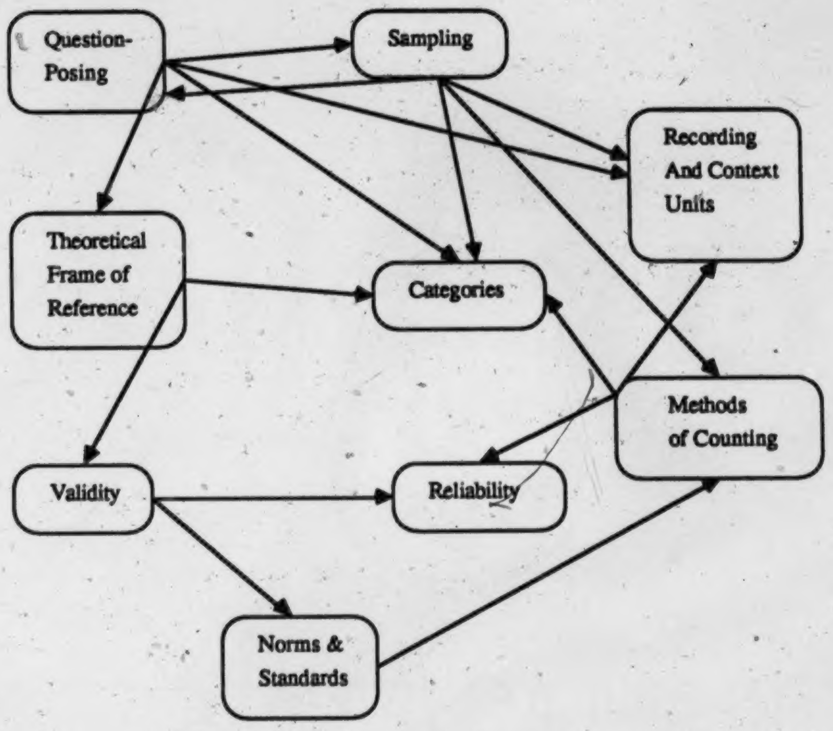
Question-Posing
Sampling
Recording And Context Units
Theoretical Frame of Reference
Categories
Methods of Counting
Validity
Reliability
Norms & Standards

FIGURE XVII : Connections Between Procedures Involved in Content Analysis

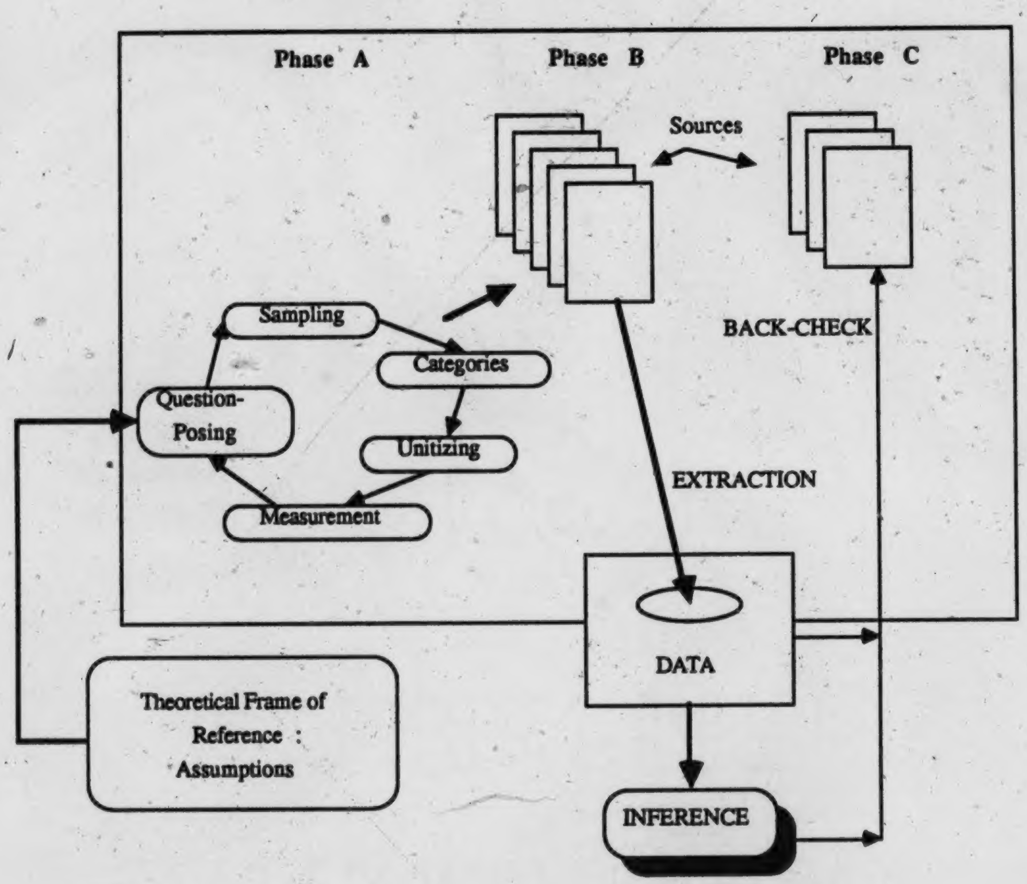
Phase A
Phase B
Phase C
Sources
Sampling
Categories
Question-Posing
Unitizing
Measurement
BACK-CHECK
EXTRACTION
DATA
INFERENCE
Theoretical Frame of Reference : Assumptions

FIGURE XVIII : **Content Analysis as an Analytical Operation**
The large boxed area indicates the operations
of Content Analysis proper.
(Adapted from Carney)

general questions of:

1. Were there several common sport and business club memberships held by various persons of Toronto's professional community?

2. Were these common memberships indicative of the group cohesiveness which the elite showed in other aspects of Toronto's society (namely, the commercial, fraternal, legal, religious, benevolent, military, political, educational and ethnic aspects)?

3. Were the elite highly represented in executive positions, by particular ethnic and religious affiliation(s), by certain levels of educational attainment and by specific occupations?

These questions provided the basis upon which the infrastructure of the analysis was built.[38] In accordance with the above questions, the author determined the theoretical frame of reference, the sampling procedures, the categories, the recording units, the methods of counting and the standards or norms.

Theoretical Frame of Reference

The theoretical frame of reference for the study was based primarily on the works by Metcalfe.[39], Mott,[40] Simpson,[41] Wettan and Willis,[42] Gruneau,

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[38] The infrastructure for this study can be defined as a phase which included the development of the theoretical frame of reference, the sampling, the categories, the units of recording, the measurement standards and the question posing. (Phase A in Figure XVII)

[39] See Allan Metcalfe's, "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada, 1860-1920". A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 28, 1972; "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1901", in Richard S. Gruneau and John Albinson (eds), Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. (Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley, 1976), pp. 77-101; "Sport and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1840-1889", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 1-19; and "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 11, No. 21 (May 1978), pp. 144-166.

[40] Morris Mott. "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1980), pp. 25-36.

[41] R. Wayne Simpson, "Influences of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857", M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980.

[42] Richard Wettan and Joe Willis, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915", Journal of Sport History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 45-63; and "Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club: A Preliminary Analysis of

[43] Porter,[44] Clement,[45] and Mills.[46] It was of concern to the author that little in-depth analysis of class and sport had been undertaken in the historical examination of sport in Canada. The author hypothesized that not enough attention had been given to the analysis of class and how it might have affected the development of sport in this country in the nineteenth century. Many authorities[47] had theorized about how class affected sport, and the persons involved in sport, but few had attempted to substantiate their theories with actual evidence from the best primary sources attainable. Social differentiation and its effect on sport, and the inclusion or exclusion of individuals who participated in sport, has remained an extemporaneous argument with little evidence to substantiate the theorizing. Likewise, the impact or influence which the club environment had on sport has been little studied. Again, though authorities recognized sport clubs as being class preserves, few had attempted to research and interpret how a club perpetuated the class ideal and how this ideal directly influenced sport. Moreover, the author recognized that few researchers had yet to seriously consider whether class and sport were a mere reflection of society as a whole; or, in other words, whether the

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[42](cont'd) the Impact of the Club in Amateur Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America", Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 7, No. 1 (May 1976), pp. 41-53.

[43]Richard S. Gruneau's, "Class, Sports and Social Development: A Study in Social Theory and Historical Sociology", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1981; "Sport, Social Differentiation and Social Inequality", in D. Ball and J. W. Loy (eds), Sport and Social Order. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975); "Class or Mass? Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport", in Gruneau and Albinson, Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives., *loc. cit.*; "Elites, Class, and Corporate Power in Canadian Sport: Some Preliminary Findings", in F. Landry and W. Orban (eds), Sociology of Sport. (Miami: Symposia Specialists, 1978); "Power and Play in Canadian Society", in R. J. Ossenberg (ed), Power and Change in Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980); and "Sport and the Debate on the State", in H. Cantelon and R. Gruneau (eds), Sport, Culture and the Modern State Symposium Proceedings. (Kingston, Ont.: Sport Studies Research Group, Queen's University, 1980).

[44]John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

[45]Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).

[46]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957).

[47]"Many authorities", means, those around which the theoretical frame of reference was structured, namely, Metcalfe, Mott, Simpson, Wettan and Willis, Gruneau, Porter, Clement, and Mills.

leadership which the social elite showed in the commercial, professional, educational, philanthropic, political, military, fraternal and religious sectors of society carried over into the control of leadership in sport. And whether, as a result of this leadership, the elite acted as a collectively conscious and cohesive body in the expression of their class ideal.

In order to have some substantiation for the research concerns in the theoretical frame of reference, the author drew from several theoretical bodies of knowledge. These were elite theory, the growth of the professional classes in the nineteenth century, the elite control of philanthropic and benevolent ventures in the Victorian era, and the rise in importance of the social club in the context of nineteenth century British society.

Sampling

In order to evaluate class and sport in the context of Toronto's sport and business development, and in keeping with the reported significance of the club in the perpetuation of the class ideal, it was determined that a sampling of the sport and business clubs of Toronto during the nineteenth century would be the best means to evaluate the research questions posed. To regulate the scope of the sample it was decided by the author to delimit his collection of data to the dates 1827 through 1881. The earlier date was chosen for the fact it represented the initial establishment of Toronto's first sport club, the Toronto Cricket Club. The later date was chosen because it signified the year when John A. MacDonald formally enacted his National Policy to regulate federal industrial policies, labour unions and monopolistic and oligopolistic mergers. This later delimiter considerably changed the face of Canadian business and as a result, considerably altered the nature of the social fabric, meaning that traditional business families now faded into the background as large corporate ventures took precedence. Hence, to be as accurate in name designation in business as possible, it was felt prudent to confine the sampling to a period wherein prominent family names were fewer and more easily recognizable.

The operant variable of content analysis for sampling in this study was a club member's *name*. The name was recorded exactly as it appeared in the original record. All names were recorded in the order in which they appeared on the club lists and rosters and no attempt was made to alter the name in accordance with previous entries. Thus, if the name, William McMaster, appeared in one source in full and in another source as W. McMaster, both variations were recorded separately as they appeared. Later, cross-referencing through computer matching and secondary sources allowed interpretive matching of similar names.[41]

The names of club members were extracted primarily from original sources (ie., memberships lists, minutes and club rosters) but where there was a void in evidence, names were gathered from newspaper clippings, privately published club histories, personal correspondence or acts of incorporation. Every attempt was made to make the sample as complete as possible. The clubs sampled were those which had original records and would allow examination of them. Some records of membership were contained in national and provincial archives, metropolitan and university libraries, and personal places of residence and were thus more easily accessed. As a consequence, the sample resulted in five business clubs and sixteen sport clubs being examined (see chapter I, page 30 for names of the clubs).

Additionally, the names of members who belonged to commercial, religious, political, military, educational, fraternal, legal, benevolent and ethnic organizations were sampled in exactly the same manner as those for the sport and business clubs. Where original records existed, names were recorded exactly as they appeared and exactly in the same order but again, these were supplemented by newspapers, acts of incorporation and personal correspondence. Every attempt was made, where records were accessible, to include them in the sample. It should be mentioned that wherever a member held a position of office in a club or organization, this position was recorded along with the name. Moreover, for every year that an individual was a member of a particular club, or a member of a club's executive, his name was recorded from the data source. Hence, for each name recorded, there usually appeared a club name, a club type (ie., fraternal, sport), a source reference (ie., Toronto Curling Club, Minutes, beginning November 22, 1834), a year, a special title (ie., Doctor, Colonel), a corrected spelling of name (ie., D. Matthews: separate entry D. Mathews), and an executive position (if the member had one, otherwise he was simply recognized as a *member*).

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[41] This process was carried out through the extensive cross-referencing of association memberships and of 'back-checking' to original and secondary sources, thereby overcoming any discrepancy in name matching.

Categories

The categories into which data were assembled were arbitrarily predetermined in accordance with the objectives of the research questions. Because it was specific types of clubs which were of interest in the analysis, data were recorded into categories reflecting various club types. Members were either characterized as belonging to a sport or business club, or they were characterized as being a constituent of a firm (commercial enterprise), a fraternal brotherhood, an educational body, a religious congregation, a benevolent society, a political office, a legal order, an ethnic fraternity, or a military regiment. Members were also categorized according to positions held, occupation, religion, ethnicity, educational attainment, school(s) attended, birth place, birth date and death date. These data represented the second set of data. It was entered and stored in the SPIRES subfile PERSONAL (The arrangement of how the data was stored and managed in SPIRES will be referred to later). Sources for these variables ranged from personal papers, biographical dictionaries, newspapers, diaries, to club or association minutes, ecclesiastical records, school rosters and census statistics. Where personal information was lacking, it was reflected in the brevity of a particular member's biographical sketch.

Recording Units

Simply defined, as far as content analysis is concerned, recording units are things to be counted.[49] In the case of this study, these were operationalized in terms of *words*. The words included any textual recording which would be used in the analysis of club members. Therefore, members' names, clubs, dates, positions held, occupations, ethnicity, education, school(s), birth place, birth date, death date, club types and source references were all considered counting units. Each variable as a textual string represented a potentially countable unit in this study. It was with the assistance of SPIRES that each textual variable became a potentially countable reality. Descriptive numerical totals were possible as a result of the computer being able to read a textual variable and include it in its collective analysis. It should be stressed that no special encoding or decoding was necessary as the computer system designed for this study was capable of reading textual data just as it originally appeared in the club's records.

Methods of Counting

The primary method of counting in this study was facilitated by the use of the computer. Specifically, the SPIRES program was developed in such a manner as to account for each and every word recorded in the original data collection. The program literally read and *counted* each word in the data base and as such, was capable of reporting descriptive totals for each category specified within the study. As well, the SPIRES system was capable of numerically reporting on an interactive basis (a querying function of a data base usually done through the terminal) certain logistical results in accordance to questions asked of it. For instance, it was capable of reporting how many common sport and business club memberships were present in the sample at any given time assuming that the programming to execute such a function had been completed. Or, it was capable of telling the author how many lawyers were in the sample of common sport and business club memberships. It should be mentioned that the criteria chosen for common membership in both sport and business club was that a member needed to have at least one recorded incidence of belonging to both a sport club and business club to be included in the larger sample. The memberships need not have been in the same year or simultaneously held. Each individual's data signified a "record" element in the SPIRES data base.

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[49] Carney, Content Analysis., p. 39.

Content Analysis as an Analytical Operation

The research design for this study sought to take into consideration several processes and their interrelationships; sampling, unitizing, standards of accessment for data analyzed (theoretical background), and inferential procedures (again refer to Figure XVII). Each process was divided into three phases, A, B, and C. Phase A encompassed the basic infrastructure of the study. Here the theoretical frame of reference was operationalized by the defining of the procedural rules by which data was collected. The research questions were framed around the assumptions and underlying motivations for initiating the study. The question(s) acted to guide the techniques for sampling, category development, unitizing and eventual measurement. Phase B of the study design involved not only the collection of data (names) but also the analytical processing of it. The processing, in part, required the author to program the SPIRES system such that it would accept the data according to the form in which it was originally found (directly from the lists and rosters), and as well, it required the author to type the clubs and names into the computer. From the data base created by this data, and in conformity to the program constructed to analyze common sport and business club memberships, the author was able to extract descriptive information and data to make *informed* inferences. Informed inferences materialized not only because of the computer's ability to say how many common club memberships there were or how many executive positions were held by a particular person, but also because the back-check grounded any explanation relative to the data collected. Therefore, the inferential aspect of the study was guided by both the quantitative results and the theoretical underpinnings as reflected by the original research questions. Phase C was an ongoing and, at times, simultaneously occurring process with Phase B. The purpose of Phase C was to act instrumentally as a 'back-check' procedure for the data being collected, or which had already been collected. If at any time the author was unsure of the integrity of a name (due to misspelling, duplication, or illegibility), or the scope of an intended inference, he did a *back-check* or cross-reference of his data with other sources. These other sources could be in the form of journal articles, books, newspapers, personal records, or club minutes. By *back-checking* or cross-referencing on a repeated basis throughout the duration of the study, the author was able to make inferences with greater confidence and at times, with wider ranging insight. Additionally, the *back-check*, along with the theoretical frame of reference, assisted in establishing norms and standards by which the inferential analysis could proceed. They acted to set in context any interpretive finding which the author cared to make. Therefore, the *back-check* was an integral part of the content analysis design and added greatly to the reliability and validity of the results.[50]

The Stanford Public Information Retrieval System (SPIRES)

In an attempt to bring logical order to a vast sum of name data, a computer system was utilized in this study which was flexible and powerful enough to handle historical data from various sources. The name of this system is the Stanford Public Information Retrieval System, (SPIRES). Unlike conventional computer uses in historical research, SPIRES offers the investigator 'potential' programmable software which can be designed for specific needs. A researcher utilizing SPIRES need not be concerned about prescribed or pre-arranged statistical limitations of the computer. This system is universally capable of handling most types of data whether these be numerical, symbolic or textual, and allows special designation of data such as personal names, dates, executive positions, etc..

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[50] See J. A. Garraty. "The Application of Content Analysis to Biography and History", in Pool, Trends in Content Analysis., pp. 171-187, for a discussion of how a theoretical frame of reference can be developed for historical uses of content analysis.

SPIRES is a data base management system, which was developed at Stanford University in 1972 specifically to provide a full management and data retrieval system for the university's library automation project (BALLOTS).[51] From this specialized origin, SPIRES has evolved into a powerful (capability wise) and general, yet simple system for data base management. The types of data that the SPIRES system is capable of processing varies from highly structured data such as statistics and laboratory measurements, to unstructured data such as bibliographies, address files, and mailing lists. One unique feature of SPIRES, and one which has not been fully utilized by other data base management systems, is its ability to read or process full *textual* information. From an historian's point of view this is very important due to the fact that all interaction with the computer, whether it be the inputting of data, the maintenance of data, the integration of data or the retrieval of data, is done in a simple (easy to understand) textual language. It is not necessary to encode and decode data to suit a computer's capabilities. Rather it is the user (the historian in the present study) who designates in SPIRES how data should be inputted into the system, how it should be stored and how it should be maintained and retrieved *textually*. In other words, the data base can be designed to meet the specific needs of the user and it can be programmed to allow the most efficient and effective uses of the stored data.

Another advantage of SPIRES, and one which has particular impact on the historical discipline, is the efficiency with which data is handled. A good data base management system, or a computer program that supervises data for the researcher, should be able to be used to search for, arrange, analyze, display, and print data much faster and more accurately than any individual can possibly hope to ever accomplish.[52] A good system should allow the researcher to do these tasks fairly easily without having to spend a great deal of time learning how.[53] Once set-up, a SPIRES system can be easily used by persons naive to computer usage. All one needs to know are several search terms and management commands (for example select, show, browse, final, transfer, merge, update) and how to type them into the computer. Unlike conventional ***dedicated*** computers which demand special operators and support staff, SPIRES can be easily added to, queried and maintained by the person (again, in this case the sport historian) who originally developed the data base. More than anything, the data base is a simple tool of information storage for the user.

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[51] Ron Senda. "The Stanford Public Information Retrieval System". A Paper Presented at the University of Alberta Computing Colloquim, 1980.

[52] See the following for corroboration of this fact: E. Fayen, "Dartmouth College: The BRS Link", Library Hi Tech, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 1983), pp. 55-58; K. Garland, "An Experiment in Automatic Hierarchical Document Classification", Information Processing and Management, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1983), pp. 113-120; E. Ferrarini, "All the Data You Will Ever Need", Business Computer Systems. Vol. 2, No. 10 (1983), pp. 51-55.

Before proceeding into a discussion of how data is arranged in SPIRES and how it was arranged for use in the present study, perhaps it is best to define some terms commonly associated with the Stanford System:

1. DATA: A set of characters, words or signals to which a significance can be assigned.[54]
2. DATA BASE: A collection of data organized to facilitate maintenance, query and/or reporting.[55]
3. DATA BASE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM: A method of managing and manipulating the data in a DATA BASE.
4. INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM: A frequently used synonym for DATA BASE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM.
5. INFORMATION: Selected data that have been processed to make them

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[53] A Guide to Data Base Development -- A SPIRES Primer . (Palo Alto: Cal.: Center for Information Technology, 1982).

[54] K. M. Hussain, Development of Information Systems for Education. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 81.

[55] Most of the definitions cited here were used by T. Craig Montgomerie in his development of a student records information management system which was part of his Ph.D. requirements in Educational Administration at the University of Alberta. For specific reference, see T. Craig Montgomerie, "Instructional Department Computer Support Systems: A Strategy and an Implementation", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1981, pp. 5-6.

meaningful[56].

6. INTERACTIVE: A mode of computer operation in which the user interacts directly with the computer (usually by means of a computer terminal as processing continues).

7. FILE: The *file* consists of a number of SUBFILES which contain related *data* but which exist for specific purposes.

8. SUBFILE: The *subfile* is the primary data base *unit*. It consists of a series of DATA RECORDS linked together by INDEX RECORDS. The *subfile* contains all references for a particular application but has the ability to reference *data* in other *subfiles* within the current *file*.

9. DATA RECORD: All *data* related to a unique identifier (e.g. a particular club).

10. DATA ELEMENTS: A single *data* field in a record (e.g. a club member's name).

Organization of SPIRES

SPIRES, as a data base management system has the ability to manipulate and integrate data and as such, it resembles the characteristics of a filing cabinet. [57] The cabinet itself represents the largest accessible unit in SPIRES this being the *file*. A *file* consists of a number of *subfiles* which contain related data but which exist for specific purposes. A cabinet drawer may be thought of as a *subfile*. The *subfile* itself is the primary data base unit. It consists of a series of *data records* linked together by INDEX RECORDS. It is the INDEX RECORDS which make the SPIRES data base a non-traditional information management system, in that they link different kinds of *data records* together and this gives it the ability to reference data in another *subfile* contained within a particular *file*. In the SPIRES filing cabinet, a *data record* could be represented by a particular file folder, of which there could be several in each drawer. Within each *data record* or file folder are contained significant bits of data which relate to the *data record*. It is at this level that *data elements* are sorted in terms of their relationship to one another. If certain *data elements* need to be kept together (for instance, an address and telephone number for a specific person), they are stored in what are called STRUCTURES. *Structures* can be either singly or multiply occurring aspects of a *data record*. This depends on the type and quantity of *data elements* related to the *data record*. In SPIRES, the breadth of the *data element* is virtually limitless. Thus, by accessing particular drawers or *subfiles*, the user has significant possibilities in the questioning and retrieval of data stored in the information management system.

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[56] Hussain, Development of Information Management Systems..., p. 81.

[57] King, "The Use of Computers for Storing Records in Historical Research", p. 59. This author attempts to dispell a traditional myth among those who are naive to computer usage when he stated: "It is a widespread belief among those who have had little or nothing to do with the recent developments in computers that they are extremely sophisticated calculating machines, suited mainly to the solution of complex equations or statistical analysis. Although this is one aspect of their use, the modern computer system is used much more heavily as a replacement for a filing cabinet or index card drawer." Also see, T. J. King, "The Design of a Relational Database Management System for Historical Records", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1979.

For the purposes of the present study, the SPIRES system was developed in the following manner. Within the *file* SPORT, as defined for this study, existed three *subfiles*: MEMBERSHIP, PERSONAL, and PERSON.[11] Each of these *subfiles* had a unique purpose. In the MEMBERSHIP *subfile* were entered all club records and lists containing members' names as they pertained not only to sport and business, but also as they related to the educational, fraternal, religious, ethnic, legal, military, political, benevolent and commercial aspects of Toronto's society for the period under study. The way in which the *data elements* were arranged or initially programmed, allowed other *data* (other association and club lists of names) to be entered which were similar in form to that of the sport and business memberships lists. The *data elements* were arranged according to their later importance of being searchable through *indexes*. Because club-name, club-type and source-reference were all singly occurring and unique elements to each *data record*, they remained independent onto themselves. However, due to the fact that a club member, the year of membership, a special title (ie., Doctor), an executive position (if other than an ordinary member), the starting and ending dates of that position, plus a corrected spelling name, were all deemed important relative to each other and to the original research question(s), they were included in a *structure*. Thus, the MEMBERSHIP *subfile* represented a large collection of *data records* each containing a specific club, a particular club type (ie., sport, business, fraternal, political), a source reference (ie., Toronto Curling Club, Minutes, beginning November 22, 1834), a list of members, the year or years of membership, any special title of a member, any executive positions held, starting and ending dates of the position plus, the corrected spelling name of any individual member.[59]

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[11] In all truth, there were actually *four* subfiles but the fourth was needed for more of a functional purpose than a useful purpose. As will be later described, in order to index all pertinent information in the *flagship* PERSON subfile, it was necessary to twist the data so that the hierarchy of data elements were re-arranged. Hence, the fourth subfile acted as a shadow subfile which completed the twisting of the data so that the PERSON subfile could function as it was programmed to do. This procedure is not a hidden problem in this data base but rather a functional limitation in the SPIRES system.

The PERSONAL *subfile* was developed to contain brief biographical sketches for those members who had common sport and business memberships (see Appendix V). Included in this *subfile* were such *data elements* as the member's name, the corrected spelling name, occupation (programmed to be multiply occurring), religion, ethnicity, level of education attained, school(s) attended, birth place, birth date and death date. Because each member had a unique *data record* and there was no chance of his *data elements* being confused with someone else's, the *record* took on the appearance of a *flat file*, meaning that all *data elements* were arranged in such a way that they eliminated the need for *structures*.

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[59] This data element was incorporated to account for any discrepancy which might have occurred in the determination of a particular member's name. One of the greatest drawbacks of past historical research dealing with names is that it has failed to disclose which names were considered to be the same person even though the spelling of the name varied. In this study, the author was able to show what name(s) were taken to be what people by virtue of the spelling name data element. In a manner of speaking, the author has developed an *audit trail* for inferences made with respect to particular names.

Lastly, and most importantly, was the development of the PERSON *subfile*. By virtue of a set of programmed INDEX RECORDS (much like the ones to be found at the end of a book), the PERSON *subfile* became the flagship of all three subfiles. Here, all the *data elements* of all the *data records*, in both the MEMBERSHIP and PERSONAL *subfiles*, were linked so as to facilitate comprehensive retrieval and querying capabilities of the constructed data base. It was in the PERSON *subfile* that the author was able to query the data base for his original research questions. It was here that answers to common memberships, common directorships, *interlocking friendly memberships*, plus, the scope of membership involvement were attainable. The PERSON *subfile* was essentially the *subfile* where the author went to find out everything about a particular member which had been entered into the computer from the original sources. Inclusively, it represented all members, all positions held, all clubs of membership, year(s) of membership, the names of the respective clubs where membership was held, the types of clubs or associations joined, plus, for common sport and business memberships, the PERSON *subfile* included such biographical data as occupation(s), religion(s), ethnicity, education, school(s), birth place, birth date and death date. Descriptively, the PERSON *subfile* was programmed in such a manner as to link all possible occurrences of *data element* attributes to a particular member and if the member held common sport and business club membership, then link (by virtue of a 'pers.pointer' or *personal* pointer) all personal biographical data as well. Thus, what the PERSON *subfile* represented was a comprehensive listing of all memberships for all persons included in the study.[60] This, in itself, made the PERSON *subfile* the most powerful of all three *subfiles* in answering the research questions and ultimately made it the flagship of the data base *file* SPORT.

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[60] Literally, this was what the PERSON *subfile* represented, but in actuality, it was really a pseudo-comprehensive subfile. Upon a querying command from the user, data linked to the PERSON subfile by INDEX RECORDS from the *MEMBERSHIP* and *PERSONAL* subfiles, would be retrieved in such a way as to appear

Procedural Steps for Creating a SPIRES Data Base Management System and the Entering of Data

The creation of a SPIRES data base management system requires a working knowledge of its programming language, the FILE DEFINITION. This is a very extensive and flexible language and is the subject of a very comprehensive manual, The SPIRES File Definition, a 400 page document.[61]. The manual provides not only detailed instructions on all facets of creating a SPIRES FILE but also technical explanations of how the parts of the FILE work together to be a useful data base. It is the FILE DEFINITION which describes how the data will be stored and retrieved in a particular file in the data base.

Initially, the potential user of the data base must decide why and for what purposes the data base is being created. The user must also consider the questions which the data base should be capable of answering once the data has been entered. If this is not done then in all likelihood the data base will be poorly representative of its potential and it will reflect the lack of thought which went into its development. Next, the programmer would assemble parts of the FILE DEFINITION language which would facilitate the potential answering of the research questions. By doing so, the SPIRES data base will take on characteristics of data management that are unique to the requirements of the researcher or data base manager. In order to make the FILE DEFINITION workable, the parts which have been assembled must be formally arranged in a sequential hierarchy, achieved through the SPIRES COMPILER. Once

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[60](cont'd) comprehensive. This, to those who appreciate the finer qualities of computer capabilities, is *not* a drawback of SPIRES but rather a significant bonus. Because data is not *redundantly* stored in the PERSON subfile, it saves not only in storage space in the computer (commonly called disk space) but it also saves in costs usually associated with inefficient storage and retrieval of redundant data.

[61]See The Spires File Definition. (Palo Alto, Cal.: Center for Information Technology, 1982)

compiled, the SPIRES FILE is now ready to accept data in the form which it was programmed to receive. Data entry into the SPIRES FILE usually proceeds as follows:

1. A subfile is created within the FILE so that data of one particular type can be stored by the computer. In some cases, as was the particular case in this study, several subfiles are necessary to accommodate the unique characteristics of several different types of data.

2. After the SUBFILE has been created the user has the option of either entering the data "en masse" through the use of the BATCH FILE into SPIRES or else by entering each DATA RECORD independently by a PROMPT command. This latter procedure has its advantages in that the user need only type a response to the data entry question. For example, the SPIRES FILE DEFINITION on the PROMPT format may ask the user the name of the club. All the user has to do is type in the name of the club then signal to the computer (by depressing the return carriage key on the Anderson-Jacobsen AJ510 terminal) that the data is complete. The computer will respond in an interactive manner with the next DATA ELEMENT to be added to the DATA RECORD. Again, all the user must do is type in the next bit of DATA then press return. This process can be continued until such time as all data has been entered.

3. Once all data entries are completed in a particular subfile, they then must be processed into a more permanent status by the use of the SPIRES FILE BUILDER. This process allows data to be moved from a temporary file (into which the data was originally typed) to a more permanent working file where it is stored for future retrieval

and querying.

4. When all the SUBFILES have been satisfactorily filled with data (this does not mean that all possible data has had to have been entered) then, by virtue of the INDEXES constructed in the original FILE DEFINITION, the user can begin to retrieve information and question the data base.

It should be pointed out that periodic changes of the FILE DEFINITION may be necessary as a result of changes in the data or the way in which the data is to be stored in the system. For the present study, this process was needed on several occasions to alter slightly the way in which membership data was stored and retrieved. The changes facilitated asking questions of the data base which would otherwise have been impossible.

Thus, the SPIRES data base management system for Toronto's common sport and business club memberships was ultimately very flexible and extremely precise in its ability to evaluate memberships in clubs and organizations. The Stanford Public Information Retrieval System stands as an example of a computer application to historical research which is unique and sensitive to the peculiarities of data, and yet which is flexible enough to be shaped to the specific needs of the historian. It could lead historians in the future to approaching persistently troublesome problems from new perspectives and at the same time bring about greater attention to the systematization and rigor of their analyses. Moreover, it could lead to heightened interest in comparative historical works as well as improving the reliability and validity of the inferences made from these studies. Finally, the use of data base management systems will give historians greater time for creative endeavor and relieve them of some of the tedium and trudgery associated with large historical analyses.

APPENDIX VI

References for Genealogical Sketches of Principle Biographical Figures in the Study

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2. CHAPTER V: ***George W. Allan***
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3. CHAPTER VI: ***John Beverly Robinson II***
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6. CHAPTER IX: *James Gooderham Worts and the Gooderhams*
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